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ORIGINAL PAPERS;

CONTAINING THE

SECRET HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

RESTORATION,

TO THE ACCESSION OF THE

HOUSE OF HANNOVER.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

EXTRACTS from the LIFE of JAMES II.

AS WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

THE WHOLE ARRANGED AND PUBLISHED

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THOUGH the ſources, from which the following Papers have been drawn, are explained in the Introduction, it may not be improper to premiſe ſome facts for the reader's more immediate information. Theſe volumes contain the papers of the family of Stuart and thoſe of the houſe of Brunſwick Lunenburgh. The firſt conſiſt of the collection of Mr. Nairne, who was under-ſecretary, from the Revolution to the end of the year 1713, to the miniſters of King James the Second, and to thoſe of his ſon. The latter comprehend the material part of the correſpondence and ſecret negotiations of the houſe of Hannover, their agents and their friends in Britain, throughout the reign of Queen Anne. The extracts from the life of King James the Second, conſiſting of more than thirty ſheets of print, were partly taken by the late Mr. Thomas Carte, and partly by the Editor, in a journey he made for that purpoſe to France. Mr. Nairne's papers came into the poſſeſſion of Mr. Carte, ſome time before his death. To theſe, the Editor, who had free acceſs to ſuch manuſcripts as lie open in the Scotch College at Paris, hath added many valuable acquiſitions of his own. The ORIGINALS are now in the hands of the bookſeller.

Juſt publiſhed,

In Two large Volumes, Quarto,

The HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN,

From the *Reſtoration,*

To the Acceſſion of the *Houſe* of *Hannover.*

By JAMES MACPHERSON, Eſq;

THE SECOND EDITION.

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ORIGINAL PAPERS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE greateſt part of mankind form their political opinions on the uſages of paſt times. With an excuſable reverence for their anceſtors, they ſuffer rights derived from Nature to be decided by precedent; and among many nations in Europe, the habit of ſubmiſſion to arbitrary power is a ſufficient argument for ſlavery. In this country the ſupporters of the freedom of the people, and thoſe who favour the high prerogatives of the crown, make equally their appeal to antiquity, and, with a kind of mutual conſent, reſt the juſtice of their reſpective claims on the authority of former ages. Nothing, however, is more ridiculous, than to ſuppoſe that freedom can be received as a legacy; or that abject progenitors have any right to entail ſlavery on their poſterity.

This maxim, however, has ſeldom any weight with the great body of a nation. The truth is, men are more ſafe in reſting their claims on precedents, than in recurring perpetually to firſt principles. The authority of facts is obvious, and underſtood by all. But few are capable of comprehending that manly philoſophy, which deems every government unjuſt that is not free. To aſcertain, therefore, the genuine circumſtances of former tranſactions; to redeem hiſtory from the miſrepreſentations of the deſigning, the errors of the ignorant, and the weakneſs of the prejudiced; to give to characters their genuine colour; to ſhew mankind, without either fear or favour, as they were, is certainly deſerving well of a people who meaſure their public happineſs and their political miſery by the ſtandard of other times.

The moſt free nations have oftener derived their liberty from accident, than from a ſenſe of the juſtice, which mankind owe to themſelves. The people of England, in particular, were leaſt ſucceſsful, when they made their greateſt efforts to be free. In their zeal to circumſcribe the power of the prince, they fell themſelves into a ſtate of humiliating ſlavery. Men of more ability than principle ſprung, as is uſual, from anarchy and civil diſcord. The firſt cauſe of conteſt was either forgot or neglected. Demagogues, as might have been expected, ſtarted up into tyrants. The nation loſt its balance, in exerting its force againſt the crown; and deſigning men had an intereſt in preventing the unwieldy body from recovering from its fall.

This new ſpecies of tyranny was not, however, deſtined to laſt long. A deſpotiſm impoſed, by either terror or force, required a continuance of the ſame abilities by which it had been eſtabliſhed. The engine which Cromwell himſelf could ſcarce wield with eaſe, fell to pieces in the feeble hands of his ſon. Anarchy ſucceeded, and threatened conſequences of the worſt kind. In the midſt of the cabals and factions of their leaders, the people remained in a melancholy ſuſpence. They remembered paſt miſeries, they felt the preſent, they were anxious for the future. A majority had been bent, by force, from their principles. Some, diſappointed in their hopes of freedom, others, in their ſchemes of power became paſſive, concerning their political fate; and, by a train of circumſtances which human prudence could not have foreſeen, the nation reared, in a few months, the fabrick of government, which had taken them ſo many years to deſtroy.

In the violence of the national joy, upon the reſtoration of monarchy, men neglected to make ſuch ſtipulations as might prevent future diſputes with the crown. This complaiſant negligence became afterwards dangerous to the people, and it ruined the family of the prince. Things being again ſet afloat, the ſtorm aroſe. The memory of paſt miſeries prevented not future conteſts. A King without principle, and a faction without patriotiſm, armed themſelves againſt each other, with the prejudices of the different parties, which ſtill divided the nation. A victory,

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on either ſide, muſt have ruined the balance of the conſtitution. No intermediate choice ſeemed to have been left, between monarchical deſpotiſm and popular anarchy and confuſion.

In this period of violence, of faction, and of intrigue, the Editor of theſe volumes has choſen to begin his account of the affairs of Great Britain. The papers contained in the following collection will, he is perſuaded, convince the public, that he has very much to ſay, that is both ſtriking and new. To throw ſome light on the work, he will here premiſe a few things which require to be known. The particular explanation of the different papers, the illuſtration of the facts which they contain, the various characters of the principal perſons who are actors in this comprehenſive political ſcene, are ſet forth as the circumſtances ariſe.

The late Mr. Thomas Carte, who gave to the public a hiſtory of England to the end of the year 1654, had been extremely induſtrious in collecting materials for bringing down his work to a much later period. Having obtained an order from Rome for inſpecting ſuch papers, belonging to the family of Stuart, as LAY OPEN in the Scotch college at Paris, he ſpent ſeveral months in that place, making extracts and collecting notes. In particular, he made very large and accurate extracts from the Life of James the Second, written in that prince's own hand. But his moſt valuable acquiſition was the papers of Mr. Nairne, who had ſerved as under-ſecretary to three ſucceſſive miniſters of King James, during his exile in France, from the Revolution to the year 1701. Upon the death of that prince, Nairne continued in the ſervice of his ſon; and his collection contains an almoſt uninterrupted ſeries of the correſpondences and ſecret negociations of the family of Stuart, down to the year 1719.

It is needleſs to explain minutely, why papers of ſuch value lay ſo long neglected and almoſt unknown. They are jumbled together in ſuch a maſs of confuſion, that a great deal of time and induſtry, and, it may even be ſaid, a very conſiderable knowledge of the period to

which

which they relate, were abſolutely neceſſary, to give them the importance they deſerve. They were placed in the Editor's hands, as materials for a hiſtory of this country, from the Revolution till the complete ſettlement of the family of Hannover on the throne. But when he examined them with preciſion, he found that the extracts from the Life of James the Second threw a new and ſtriking light, on almoſt all the tranſactions of his brother's reign. This circumſtance induced him to begin his hiſtory with the reſtoration of monarchy; and to ſatisfy himſelf, as well as to authenticate his materials to the public, he went to Paris to make ſtill further diſcoveries, and, in particular, to make freſh extracts from King James's Memoirs.

During his ſtay in France, he not only had an opportunity to be ſatisfied, concerning the faithfulneſs of Carte's extracts, but even to make many valuable additions of his own. The Memoirs left by King James, in his own hand, conſiſt rather of memorandums made for his own uſe, when the tranſactions happened, than a regular narration of events. He frequently lays down, with preciſion, the reaſons which weighed with himſelf, in directing his conduct; and, upon the whole, his papers form very important materials for the hiſtory of Britain, during his own times. In Carte's extracts, as well as in thoſe of the Editor, the language of King James is, in a great meaſure, preſerved. That prince was not an elegant writer; and an abridgment muſt, in its nature, be ſtill more ſtiff and dry than an original. Inſtead, therefore, of expecting entertaining reflections, and a well-connected detail of tranſactions, the reader muſt content himſelf with an unadorned narrative of ſuch facts as were the ſecret, and hitherto unknown, ſprings of the great events of the times.

But if the Memoirs of King James cannot raiſe their author to the rank of a fine writer, they certainly do him credit as a man. There is an air of veracity in all the accounts given by that prince, that is much more valuable to an intelligent reader, than the choiceſt flowers of rhetoric and beſt turned periods. Indeed, the manner in which the papers, called his Memoirs, were written, precludes every ſuſpicion of unfaithfulneſs

fulneſs on his ſide. His notes were generally made upon the ſpot; and always before there was any neceſſity to palliate the circumſtances of the tranſactions related. Beſides, he was not of a complexion to miſrepreſent. He affected to guide himſelf by principle in all his actions; and to deem the ſlighteſt deviation from truth a crime. In his opinions he is frequently wrong, but very ſeldom in any fact that fell within his own immediate knowledge.

How Nairne's collection came into the poſſeſſion of Carte is as unimportant in itſelf, as it is imperfectly known. Several papers, particularly the letters of lord Caryll, which compleat the chain of the ſecret correſpondence with Britain, are in the Scotch college, and have paſſed through the Editor's hands. Theſe, together with others which he received through various channels, ſhall be pointed out, as they occur, in the following volumes.

Though the correſpondences of the houſe of STUART are highly important, the Editor is very far from deriving his whole information from that ſide. He has received original papers from ſeveral perſons abroad. At home he owes obligations of the ſame kind to a few. Though Mr. ASTLE, in his PUBLIC capacity, adhered rigidly to the orders of his office; as a private gentleman, he exhibited all the liberality of the man of letters. He laid open to the Editor his very valuable collection of original papers, and ſubmitted to his peruſal many ſcarce tracts and printed works, concerning the hiſtory of this kingdom, from the Revolution to the death of Queen Anne.

But it is to Mr. DUANE, the Editor owes the greateſt and moſt eſſential obligations. That gentleman, in his literary reſearches, had the good fortune to diſcover, by accident, and to purchaſe the papers of the houſe of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, containing their whole correſpondence with Great Britain, from the paſſing of the act of ſettlement till George I. was firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne. This very valuable collection, conſiſting of ten large volumes, in quarto, the proprietor, with peculiar condeſcenſion and liberality, placed in the hands of the Editor. To Mr. DUANE, therefore, the public are indebted, for the new, inte-

reſting, and even complete light, which theſe papers throw on the whole reign of Queen Anne; eſpecially on the four laſt years of that princeſs, a period hitherto very imperfectly known.

The valuable part of the correſpondence of ſuch perſons as have made any figure in this kingdom, muſt have fallen into the papers of the two families, who were rivals for the ſucceſſion to the crown. The Editor became therefore, in ſome meaſure, indifferent about being admitted to the inſpection of private collections. He made few applications of that kind; and in no one of theſe, he had the good fortune to ſucceed. Men having become diſtruſtful of the principles of their anceſtors, are, from ſelfiſh views, intereſted in their reputation. With a prepoſterous ſhew of attachment to their progenitors, they ſeem to think, that to conceal their actions is the only way to preſerve their fame. The precaution, in the preſent caſe, was, however, ſuperfluous. The Editor has been enabled to give to the public, in this collection, as many particulars, concerning men in office, as the public would wiſh to know. Anecdotes of a private nature may be left, without any regret, in the poſſeſſion of their poſterity, to whom alone they can be of any importance.

The Editor muſt freely acknowledge, that in applying for acceſs to ſome PUBLIC collections of papers, he was as unſucceſsful as in his private applications. He may, however, without vanity affirm, that he was little diſappointed by this refuſal. The great line of buſineſs, the official diſpatches of ſecretaries, the negociations of plenipotentiaries, and the inſtructions to miniſters abroad, having, for the moſt part, fallen under the examination of the two houſes of parliament, are, either upon record in their journals, or publiſhed by their order. Where theſe publications are defective, every neceſſary information is ſupplied, by the numerous and authentic memoirs, that have been printed, from time to time, in France. Beſides, the liberality of the French nation, with regard to the free acceſs to their ſtate-papers, a favour ſeldom if ever refuſed to men of letters, makes ample amends for the more uncommunicative diſpoſition prevailing in this kingdom.

This ſeeming cenſure, however, muſt, in juſtice, be confined in its object. The Editor, expecting little that was new, eſpecially to HIM,

on

on the period he has chosen, made few applications to the keepers of public libraries. In the university of Oxford, he found some papers which he has printed in this collection. He was assisted in his researches by the reverend Mr. Price, keeper of the Bodleian library, in a manner, that demand his warmest acknowledgments. He owes favours of the same kind, to other gentlemen, in other places. He also received papers, from persons, whose names he is not permitted to mention to the public. He has, upon the whole, been enabled to fill up, with interesting letters and memorials, such chasms in the correspondences of the houses of Stuart and Brunswick, as interrupted the regular series of their respective intrigues and secret negociations in Britain.

To render still more complete his materials, the Editor, when in France, applied for access to the valuable collection of papers, kept at Versailles, in the office of the minister for foreign affairs. The duke d'Aiguillon, who then presided in that department, granted his request with peculiar politeness. But, before he could make any use of this indulgence, the death of the King suspended the business of the public offices; and he was obliged to return to Britain before the new arrangements were made. Though the duke resigned his office, the orders he had given were not recalled by his successors. Several clerks, in the department for foreign affairs, were employed, for a considerable time, in searching for papers and in answering such queries as the Editor thought proper to suggest, for the further illustration of the events comprehended within his period.

Having given this short account of the sources from which he has derived his information, the Editor thinks it necessary to say something concerning the arrangement of his materials. The order of time has been throughout followed with exactness. The papers themselves have been illustrated by historical connexions, accounts of their various authors, and uninterrupted allusions to the leading facts to which they relate. The extracts from the Memoirs of King James the Second are given, in one continued series, to the end of the year 1698. The original papers, arranged with the utmost attention

under the heads of their reſpective years, begin in the memorable 1688. At the beginning of every year, eſpecially in the reign of Queen Anne, an explanatory introduction is placed; and the events to which the papers refer are briefly ſtated. Nothing, upon the whole, has been omitted, that might contribute to make the collection anſwerable to its title; as it actually comprehends, in the literal ſenſe of the words, the ſecret hiſtory of Great Britain, during the period to which it relates.

The Editor has paid throughout, the utmoſt attention to the ſatisfaction and convenience of the public. Nothing is printed, except for mere illuſtration, that ever paſſed before through the preſs; at leaſt conſiſtent with the Editor's knowledge; and his reading, on the period of his hiſtory, has been pretty extenſive. Long memorials are abridged. Where letters are tedious, extracts are only given. But nothing is omitted that could be thought to contribute to throw any new light, either on the events of hiſtory, or on the characters of men. To leſſen the expence to purchaſers, the work is not ſwelled with originals in languages not generally known. Three-fourths of the papers themſelves are in French, Italian, and High Dutch. Theſe were tranſlated, under the eye of the Editor, with the utmoſt care and fidelity. As the diction of the writers themſelves is ſeldom elegant, more care has been taken to preſerve the ſenſe, than to embelliſh the ſentiment. The object of ſuch publications as the preſent, is more to inform than to amuſe the reader; yet the Editor has been at ſome pains to render it agreeable as well as inſtructive.

In the courſe of the following papers, place has been given to ſome anecdotes and traditions preſerved by the induſtrious Mr. Thomas Carte. Where they are corroborated with collateral proofs, ſome uſe has been made of them in the Hiſtory. Where they ſtand unſupported by other evidence, they are left to that degree of credit, which the reader may chooſe to beſtow. Such accounts, in their nature uncertain and liable to deception, loſe their whole force, when oppoſed by the written teſtimony of thoſe whom they concern. But when they fall, with eaſe and fitneſs, into the line of eſtabliſhed facts, they

they deſerve ſome portion of hiſtorical faith. The uniform fairneſs, with which Carte has made his extracts from written monuments, is the beſt proof of his veracity in his traditionary anecdotes. Beſides, he had frequent opportunities of being well informed. His avowed attachment to the excluded family, introduced him to the intimacy and friendſhip of ſeveral perſons of rank, who entertained ſimilar principles; and had been partly in the ſecret of affairs, during the four laſt years of Queen Anne.

The anecdotes preſerved by Carte, in ſome inſtances, contradict facts thoroughly eſtabliſhed by Nairne's papers. This circumſtance furniſhes an argument, that Carte was not apprized of the treaſure which had fallen into his hands. The labour neceſſary in arranging ſuch confuſed materials, without which they could not be ſufficiently known, he poſtponed, till he ſhould come down to the period to which they relate. The deficiency of information in the anecdotes, may alſo be accounted for on other grounds. Thoſe who live, in any period of time, as their knowledge is neceſſarily confined to one line of men, have but a very imperfect idea of the whole ſyſtem of national affairs and the intrigues and ſecrets of factions. A writer muſt ſtand, as it were, in the very point, where informations from all parties unite and concentrate, to judge of tranſactions and of men with preciſion. He muſt follow no evidence implicitly, but decide on the general reſult of the whole proof. This idea of his judicial capacity has a favourable effect on a hiſtorian of any ability. Parties having, in a manner, ſubmitted their differences to his deciſion, his pride prevents him from being ſwayed by their prejudices.

In a period replete with important events, and ſubject to revolution and change, the Editor labouring, as it were, under the weight of facts and materials, may have committed ſome miſtakes, that may require the reader's indulgence. He believes, however, that theſe are not, in themſelves, material; as he flatters himſelf, that he moved, through his ſubject, with a degree of light ſufficient to preclude all glaring errors. In the tranſlation of many papers, in making extracts from ſuch as were either too unimportant or tedious to be given complete, he

has frequently availed himſelf of the aſſiſtance of a friend. But as the Editor himſelf has travelled, with attention, over the ſame ground, he is, as he ought to be, accountable for the defects of the whole.

Such as it is, the Editor delivers the work, with little anxiety, to the public. The novelty of the facts, the uninterrupted ſtream of freſh light, if the expreſſion may be uſed, which they throw on the hiſtory of this country, during the period through which they extend, will, he is convinced, recommend the publication to the world. The new turn given to many important events, and the change made in various great characters, will, perhaps, offend ſuch as are bigots, with regard to the ſuppoſed political opinions and views of their forefathers. To theſe the Editor has only to ſay, that he has religiouſly adhered, throughout, to TRUTH; and that it could not be expected he ſhould riſk his OWN reputation, by concealing any facts that came to his knowledge, though they might tend to ſully the fame of THEIR anceſtors.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1660.

THE government of Oliver Cromwell, notwithſtanding the vigour of his councils, being unſupported by the opinions of the people, promiſed neither ſtability nor permanency. The fabric raiſed, by his addreſs and abilities, was deſtined to fall with his own life; and the ſeeds of anarchy and confuſion, which his authority had checked in their growth rather than removed, began to ſpring forth from the paſſions of leaders and the prejudices of parties. Sects, who had carried their enthuſiaſm in matters of religion, into their opinions of government, had remained in that unwilling obedience, which force extorts from fear. The death of Cromwell, removing the fears of all, gave room to their reſpective hopes. The adherents of the doctrines of the church of England looked forward to the reſtoration of monarchy. The Preſbyterians, oppreſſed, for ſeveral years, by the Independents, were ready to graſp at any change that might put a period to the power of their enemies. The Republicans themſelves preferred the return of the kingly authority to the continuance of a tyranny, that, under the name of freedom, had ſubjected the nation to a military government. The meaſures of all the three were calculated to promote the ſame object, though their immediate views were as different as their principles and inclinations.

Such was the undetermined ſtate of parties, in England, in the end of the year 1659. General Monk entered that kingdom, with an army, on the firſt of January 1660. He found the nation prepared for any change that might deliver them from the preſent anarchy. In their fears from the conſequences of the conteſts between the remains of a parliament

they hated and an army they had reaſon to fear, very little preſſure was neceſſary to turn the current in favour of monarchy. It is, therefore, doubtful, whether Monk permitted himſelf to be carried down the ſtream, or directed its force to favour his own views. His prudence, or perhaps his timidity, was well ſuited to the peculiar ſtate of the times. When he ſat, involved in his natural reſerve, at the helm, he ſuffered the people, in appearance, to ſteer their own courſe to what they deemed a permanent ſettlement of their diſtracted affairs.

A few leading facts may be neceſſary to introduce the reader to the following extracts. On Friday, the ſixteenth of March, the long parliament was diſſolved, by their own act, after having continued, through various interruptions, for near twenty years. On the twenty-fifth of April, the new parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter. On the firſt of May, Anneſly, preſident of the council of ſtate, preſented, unopened, a letter from King Charles the Second to general Monk, to be by him communicated to the council of ſtate and officers of the army. The letter was read, with the utmoſt avidity, amidſt the repeated ſhouts of the members. The turbulent joy of parliament was ſoon communicated to the people. The King was proclaimed on the eighth of May; and before the end of the month he arrived in London.

In this period, begin the extracts from the life of King James the Second, then duke of York. They contain the whole of the ſecret hiſtory of his brother's reign, ſome very important facts concerning his own, and many ſecret negociations during the firſt nine years of King William. The Editor has reduced the whole, for the convenience of the reader, into the order of time. King James, as the ſubject ſuggeſted itſelf to his mind, made notes of the tranſactions in which he was moſt concerned, at different periods. He ſometimes kept regular journals of the facts, as they aroſe. His preciſion, with regard to place and time, cannot be ſufficiently commended. In reviewing the facts which he had ſet down in his journal, he frequently added circumſtances which he had forgot to record before; and to this muſt be aſcribed ſome repetitions that occur in the following extracts.

Some notes concerning the life of James, extracted from his memoirs, are thrown into the appendix to the ſecond volume of original pa-

pers, as they concern a period, prior to his brother's reſtoration to the throne. The ſubſtance of what he wrote from the year 1652 to 1658, was given by himſelf to the cardinal de Bouillon, in the year 1695; and they are annexed to the memoirs of the viſcount de Turenne. No part of King James's memoirs, after the Reſtoration, was ever in the hands of any writer; therefore the extracts, and moſt of the facts they contain, are new to the world.

THE

THE

LIFE of JAMES the SECOND,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

1660.

EXTRACT I.

Carte's Extracts. May.

THE nation was overjoyed at the reſtoration. Governed by an army; officers of the meaneſt ſort of men, brewers, colliers, mechanics. Oliver Cromwell was more arbitrary than any King. The duke of Glouceſter died in September, and the princeſs of Orange at Chriſtmas, both of the ſmall-pox. The duke had all the natural qualities to make a great prince, which made the loſs be more ſeverely felt by the royal family. The King, at firſt, refuſed the duke of York's marriage with Mrs. Hyde †. Many of the duke's friends and ſervants oppoſed it. The King, at laſt, conſented, and then the duke of York privately married her, and ſoon after, owned the marriage. Her want of birth was made up by endowments; and her carriage, afterwards, became her acquired dignity.

EXTRACT II.

The earl of Briſtol * had declared himſelf a Roman Catholic, ſome months before the reſtoration; ſo not of the privy council; but he was truſted with all the ſecrets, as before. He did not continue long united with Clarendon and Ormonde; endeavouring to get more power, and

† Burnet and all party-writers have miſrepreſented this fact.

* George Digby, ſecond earl of Briſtol. He died March 20, 1676.

engroſs

engroſs more into his hands, than the chancellor cared he ſhould; and that by by-ways. Beſides, the earl of Southampton ſtruck up with the lord chancellor, who never had a good opinion of Briſtol. The duke of York was ordered by the King to live well with his miniſters. 1660.

When his ſiſter, the princeſs royal *, came to Paris to ſee the Queen-mother, the duke of York fell in love with Mrs. Anne Hyde, one of her maids of honour. Beſides her perſon, ſhe had all the qualities proper to inflame a heart leſs apt to take fire than his; which ſhe managed ſo well, as to bring his paſſion to ſuch an height, as, between the time he firſt ſaw her and the winter before the King's reſtoration, he reſolved to marry none but her; and promiſed her to do it: and though, at firſt, when the duke aſked the King, his brother, for his leave, he refuſed, and diſwaded him from it; yet, at laſt, he oppoſed it no more; and the duke married her privately, owned it ſome time after †, and was ever after a true friend to the chancellor, for ſeveral years.

The chancellor was faulty, in not getting all the deſtructive laws, in the long rebel parliament of Charles I. repealed ‡; which, moſt were of opinion, might have been done, and ſuch a revenue ſettled on the crown, as would have ſupported the monarchy, and not expoſed it to the dangers it has ſince run. Whether out of overſight or fear the monarchy would not need a parliament, uncertain; or from fear of the King's bringing in the Roman Catholic religion. The duke apprehends the laſt. In all other things he ſupported the crown's authority to the height.

1661. EXTRACT I.

Venner's inſurrection. The King was at Portſmouth, to ſee the Queen-mother and the princeſs Henrietta embark for France. A party of twenty horſe, under Corbet, came up with Venner in Wood-ſtreet; but could not break in on them, as the ſtreet was narrow. The train-bands came up. Only two men had joined them, when they were forced to get into a houſe to defend themſelves. The duke of York and the ge- 1661. Jan.

* The princeſs of Orange.

† Burnet miſrepreſents this fact, in every particular. He is followed, in ſome degree, by other writers.

‡ He means, in the next parliament, which met May 8, 1661.

1661. neral took horſe, and, with twenty, no more being left on guard marched towards them: but the nobility joined them; ſo that, before they reached St. Paul's, they were 1500 horſe. There they met Sir Richard Brown, lord mayor, who told them Venner and all his party were either killed or taken. That, Venner being retreated to an ale-houſe, they could not take it without firing, which they durſt not; but one Lambert, a ſeaman, afterwards commander of the duke's yatcht, and ſlain on board the Anne, a third rate, perſwaded ſome to follow him, and get up to the top of the houſe, and force their entry that way. All Venner's men were killed or wounded, before they were taken; one only aſked for quarter, at which a comrade, lying wounded in the room, endeavoured with his ſword to kill him, reviling him for being ſo mean, as to aſk quarter. Venner had nineteen wounds; and the ſurgeons had much ado to keep him alive, until he was condemned and hanged, as the reſt were alſo, only two ſerving for witneſſes.

This made Clarendon write to the King, to ſtop diſbanding the general's troop of horſe guards and regiment of foot, which were to be paid off that day; and to raiſe more men, for the ſecurity of the King's Perſon and government. A new regiment of guards, conſiſting of twelve companies, under colonel Ruſſel; a regiment of horſe of eight troops, under the earl of Oxford: and a troop of guards, under lord Gerard, were ordered to be raiſed. The duke of York's troop of guards, then at Dunkirk, was ſent for. Commiſſions alſo for the earls of Cleveland, Northampton, and two other earls, for regiments of horſe, and to name their own officers, who had commiſſions to enliſt men in ſeveral companies, not to be in preſent pay, but ready in caſe of need.

The chancellor and Southampton were careleſs of the King's ſafety. Hawley was a wiſer ſtateſman. They and the biſhops in the houſe of lords, were great oppoſers of the King's deſign, according to the promiſe at Breda, of a toleration of diſſenters, ſo limited as not to diſturb the peace of the realm. So the King's word was broke. The earl of Briſtol, though no privy counſellor, was as much in the ſecret of affairs as formerly. Briſtol was of a haughty temper, yet contributed to the chancellor's ruin. The chancellor was very loyal and true to the intereſt of the crown; but did not repeal acts of Charles I. detrimental to the crown and revenue.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT II.

The generality of the nation was pleaſed at the King's reſtoration, yet the reſtleſs republican ſpirit began to ferment. Venner, on Sunday, January 6th, after preaching to his congregation, and faſting all the day with them, being before provided with arms, marched out of the meeting-houſe, between eleven and twelve at night, with about thirty, crying, "Live king Jeſus;" that all that were for him ſhould join with them; and thoſe who would not, might keep their houſes. The conſtables and watch durſt not venture to attack them. Venner, not being joined, went into the woods near Highgate. The King was then at Portſmouth, with the Queen-mother and the princeſs Henrietta, to ſee them embark for France. The duke of York, being indiſpoſed, was at Whitehall with the dutcheſs, the marriage being owned before. 1661. Jan.

General Monk, who lived at the Cockpit, being allarmed, came to give the duke of York an account. Some gentlemen-horſe left unpaid off, that lord Gerard had liſted for horſe guards, and the general's own troop, commanded by Sir Philip Howard, were ſent after them; but Venner kept the woods two or three days, then came with twenty-nine men into London, through Aldgate, about ſeven in the morning, crying as before: ſo to Leadenhall, the Exchange, and Woodſtreet; where twenty of Gerard's horſe met them, and drove them into Woodſtreet. There they made head, till the train-bands grew numerous, and the duke of York, with the general and twenty horſe, and abundance of nobility and gentry, came to St. Paul's. The lord mayor, Sir Richard Brown, informed them, that they were all either killed or taken. Venner had nineteen wounds, yet he was kept alive till condemned and hanged. This prevented the general's troop of horſe guards, and his regiment of foot, from being diſbanded, which had been paid off that very day; and cauſed more men to be raiſed. Daniel O'Neil was ſent with an account to the King, who immediately ordered a new regiment of guards, conſiſting of twelve companies, under colonel John Ruſſel, brother to the earl of Bedford, and always loyal, to be raiſed; and a troop of horſe guards, under lord Gerard, and a regiment of horſe, of eight troops, under the earl of Oxford. The King ſent for the duke of York's troop of guards from Dunkirk, and gave commiſſions to the earl of Cleve-

1661. land, Northampton, and two other earls, for regiments of horſe, and to name their under officers, to levy men, not to be in preſent pay, but to be in readineſs in caſe of need. Lord Hawley told the King, he now looked on him as one of the moſt conſiderable men in England, ſince he had raiſed theſe troops; as his enemies would fear him, and his friends love him the better. The nation ſaw the ſectaries would not be quiet.

The duke of Glouceſter died about the middle of September, in the preceding year; a prince of the greateſt hopes, great courage, admirable parts and underſtanding. He had a particular gift of languages; maſter, beſides the Latin, of French, Spaniſh, Italian, and Low Dutch; and but twenty years of age. The princeſs of Orange died alſo, on Chriſtmas-eve, at the age of twenty-nine. The King's friends quarrelled. Briſtol ſet up for himſelf, and made his court to the dutcheſs of Cleveland *, then angry with the chancellor's forbidding his wife to viſit her. The King ſhowed Briſtol much countenance; and he got the regiment of horſe for the earl of Oxford, then a pretender to his daughter; ſince married to the earl of Sunderland; and had he not drove on too faſt, he might have got more; and might, by the help of his *ſhe friend*, have ruined the chancellor, as he deſigned. But the King knew him too well, to put him at the head of his affairs. Being vexed, he accuſed the chancellor in the houſe of lords; and flew in the King's face, by making an indecent ſpeech in the houſe; and then juſtified it to the King, in lord Aubigny's preſence. He flew out into extravagant expreſſions, threatening his enemies, and the King ſhould feel it. So that he ſhould have been thrown out at the window, had not the King been too good. This, however, did his buſineſs with the King.

1662. EXTRACT I.

1662. May. The Portugal match would have been advantageous to the crown, if Tangier could, as was then thought, be made a ſafe harbour for our ſhips, or had the Queen proved fruitful. The chancellor thus brought a Queen to England of his own chuſing; yet this was the occaſion of

* This was the famous Barbara Villiers. She was not created dutcheſs of Cleveland till the 3d of Auguſt, 1670. The paſſage ſeems to have been written after her creation.

his

his ruin. The Queen landed on the twentieth of May: and, after repoſing a little time, ſhe was married by lord Abigny, the Queen's almoner, privately. The outward ceremony was performed by Dr. Sheldon. The Portugueſe, more ſcrupulous than other nations, would not let her marry in Portugal by a proteſtant proxy. Many other propoſitions were made to the King. One of Mazarine's nieces, a little before the treaty of St. Jean de Luz, in the time of the great confuſion in England, either abbè Montague or lord Abigny propoſed the marriage to cardinal Mazarine, who believing Burdeaux's repreſentations, rejected it; but after the reſtoration ſought it, offering a vaſt ſum of money; but he was put off with a compliment. 1662.

The republican party were working againſt government. They held private meetings, into which were admitted all ſorts of diſſenters, but quakers. The King, advertiſed of all by falſe brethren, ſecured Wildman and others, and kept them till 1667, when the chancellor was turned out.

EXTRACT II.

Abbot Montague or lord Jermyn had, a little before the reſtoration, propoſed to cardinal Mazarine to marry his niece, Hortenſia, the beautifulleſt young woman in the world, and ſince dutcheſs of Mazarine, to King Charles; but the cardinal would not hear of it, not thinking the King's affairs in a good condition; but would fain have brought it about after the reſtoration, offering a vaſt portion.

The infanta of Portugal landed in May at Portſmouth. The King went thither, and was married privately, by lord Abigny, a ſecular prieſt and almoner to the Queen, according to the rites of Rome, in the Queen's chamber; none preſent but the Portugueze ambaſſadour, three more Portugueze of quality, and two or three Portugueze women. What made this neceſſary was, that the earl of Sandwich did not marry her by proxy, as uſual, before ſhe came away. How this happened the duke knows not†; nor did the chancellor know of this private mar-

† It happened from her own bigotry. She would not be married by a proteſtant proxy.

1662. riage. The Queen would not be bedded, till pronounced man and wife by Sheldon, biſhop of London *.

In the beginning of 1662, Sandwich went out with a ſquadron to protect the Engliſh trade in the Mediterranean, againſt Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoly. He had twenty men of war with him; Sir John Lawſon, vice admiral, and Sir Robert Stainer, rear admiral. He came back with Stainer, and left Lawſon with twelve ſhips to proſecute the war, till others were ſent from England; ſuch as the Royal Charles, Henry, &c. He concluded the marriage with Portugal; and brought the infanta over: the firſt of her quality that ever ſtirred out of their own country without marriage by proxy.

The chancellor knew nothing of the duke of York's marrying his daughter; whom he had fallen in love with, in the year 1657, when the chancellor and he were on ill terms, and continued ſo till juſt before

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* The following letter is more a matter of curioſity than information. It was ſent by Charles II. to the earl of Clarendon, upon his marrying the Queen at Portſmouth.

The Original penes *the late earl of Oxford.—Directed "for the chancellor,', and indorſed, "the King."*

Portſmouth, 21 May, 8 in the morning.

Carte's Papers, vol. x. Quarto.

"I arrived here yeſterday about two in the afternoon, and as ſoon as I had ſhifted myſelf, I went to my wife's chamber, who I found in bed, by reaſon of a little cough, and ſome inclination to a fever, which was cauſed, *as we phyſicians ſay*, by having certain things ſtopped at ſea, which ought to have carried away thoſe humours. But now all is in their due courſe, and I believe ſhe will find herſelf very well this morning, as ſoon as ſhe wakes.

"It was happy for the honour of the nation, that I was not put to the conſummation of the marriage laſt night; for I was ſo ſleepy, by having ſlept but two hours in my journey, as I was afraid that matters would have gone very ſleepily. I can only now give you an account of what I have ſeen a-bed; which, in ſhort, is, her face is not ſo exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes are excellent good, and not any thing in her face, that in the leaſt degree can ſhoque one. On the contrary, ſhe has as much agreeableneſs in her looks altogether, as ever I ſaw; and if I have any ſkill in phyſiognomy, which I think I have, ſhe muſt be as good a woman as ever was born. Her converſation, as much as I can perceive, is very good; for ſhe has wit enough, and a moſt agreeable voice. You would much wonder to ſee how well we are acquainted already. In a word, I think myſelf very happy; but, I am confident, our two humours will agree very well together. I have not time to ſay any more. My lord lieutenant will give you an account of the reſt."

the reſtoration. The duke of York, in the height of his paſſion, having promiſed to marry her, he kept his word. The King, before he came to England, had refuſed his conſent and diſſuaded him; which made him not own it for ſome months after the marriage *. 1662.

1663. EXTRACT I.

Bradford's conſpiracy.—The chancellor brought Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards earl of Arlington, into the King's favour, who, ſoon after, turned againſt him. He meant to oppoſe, by him, Falmouth. The chancellor grew jealous of Sir William Coventry, the duke's ſecretary, and a man of great abilities, though once his favourite. So Coventry helped on the chancellor's ruin. Buckingham joined him. The duke of York enquires into the condition of the fleet; which was in an ill ſtate. Twelve hundred thouſand pounds were granted, to be employed as the King ſaw fit; of which 800,000 *l.* was laid out in naval ſtores. The duke encourages trading companies. He ſet up the African for the Guinea trade. He got Sir Robert Ford and others to diſcover the Dutch ſecret of dying ſays, of ſuch a colour as the Blacks liked; and giving the ſmell, in packing them up, like that uſed at Leyden, which furniſhes all the ſays for Guinea. 1663.

Sir Robert Holmes was ſent, with two of the King's ſhips and ſome of the company's, to ſupport the trade againſt Dutch encroachments. He ſecured the fort of Cape de Verd and Cormantine caſtle. The duke of York borrowed two men of war of the King's fleet; and ſent Sir Robert Nicholas to take poſſeſſion of Long Iſland, afterwards New York.

EXTRACT II.

The houſe of commons were ready to give the King any thing, till after the Dutch war. They would have ſettled a revenue; the want of which was the true cauſe of all after troubles. Factions at court increaſed. They were fomented by the republican party. Little œconomy in managing the revenue. The crown in debt. The 1200,000 *l.* granted for the Dutch war, was well laid out in naval ſtores. The re-

* All writers have miſrepreſented this fact.

publicans

1663. publicans were at work privately to raiſe inſurrections; and in deſigning againſt the King's perſon and government. But they wanted money to provide arms and other neceſſaries, which the wealthy would not ſpare. They could not agree about what ſort of government to declare for, in church and ſtate; and they always broke up in a heat. As to the firſt, they could never agree and come to a concluſion; their council conſiſting of all ſorts of diſſenters, quakers, &c. Their number was, at length, reduced to ſix; yet they ſeldom met, without running into ſome inconvenience. The King was advertiſed of this, from time to time, by ſpies and falſe brethren; and he ſecured ſome old officers of the army, major Wildman and others. They were kept in priſon till the year 1667, when chancellor Hyde was laid aſide. Deſigns of an inſurrection at London and in the north about York. In London, ſome of the train-bands were to ſhoot the King, when ſaluted at a review; and one Bradford, a ſerjeant of a militia regiment, at their conſultations, ſaid, if others ſhould miſs the King, he would diſpatch him with his halbert; nor did he deny his words, when taken and brought in chains to the King. They were proved afterwards at his trial. One Ridge, a preſbyterian preacher, denied all at firſt; but confeſſed afterwards, and ſerved for a witneſs at the trials. The man became a true penitent, and was made mate or maſter at ſea; and he was killed, in the year 1666, in the four days fight.

The following paſſages of this extract ſeem to have been written, by James, ſome time after the firſt Dutch war.

The conſpiracy in Yorkſhire was diſcovered alſo, by falſe brethren. No gentleman engaged in it, but Mr. Stockdale, and only for miſpriſion. He ſerved after in parliament. In the war, they kept intelligence with the Dutch; but the old general diſcovered all their deſigns, elſe they had riſen when the plague was in London, and the King had left it. The arms they had provided were all loſt in the fire of London, which they had been getting together for ſome years.

The chancellor continued chief miniſter; the earl of Falmouth * in the higheſt favour, minding his maſter's, not his own, concerns. He was killed at ſea, and died not worth a farthing, though not expenſive. He had ſerved the old cavaliers. Arlington came back from Spain, and tried to get into favour, ſupported at firſt by the chancellor and Briſtol,

* Formerly Sir Charles Berkley, the friend and companion of the duke of York, in all his campaigns.

againſt

againſt Falmouth; but, after Falmouth's death, the chancellor repented it. 1663.
Sir William Coventry, the duke of York's ſecretary, and a very able man, was not well with the chancellor; and he helped the chancellor's fall. The duke of Buckingham was not of the King's privy council; but inſinuated himſelf into his favour, by his agreeable converſe. He was afterwards made privy-councillor and maſter of the horſe *. By his railleries, he ſet the King againſt the chancellor. The patent for the Canary-company was recalled; though they obliged the Canarians to take great quantities of Engliſh manufactures, in part-payment for wines; and to take reaſonable rates, who would take nothing but ready money, when the company broke and raiſed the price very much, to the damage of the nation. The declaration about kneeling at the communion was put in, on promiſe of the diſſenters to conform. It was made to the chancellor and Gaudin, biſhop of Exeter; but not one conformed.

1664. EXTRACT I.

Complaints of the merchants—Satisfaction demanded by the houſe of 1664.
commons and the nation. Reſolution of both houſes for redreſs. The Dutch refuſe all reaſonable ſatisfaction. Van Gough perceived the King was not much inclined to a war, and the chancellor averſe to it. He told the States it would be no war; when the duke of York told him ſeriouſly, in friendſhip, that, without ſatisfaction, it would certainly be; but he did not believe him, taking it for a deſign to terrify them. The King was neceſſitated, by the general outcry of the nation, to declare war in the beginning of February. This was occaſioned chiefly by private orders ſent to de Ruyter, then in the Streights with twelve men of war, to victual at Cadiz and ſail to the coaſt of Africa; to take Cormantine caſtle, in time of peace, and all the Engliſh factories on that coaſt. Sir John Lawſon, ſuſpecting their deſign, gave notice of it to the duke of York, by letters. On further news of de Ruyter's ſailing ſouthward, and ſeizing Cape de Verd, prince Rupert was ordered, with twelve men of war and ſix company's ſhips of, at leaſt, forty guns each; and the fleet ſailed about the middle of October. But the Dutch having fitted a greater fleet, under Opdam, a ſtronger was reſolved to

* He purchaſed that office, from the Duke of Albemarle.

1664. be fitted out, under the duke of York's command; who ſet out in November for Portſmouth, and joined prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. Opdam durſt not come out, and his ſhips were laid up. The duke then returned to Spithead and came to Whitehall, leaving the earl of Sandwich to command.

On the twenty-fourth of November, the parliament met, and gave two millions and a half for the Dutch war. War was declared on the fourth of March.

EXTRACT II.

The Dutch endeavoured to ſupplant the Engliſh trade every where. The lord-chancellor alone againſt the Dutch war. The duke of York got a patent, a joint-ſtock, and ſet up the African company, when near ruined. Sir Robert Holmes took ſome Engliſh forts on the Gambia, which had got into the Dutch hands, and ſettled the company's affairs. The Dutch ſent a ſquadron againſt him, and fell on the Engliſh on the coaſt of Guinea. De Ruyter victualled at Cadiz for his expedition; when Sir John Lawſon coming thither, with twelve men of war, alſo judged, by it, of his deſign; and would fain have fought him, but durſt not without orders, ſo came for England. De Ruyter took twelve of the company's ſhips at anchor at Cape de Verd, with the fort. The frigate got away. He deſtroyed all the factories on the coaſt of Guinea. A ſquadron was ordered againſt de Ruyter of twelve ſhips, under prince Rupert, of third, fourth, and fifth rates, with ſix company's ſhips of forty guns each; but Opdam being to ſecond de Ruyter, prince Rupert waited at Spithead till a further recruit. Some ſecond, third, and fourth rates were ordered to join him in November.

The fleet had been much increaſed in the uſurpation; yet, by changes and revolutions, after Oliver Cromwell's death, was but in an ill condition at the reſtoration. Naval ſtores were much exhauſted; magazines entirely empty. The parliament gave 1200,000 *l.* The King, underſtanding the true intereſt of the nation, and having a particular inclination to maritime affairs, ordered 800,000 of it for the fleet. The moſt part was laid out in naval ſtores, and in filling the magazines, to be ready to fit out the fleet. He encouraged the Eaſt India, Turkey, Hamburgh, Canary, and other companies of trade. He ſet up one for Guinea, neceſſary for the ſupport of the plantations, and for hindering

the Dutch from being abſolute maſters of the whole trade; and, by the induſtry of Sir Richard Ford and other merchants, got the ſecret from the Dutch of dying ſays of ſuch a colour as the blacks liked, and giving them the ſame ſmell, in packing up, as the Dutch uſed to do at Leyden, from whence all the ſays ſent to Guinea were brought before. 1664.

The Dutch, during the civil wars in England, had encroached every where on the Engliſh trade; and had diſpoſſeſſed the Engliſh of Cormantine caſtle, on the gold coaſt. The duke of York, at the ſetting up of the African company, had borrowed two ſhips of the King, and ſent them, under Sir Robert Holmes, with ſome of the company's ſhips and a few land men. They ſeized the fort at Cape de Verd, retook the caſtle of Cormantine, and left garriſons in both. They ſettled factories of the company's all along the coaſt. Some time after, the king gave to the duke a patent for Long Iſland, in the Weſt Indies, and a tract of Land beteween New England and Maryland, which always belonged to the crown of England, ſince firſt diſcovered; and upon which the Dutch had encroached, during the rebellion, and built a town and ſome forts to ſecure the beaver trade to themſelves. The duke of York, borrowing of the King two ſhips of war, ſent Sir Richard Nicholas groom of the bed-chamber, and an old officer, with three hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of the country; which the Dutch gave up, on compoſition, without being blockaded. Moſt of the Dutch inhabitants remained there. The reſt were of Old England inhabitants, and ſome of other nations, who had planted there, at firſt, with the Engliſh. Colonel Nicholas remained there, in peaceable poſſeſſion of the country; and then called it New York and the Fort of River Albany.

All this happened before the breaking out of the firſt Dutch war; and, as the duke of York did all on his ſide to advance trade, the parliament, preſſed by the King, did all on theirs to make it flouriſh, by the Act of Navigation, &c. for encouraging trade and building ſhips. All the people's heads, hearts, and purſes turned that way. They began, therefore, to enquire into the injuries and depredations of the Dutch, during the late civil wars, in all trading parts of the world; and, at laſt, the houſe of commons entered into it; and the nation in general concluded, that ſatisfaction ſhould be had of the Dutch. But this was impracticable without a war. The Dutch would give no ſatiſ-

1664. faction or redreſs to the merchants, for the injuries done them; believing that the nation would not enter into the merchants quarrel, at the expence of a ſea war; eſpecially as the chancellor Hyde was averſe to a war, and the King not inclined to it. But by the impetuoſity of the members of the houſe of commons, as well as the traders and ſeamen, who uſed to get the better of the Dutch in Oliver Cromwell's time, the chancellor could not withſtand the bent of the whole nation, which drew it on ſooner than otherwiſe it would have been.

The duke of York told Van Gough, the Dutch ambaſſador, that it would be carried againſt the King and the chancellor's inclinations, unleſs ſatisfaction was given: but in vain. De Wit, having had a private power from the States, with the advice of three or four more of their body, to do what he judged beſt for the public good, on advice of what Sir Robert Holmes had done, ſent private orders to de Ruyter, then in the Streights with twelve men of war, to take in a ſufficient ſupply of victuals at Cadiz, and ſail for Africa; to take the caſtle of Cormantine, and to ruin all the factories on the gold coaſt. Lawſon found, by the ſort of victuals, de Ruyter's deſign; but, in a council of war, it was reſolved not to attack him without orders.

The duke of York, in November 1664, put to ſea, with forty men of war, to ſtop Opdam between Portland and la Hogue. After four or five days, he returned to Portſmouth; Opdam having orders not to ſtir. A ſmall ſquadron was left to cruize off the Iſle of Wight.

1665. EXTRACT I.

1665. March 15th. One the fifteenth of March, the duke of York went to Gunfleet, the general rendevous of the fleet, and haſted their equipment; yet was not ready in five weeks. He ordered all the flag-officers on board with him every morning, to agree on the order of battle and rank. In former battles no order was kept; and this, under the duke of York, was the firſt, in which fighting in a line and regular form of battle had been obſerved.

May. In the beginning of May, the duke of York put to ſea, with a fleet of ninety-eight men of war; the greateſt England had ever ſeen. The duke himſelf in the Royal Charles. The Dutch not appearing, the duke

duke reſolved to viſit them on their own coaſt. He anchored near the mouth of the Texel, and viewed all their fleet in the harbour. They ſet up beacons, fearing a landing. The duke, after taking ten Dutch merchant-men, returned to Gunfleet, to repair and take in freſh water; and went out again, on the thirtieth of May, making all the uſe he could of the tide, becauſe the eaſt wind would bring the Dutch upon the Engliſh coaſt; and the duke could not, till June 1ſt, get to Southwold bay, where he anchored; and about one *p. m.* the Dutch fleet appeared to windward, conſiſting of an hundred and thirteen men of war, eleven fire ſhips, and ſeven yauchts, under Opdam. Some of the greateſt of the Engliſh ſhips had gone, that morning, to make up their compliment, out of a great fleet of colliers paſſing by, and bound for London. The wind, which was ſtill eaſterly, fell, towards evening, ſo low, that no great way could be made; yet both fleets endeavoured to get what wind there was. 1665.

On the ſecond of June, the Dutch were not ſeen till ten in the morning. The Duke, with a freſh gale, ſtood towards them, with thirty of his beſt ſailers, but thought fit to keep about two leagues diſtance, till all the fleet joined; then, in order, he advanced forwards; ſo that, before cloſe of evening, both were within two leagues of one another. The duke was then about eight leagues eaſt of Leoſtoff, and the weather calm all the night. June.

About two next morning, the Dutch were diſcovered lighting their matches and preparing for fight. They obſerved the ſame order of battle as the Engliſh, all in a line. At day-break, a freſh gale aroſe at ſouth-weſt; and the duke got the wind. The white ſquadron had the van, and Sir C. Myres, who fired the firſt ſhot, led it; whilſt the Dutch were led on by three flag ſhips, Tromp, Courtenaer, and Stellingwers.

At three in the morning, the fight began †. When the Dutch van came up, the duke ordered the ſignal to be given for his whole fleet to tack; but the ſailor, who had got up the maſt to give the ſignal, was ſo long about it, that before he could let the flag fly, Opdam had, with the van, bore up round, ſhip after ſhip, and brought his ſtarboard tacks on board; which the enemy's van ſeeing, ſprung their luff, hoping

† The two accounts that follow of this battle, are almoſt in every circumſtance new to the world.

1665. to weather moſt of the white ſquadron. The duke obſerving this, ſtopped the intended ſignal, leſt it might put the whole fleet in diſorder; and, inſtead of bearing up round, as moſt of the white had done, he tacked only when it came to his turn. This little accident loſt above ſix hours; and then the duke gave the ſignal; whereby the whole fleet tacked at once. Both fleets had now their ſtarboard tacks on board, and lay as cloſe hauled as they could. But the Dutch found great benefit by this accident: for had the ſignal been given as ſoon as it was intended, both the Engliſh and they would have had their larboard tacks on board, and would have ſtood towards the coaſt of England; ſo that, when the Dutch gave way, they would have been more expoſed, by having a greater run to make toward their own coaſt.

In the two firſt paſſes, little damage was done. The Dutch only took the Charity, of fifty guns; a ſlow ſailer, which had been taken from them in the firſt Dutch war. Both fleets endeavoured to get the wind. The Duke of York, in the Royal Charles, a very good ſailer, got a-head of the earl of Sandwich, who was in the Prince, a heavy ſailer, though the ſtouteſt ſhip in the fleet. Had not the duke done ſo, the Dutch would have ſtretched out-a head, and might have weathered him. The duke, with the red ſquadron, had now the van, the blue the battle, and the white the rear.

The heat of the engagement began at ten in the morning; a freſh gale at ſouth-weſt, and not a cloud in the ſky. The duke bore down on Opdam. About two *p. m.* the Dutch fire began to diminiſh. Opdam was blown up at the third ſhot of the duke's gunner. All the Dutch fleet ran, except the Orange, commanded by Sebaſtian Seaton, a Scot, who attempted to board the duke of York; but was hindered, by Sir Jeremy Smith, who by a broadſide killed ſixty of his men; and the Royal Catherine pouring in another, the Orange ſtruck. The Marſoman of eighty guns and two other Dutch ſhips were burnt, by a fire-ſhip, after they had ſtruck. The duke ordered the captain of the fire-ſhip to be tried; but he fled before the time appointed for his trial. The Dutch were chaſed to the mouth of the Texel, but they got in, the Engliſh having no fire-ſhip to faſten on them. The duke ſtood out to ſea again; and returned to the buoy at the Nore. He ſent ſcouts to watch the Dutch, who took two of their ſhips of forty guns. The command of the fleet, by the King's orders, was left to the earl of Sandwich;

wich; and the duke of York, with prince Rupert, went to court. The plague in London. The duke ſent to York. The parliament at Oxford. They vote 120,000l. to the duke of York. 1665.

EXTRACT II.

The duke of York went from London, on the twenty-third of March, to Gunfleet, the general rendevous, to take the command of the fleet; but could not ſail till the beginning of May. Yet he did not loſe his time. He called the officers on board of him every morning, and ſettled the orders of battle and watch. For though they fought well in Oliver Cromwell's time, they obſerved not due order; and bravery alone carried it. The war, this year, was the firſt in which the fleet was drawn up in a line and in order. March.

The fleet conſiſted of ninety-eight ſhips of the line: three firſt rates, eleven ſecond, fifteen third, thirty-two fourth, eleven fifth, and twenty-ſix merchant-ſhips, armed with forty or fifty guns; four fire-ſhips, three ſixth rate frigates, and three yachts, beſides ketches. The duke of York commanded the red, admiral Lawſon vice admiral, and Sir William Berkeley rear admiral. Prince Rupert, vice admiral of the fleet, commanded the white ſquadron, Sir Chriſtopher Mimmes and captain Sampſon his vice and rear admirals. The earl of Sandwich, rear admiral of the fleet, commanded the blue, and Sir George Ayſcue and captain Tiddeman his vice and rear admirals.

In May the duke ſailed toward Holland, and then from Scheveling to the Texel, where he ſaw the Dutch fleet at anchor. He ſteered ten leagues off, to let the fleet come out. About nine in the morning, the fog clearing up, he ſaw ten Dutch merchant ſhips, eſcorted by two men of war; which laſt eſcaped, but the merchant ſhips, were all taken. A ſtorm deſtroying the maſts of ſome of the ſhips, he returned to Gunfleet to refit and take in water. May.

About the end of May he ſailed again; and, expecting the Dutch fleet at ſea, as it proved, got, on the firſt of June, with great difficulty, to Southwold bay. Two ſcout ſhips, which were ſent towards Holland, under captain Golding of the Diamond, and captain Ayliffe of the Yarmouth, took two Zealand direction-ſhips. Five hundred coalliers

paſſed

1665. paſſed by him without an eſcort; and, about an hour after, the Dutch fleet, one hundred and thirteen ſhips of the line, and thirteen fire ſhips, appeared, under Opdam, a brave man, but no ſeaman. Tromp, under him, commanded the Amſterdam ſquadron. J. Evertſon admiral of Zealand, and Stellingwers of Friezland.

June. The next day, June the ſecond, at day-break, the Dutch fleet were not ſeen; nor were they ſeen till ten. Two leagues off, ſome Engliſh ſhips were preſſing ſailors out of the coalliers, to make up their equipage. The duke of York ſailed towards them; and, before night, eight leagues eaſt of Leoſtoff, came within a ſmall league of the Dutch.

The next day, June the third, the Dutch fleet were found in a line, like the Engliſh. A little wind, S. W. roſe at day-break; the fight began at three; being the firſt day that could be found for an engagement. The ſea was ſmooth, and not a cloud in the ſky. Sir J. Lawſon was wounded in the knee, by a great ſhot; his ſhip diſabled, and forced to lay by torefit; and all his diviſion, not yet well verſed in fighting orders, did ſo to look after their flag. The duke of York, with only four or five ſhips a-head of him, bore the hotteſt of the fight. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muſkerry, and Mr. Boyle were all ſlain with one ſhot, as they ſtood on the quarter-deck, by the duke of York. The earl of Marlborough and his nephew, the earl of Portland, were alſo ſlain. Muſkerry was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to the duke of York, a brave man, and a good foot officer. Falmouth, a good horſe officer, and captain of the duke of York's guards. Boyle, who had never been in any ſervice before, was the earl of Burlington's ſon.

By the fire of the duke of York's loweſt tier of guns, at the third ſhot, gun after gun, Opdam blew up, and the Dutch fleet all fled. About half an hour after two, four of their ſhips fell foul of one another, and, the duke ordering a fire-ſhip to clap them a board, they were all fired in a moment; and the men, jumping into the ſea, were taken up. The fourth ſquadron of the Dutch appearing to weſtward, the duke of York lay by, whilſt the body of the fleet followed the chaſe. The Duke of York getting again on head of the Dutch, three more of their ſhips fell foul of one another, about ſix *p. m.* and were burnt by a fire-ſhip. Very few were ſaved. The Dutch were purſued till night; and had it

not

not been for an accident *, moſt of them would have been taken next morning before they got into the Texel. 1665.

When it began to grow dark, the duke ordered the Norwich, a fifth rate, captain Witwang, to keep juſt a-head of him all night, to carry lights out, and keep up cloſe with the Dutch; that, if they ſhould clear their courſe, to fire guns and make falſe fires, to put up more lights, and to ſteer the ſame courſe with them; ſo as not to loſe them in the night, in order to engage them at day-break. After giving theſe orders, he ſtaid on deck till quite dark; then went down to his cabin for a little reſt. But before he laid down, he went again on the quarter-deck, to ſee how all went; and, going down about eleven, he repeated his orders, to be ſure to keep cloſe up with the Dutch, to fight them when the day broke. He had no ſooner laid himſelf down on a quilt, with his cloaths on, than H. Brounker went up to the quarter-deck, and tried to perſuade captain Cox, maſter of the Royal Charles, to ſhorten ſail, not to expoſe the duke of York, by running amongſt his enemies in the night; his ſhip being ſo good a ſailer, that not only he might find himſelf, at day-break, too far engaged among them, but be alſo expoſed to have ſome of their fire-ſhips clapt on board him, and thwart his hauſe, in the night: that he ſhould take care of the duke's perſon, being heir to the crown. Cox anſwered, he was but maſter of the ſhip; that the duke of York had ordered to make what ſail he could; and, without a command from him, or an order from ſome ſuperior officer, he neither could nor would do it.

Brounker then addreſſed himſelf to captain Harman, firſt lieutenant, a brave and experienced commander, and a man of good ſenſe, uſing the ſame and other arguments; but in vain, unleſs ordered by Sir W. Pen, the captain. Brounker went under deck, and coming up again, told Harman that the duke ordered him to ſhorten ſail, though he never ſo much as went into the duke's cabin. Harman not thinking it poſſible for a gentleman to tell a lye, not only ſhortened ſail, but, after ſome time, brought to; as was afterwards proved, on examination of the affair before the houſe of commons. But fearing it might produce ſome

* Burnet aſcribes it prepoſterouſly to deſign. He has ſtrangely miſrepreſented this fact; and indeed almoſt all the facts, concerning this unfortunate prince.

1665. diſorder in the fleet, as it did, he put in a ſhort time before the wind again, and ſettled his topſails a little; and juſt as day began to break, hoiſted them a trip again, a moment before the duke, who knew nothing of what had paſſed, came on the quarter-deck.

Thus the Dutch got a good deal a-head of us; and when it grew light, the duke of York found himſelf half a league a-ſtern of the Dutch, and the like diſtance a-head of the body of his own fleet, with only the Centurion, a fourth rate, captain Moulton, and two of his yachts near him. He fancied his ſhip being a good ſailer made him ſo far a-head of his own fleet; and that the Dutch had outſailed him, by our going right before the wind, and their drawing leſs water than us. The Dutch kept all their ſail to the Texel, followed by third and fourth rates, who took ſome. But the tyde not ſerving to enter the Texel, they came to an anchor ſo near the ſands and in ſuch ſhallow water, that we durſt not venture near them with our great ſhips; and they were of too much force, and too numerous, for our ſmall ones. Four or five fire-ſhips would have deſtroyed the moſt of them, before the tyde turned them in. But we had only four fire-ſhips when the fight began; three of which were ſpent, and one diſabled. The third had been ſpent on the Helverton of ſixty-ſix guns, which cleared itſelf of her, but was taken. The Dutch loſt twenty or twenty-two men of war; all above fourty guns but one. Eight only were burnt; and about eight thouſand priſoners taken. Four admirals were ſlain, Opdam, Courtenaer, Stellingwerts, and Seram; one vice admiral and one rear admiral. Ten thouſand men were either ſlain, drowned, burnt, taken or wounded. Not above eight hundred Engliſh ſlain and wounded, beſides what were loſt in the Charity. Sir J. Lawſon died of the wound in his knee. The duke of York returning to the Buoy at the Nore, the earl of Sandwich was left in the command of the fleet; and he went to intercept de Ruyter and the Dutch Eaſt India fleet and ſhips, coming round from the Streights, by the back of Ireland and Scotland. The duke would have gone to ſea again, but the King would not permit him.

The plague broke out in London. The King went to Saliſbury. He ſent, at the ſame time, the duke of York to York, to take care of the northern counties; and left the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Craven, with half of the foot guards and a troop of horſe, to take care

of

of London, leſt the republicans and fanatics, encouraged by the Dutch, 1665.
ſhould riſe. The duke of York knew nothing of Brounker's affair, till the parliament met at Oxford, in October; when he was very angry, that it had been concealed from him. The houſe of commons examining it, the duke was hindered from trying Brounker by a court-martial. He withdrew into France; and the houſe of commons only expelled him.

The faction at court, againſt the chancellor, began to increaſe. The ducheſs of Cleveland, then promoting Buckingham and Arlington, railed againſt him. Sir William Coventry and all laboured to ſet the houſe of commons againſt the chancellor. They adviſed the King to break the Canary company, who took off every year two hundred thouſand pounds of our woollen manufactures; and had the wines very cheap, being maſters of the trade. When the company was broke, the Canarians made them pay twice as much for wines, and would take nothing but ready money. The reaſon was plain: the firſt ſhip which arrived there, not caring what ſhe paid for loading, being ſure of ſelling it as ſhe pleaſed, at her return to England; the Canarians made the reſt pay the ſame rate, which could not happen to a company. Briſtol's attacks on the chancellor, in the houſe of Lords, miſcarried. The King ſupporting the chancellor, Briſtol harangued the commons, without leave from the lords.

1666. EXTRACT I.

The French join the Dutch againſt the Engliſh. The Engliſh fleet is 1666.
commanded by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle. The four May.
days fight.

In the ſecond engagement, the victory was entirely on the Engliſh July.
ſide. One hundred and fifty Dutch were deſtroyed, with two men of war, by Sir R. Holmes, at Schevlin. The fire in London. Thirteen thouſand houſes and eighty-nine pariſh churches were burnt. The parliament met, in an ill-humour, and fell upon the Roman Catholics. They gave weak ſupplies. The chancellor, treaſurer-Southampton, and others, perſuade the King to ſave charges, by laying up firſt and ſecond rates; and only ſending out ſhips to intercept the Dutch trade,

1666. and make a defenſive war. The duke of York oppoſed it *; urging that our having no fleet at ſea would revive the ſpirits of the Dutch, and give them time and courage to fit out a fleet again; that what was ſaved, in laying up great ſhips, would be ſpent on the militia; and honour would be loſt, by letting the Dutch ride maſters of the ſea, under our noſes.

EXTRACT II.

The houſe of commons giving but little money, the treaſurer-Southampton propoſed carrying on the war another way; and the duke of Albemarle gave into the project of laying up firſt and ſecond rates, to make a defenſive war, and to incommode the Dutch in trading, and weary them out of patience.

EXTRACT III.

Sept. The fire in London began in the night, between Saturday and Sunday, September the ſecond, O. S. in a baker's houſe in Thames-ſtreet. The lord mayor declined ſoldiers, and ſcrupled blowing up houſes. The fire ſpread; and, about noon, he ſent for the troops. The earl of Craven ſent lord Duras, with what he deſired. The duke of York went in the evening. A ſtrong north-eaſt wind hindered them from approaching to the fire, by the tourbillons of ſmoke and flames. The houſes of wood fired at a diſtance, ſo that the troops and labourers could ſcarce retire. An old woman propoſed blowing up houſes by powder.

1667. EXTRACT I.

1667. June. The Dutch burnt the ſhips at Chatham, in June, and carried away the Charles, a firſt rate. A treaty of peace was concluded on the ninth of July, and proclaimed on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt. The diſaffected party, now encouraged, grew more turbulent. The earl of Northumberland's factious diſcourſe to the duke. The King conſents to the chancellor's removal. The earl of Briſtol's inſolent diſcourſe to the King, in 1664, about Clarendon. He was inexcuſable for oppoſing the King's declaration, for liberty of conſcience, in 1664, which had been

* Yet he has been always blamed, for adviſing this meaſure.

ſolicited

ſolicited by Roberts, Aſhley, and others in parliament, to declare as at Breda; and it had been reſolved in the chancellor's own lodgings. The ducheſs of Cleveland was againſt the chancellor; and the Canary company broke merely out of ſpite to him. 1667.

The King, at length, ordered the duke of York to acquaint the chancellor, that he was obliged, for the good of his affairs, to lay him aſide. The earl immediately ſent him the ſeals. The parliament thanked the King for it, and for turning all Roman Catholics out of his ſervice. Clarendon impeached*. Sir William Coventry was active in it. His prudence and honeſty, in rejecting a propoſal made by the preſbyterian party; who deſigned, thereby, a diviſion between the King and the duke of York. He retires to France. Auguſt.

EXTRACT II.

The houſe of commons were weary of the war, which they had forced the King into. The miniſters deſired peace, the parliament not ſupplying the King to carry on the war with vigour. This cauſed the difference; ſince the money would not ſuffice to fit out the whole fleet. The duke of York oppoſed this ſcheme, thinking it would have a contrary effect: for though the laſt year's ſucceſs was not great, we loſing ten, and the Dutch but four, men of war; yet the Dutch ſeamen were ſo diſcouraged, by the valour of the Engliſh, when overpowered and unable to reſiſt them, on equal numbers, that it would be very hard for them to man their fleet; and then they would be forced to take the ſame reſolution propoſed by the lords, and might probably propoſe a peace. But if our great ſhips were laid up, their fleet would not want men; and though the money was ſhort, yet, with good huſbandry and other means, the whole fleet might be fitted out: though the project might ſave the King money, yet it would be burdenſome to the nation; for the Dutch being maſters at ſea, all the militia upon the coaſt muſt neceſſarily be raiſed and kept in arms during the Summer. He urged alſo, the danger the great ſhips would run at Chatham. He, however, did not prevail; the Chancellor joining with the others againſt it.

* The motion was made, in the houſe of commons, by the duke of Albemarle's ſon, a youth of fifteen years of age. This was an artifice of the party, to engage the duke thoroughly on their ſide.

1667. This ſo encouraged the Dutch ſeamen, that their fleet was ſoon and fully manned. They came up to the Buoy at the Nore. They deſtroyed ſeven ſhips at Chatham, and carried away the Charles, a firſt rate; and, had they preſſed vigorouſly on, they might have done more miſchief. Had the directions given by the duke of York, for ſecuring the ſhips at Chatham, been executed, and the fire-ſhips and boats uſed, as projected, the Dutch had not found ſo eaſy a work as they did. The diſaffected, in parliament, made uſe of this diſaſter. Private meetings of the great ones were held, with the preſbyterians, who were ever ready to diſturb monarchy.

The earl of Northumberland and Leiceſter, lord Hollis, and another, met at Guilford. They made it no ſecret. Northumberland, at St. James's, talked freely to the duke of York, againſt the chancellor, who was hated, and of the reſolution to impeach him; but ſaid, that was not all, the nation would not be ſatisfied, unleſs the guards were diſbanded, and other grievances redreſſed. He talked very ſeditiouſly, though the duke checked him. The earl told him, that he had ſaid nothing, but what he would repeat to the King the next day; as he did, with inſolence enough. The duke urged, in vain, the neceſſity of the guards, for the King's ſafety, and national quiet; that the want of them had been fatal to the late King and his government. The ſeditious ſtuck to their point, and joined with the chancellor's enemies; hoping that his impeachment would breed a quarrel, between the King and the duke of York.

The King took the ſeals from the chancellor. He told the duke of York of the reſolution; that it was not out of any diſſatisfaction with the chancellor, but the neceſſity of his affairs; and that it was better to do it of himſelf than let it be torn from him by the parliament. He ordered the duke to tell him, that he muſt ſend the ſeals; and, to ſhew his regard for him, he would confirm the little private penſion he uſually received. The chancellor ſent the ſeals; and told the duke of York, that his enemies would not ſtop there, but proceed to the laſt degree to expoſe the King and crown, to accompliſh his ruin. So it proved.

The parliament met, on the tenth of October. Sir T. Littleton moved thanks to the King, for his ſpeech and for taking the great ſeal from

from Clarendon; and to conſider the heads of the King's and the lord keeper's ſpeeches. The clauſe about Clarendon would hardly have paſſed, had not the King ordered his ſervants to let it be known he deſired it; and Clarendon charged his friends not to oppoſe it, being reſolved to let none of his private concerns diſturb the King's affairs. The ſame means were uſed, in the houſe of lords, when they were moved to join in the addreſs, elſe it had not paſſed there. When it came to a vote, the duke of York and ſeveral others withdrew, not to oppoſe the King, as they looked on it, as an ill precedent for the crown. 1667.

On the twenty-ſixth of October, the chancellor was accuſed, on public fame; and a committee was appointed to conſider of proceedings and precedents. That very day, the duke of York, in diſcourſe with the King, about the talk of Clarendon's adviſing him to govern by an army and lay aſide parliaments; the King aſſured him, that he had never given him ſuch advice. His enemies conſidered not public good, but private malice; and, getting to the head of affairs, give the King and crown a fatal blow. The King ſoon found the effects. The duke of York was ſeized with the ſmall-pox, in the beginning of November; and before his recovery the heat of the proſecution was over, elſe he would have been charged, with influencing the lords not to impriſon Clarendon. Buckingham and lord Berkeley were ſo malicious, as in their common diſcourſe, to inſinuate, that the King was in danger, by letting his brother have his own guards to wait on himſelf at Whitehall; none knowing what the duke might be prevailed on to do, by the chancellor and his ducheſs. Some preſbyterians ſent to Clarendon, offering to ſtand by him, if he would ſtand by himſelf. He ſaw their malice; and the King, apprehending heats in the houſe of commons, ſent to him to withdraw out of the realm privately. Clarendon, as the duke was recovering, ſent him word of the meſſage and his reſolution to obey it. The preſbyterians were very angry, at his diſappointing them. November.

Thus fell the earl of Clarendon; from whoſe fall one may date the beginning of all the misfortunes, which happened ſince, and the decay of the authority of the crown; he generally ſupporting that prerogative, which his ſucceſſors never minded. He was a private gentleman of a good family, bred in the law, had good ſenſe, and very eloquent; al-

1667. ways eſteemed for his good parts. He was choſen by the late King a private manager for him in the houſe of commons, which he performed, with great dexterity and fidelity. He was intruſted, at court, with the moſt ſecret affairs; for his ſervices, made chancellor of the Exchequer; one of the council to the prince of Wales; relied on and went with him to France. He was ſent ambaſſador, with Cottington, then lord treaſurer, to Spain. He returned to the King, at Paris; and was made his firſt miniſter. He had the management of the reſtoration, with Monk and Sandwich. At the reſtoration, he was in ſuch favour with the King, that no body durſt oppoſe him. He carried all before him. He made his friend, Southampton, treaſurer; and, by the aid of the duke of Ormonde and the biſhops, was careſſed by moſt. As to the crown, he let the court of Wards and Purveyance be parted with. But he did not get a good ſubſtantial revenue ſettled on the crown, though it might have been eaſily done, in the firſt parliament, which the King called. This was out of fear, that the crown ſhould grow too great and the Roman Catholic religion be brought in, if the King was at his eaſe; the duke of Ormonde and Daniel O'Neile having, in the King's journey to Spain, obſerved him inclined to it.

The new miniſtry, to gain popularity, at the expence of the crown, releaſed ſeveral dangerous men; all avowed republicans and old officers of Cromwel's army. Of theſe was major Wildman, who had oppoſed all the ſeveral governments, colonel Salmon, Mr. Creed, Mr. Bremen and others; men of good ſenſe, who had great credit with the common men and diſbanded officers of the rebel army; and whoſe confinement the duke of Albemarle adviſed, as abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the government, they only wanting an opportunity to overturn it. They had ſtill plots on foot, though diſcovered by the duke of Albemarle, and ſome executed for deſigned riſings, as Rymer, Tong, and others, in the North; others for murdering the King, as one Bradford or Bradley and others, in Tothilfields, at the review of a militia regiment.

Clarendon being removed, his enemies divided; each pretending to ſucceed, in the miniſtry. Sir William Coventry, without whoſe help Buckingham and Arlington could not have carried on the plot, expected it, and was the only man fit for it. But the other two joining againſt him, though

though of the beſt capacity of any in the kingdom, got him out of all his employments; and then ſtrove who ſhould have moſt credit with the King, whoſe affairs ſuffered by their diſagreement and inſufficiency. 1667.

1668. EXTRACT I.

After the chancellor's removal, the miniſters diſagreed among themſelves. Sir William Coventry was turned out of all his employments, by Bucks and lord Arlington. They all joined to leſſen the duke of York's intereſt with the King, leſt he ſhould get Clarendon recalled. When the duke recovered of the ſmall-pox, he gave, in the houſe of lords, his reaſons, for voting againſt Clarendon's impeachment; becauſe no proof was made of any of the crimes laid to his charge. The King was, on this account, colder to the duke. The malicious inſinuations of his enemies were fruitleſs. The chancellor's friends were removed. Wildman and others were releaſed. The duke of Ormonde was removed. Bucks and Arlington labour to ſupplant one another. The duke of York's enemies, Bucks and Briſtol, would divorce the King from the Queen, alſo the republican party. Briſtol goes *incog.* to Parma to find out a new wife for the King, among the duke of Parma's daughters. The duke of York cautioned the King againſt it. Lord Roos's divorce was carried on in parliament, for a precedent. 1668.

EXTRACT II.

They fell on ſeveral of the chancellor's relations and friends. They got ſome removed, and others ſuſpended, from waiting. They brought in their own creatures, many of them not fit for their employments. The duke of Buckingham got leave to buy the duke of Albemarle's poſt of maſter of the horſe; which before, when any had a mind to treat for it, was refuſed, on pretence, that it was not proper for the old general to quit it. Secretary Morris not being a man for their turn, Buckingham and Arlington joined to bring in Trevor, a creature of theirs, though not proper for ſuch a place of truſt; having only been acquainted with matters of ſtate under Oliver Cromwell, with whom he had been very great. This ſcandalized loyal men very much. But the two new miniſters minded not much what was ſaid of them; and

1668. they got the King to pay for the change, though money was hard enough to be got. This being done, they began to think of removing Ormonde from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. 'Twas the earl of Orery who firſt put Buckingham on it; which earl was famous for changing parties ſo often, and for making a ſpeech to Cromwell, to take the title of King. His tongue was well hung. He had ſome good parts; and he was reckoned ſo cunning a man, that nobody would truſt him or believe what he ſaid.

ARLINGTON, at firſt, would not join with them, againſt his friend, the duke of Ormonde; but, at laſt, they threatened him into it. The earl of Angleſey, who then was, or lately had been, vice-treaſurer of Ireland, and who had no great kindneſs for Ormonde, hoping, by that means, to frighten him to join with them in it, to ſave himſelf, which he did. Though he had been an old rebel, he was very inſtrumental in the reſtoration; and was, therefore, made an earl. There might be ſome reaſon for their accuſation of miſmanagement of the revenue, by not paying the troops and the civil liſts ſo regularly as they ought, and not minding the government duly; yet the method of proceeding againſt him was very irregular and ſcandalous; eſpecially to ſee one, who had always been ſo loyal, though he might, otherwiſe, have faults, arraigned and proſecuted, by men, who had been moſt of them downright rebels or worſe, as Buckingham *. The duke of York took his part; looking

* Though the following letters contain no material information, they may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſpect, which his royal highneſs always entertained for the duke of Ormonde. They were extracted, by the editor, from the Ormonde collection of papers, depoſited in the Bodleian library, at Oxford. They are all in the duke of York's own hand.

D. of York to the D. of Ormonde.

Hampton Court, Aug. 18th, 1662.

Ormonde Papers, B. 30. Bodleian library, Oxon.

I would not let this bearer, my lord Berkeley, go without writing to you by him to recommend him to your care now that he is going to you. I do not think it very neceſſary to ſay much to you upon this ſubject ſince you know him, and the good ſervices he has done the King my father, as well as I do, only this I ſhall ſay, that all the kindneſs you ſhall ſhow him I ſhall take it as done to me, and I hope that after he ſhall have been ſome tyme in that kingdom with you, that you will let him make a ſtep back hither againe, when he ſhall deſire it; having ſayd this there remains nothing els for me to ſay

at

ing on all that was laid to his charge, as falſe and malicious, and know- 1668.
ing the malice of his accuſers and their deſigns of getting all loyal men laid aſide; and putting in thoſe, who had been otherwiſe or could be abſolutely depended upon. They, at laſt gained their point, with regard to the duke of Ormonde; and lord Roberts, who had been an old rebel, was ſent in his room.

This

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at preſent, but to aſſure you that you ſhall find nobody more truly your friend than myſelf.

I had almoſt forgot to deſire you that when you write to me you will do it without ceremony as this is.

The ſame to the ſame.

St. James's, Sept. 14.

Though it is ſome tyme ſince I received yours by Sir W. Penn, yett I have not had occation to ſpeake with him upon what you wrote to me but ſhall not faile to do it, and you may be ſure that both in that and all things els I ſhall be very ready to further any thing propoſed by you. I am glad to hear you are a modelling the army to your minde, for when you have once compaſſed that, we ſhall find the good of it here, as well as you there; for the newſe of this place you will have it from others ſo that I ſhall not write any to you, nor ſay any more only to aſſure you that there is nobody on whoſe friendſhip you may more rely on them than myne. Ormonde Papers. B. 30. Bod. Library, Oxon.

The ſame to the ſame.

St. James's, Sept. 28th, 1662.

I could not refus this bearer Cap. Neale to write to you in his favor, which I now do, recommending him to your favor in the pretentions he has where you are, if they be reaſonable, he being one that ſerved me faithfully for theſe ten years as Cap. in my regiment. I ſhall ad no more ſince he is not unknown to you. This letter is likly to be ſomewhat long on the way, ſo that I ſhall ſay no more at preſent. Ormonde Papers, D. quarto. Bod. Library, Oxon.

The ſame to the ſame.

My Lord of Ormonde, Whitehall, March 18, 1663.

Though I have always had reaſon to be confident of your care in any thing, which might concern me, and therefore cannot doubt your aſſiſtance to render his Majeſtie's letter of 25th February, concerning my reprizals, effectual; yet I would not omitte the deſiring your particular care therein; not only for the advantage it will produce to me, but allſo for the ſatisfaction, which I receive from any marks of your kindneſs to Ormonde Papers, C. quarto. Bod. Library, Oxon.

Your moſt affectionat friend,

JAMES.

The

1668. This ſo encouraged them, that they believed they ſhould carry all before them; and jealous, that the duke of York might croſs their deſigns ſooner or later, and that he would not forgive them what they had done to chancellor Hyde, did all they could to miſrepreſent him to the King, and to make the King jealous of him; and not prevailing with the King, who knew his brother too well, they did all they could to provoke the duke to do ſome warm thing even to them, that they might have a ſubject to complain of him. They endeavoured to mortify him ſeveral ways. Some of their friends talked of taking the Admiralty from him, his troop of horſe guards and regiment of foot; and, by underhand means, endeavoured to perſuade the King to be divorced from the Queen as barren, and get another wife. They diſcourſed with lawyers about it, and got divines to write about its lawfulneſs; in which concurred the earl of Briſtol, another enemy of the duke's on Clarendon's account, who was ſo zealous in it, that he went privately into Italy, to ſee if there were any princeſſes there fit to be propoſed to the King. Others were, even then, for propoſing to the King to own the duke of Monmouth.

The earls of Carliſle and Shafteſbury were the perſons who gave this advice. But the duke of York knew not, that it was theſe two earls that propoſed it to the King, till the King told it to him, about the time of the Rye-houſe conſpiracy. The duke, advertiſed of the deſigns of his enemies, and finding that he had not credit enough with the King

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The ſame to the ſame.

My Lord of Ormonde, Whitehall, March 26th, 1663.

Ormonde Papers, C. quarto. Bod. Library, Oxon.

I underſtand both from my L[d] Fitzharding, and by letters out of Ireland, that the letter which his Majeſty was lately pleaſed to write to you concerning the aſſigning to me ſome lands in *Cuſtodiam* in order to my reprizals, is like to become an obſtacle to the grant which the King hath made to my L[d] Fitzharding, which I have reaſon to believe was not the King's intention in writing, nor, I am ſure, was not mine in obtaining that letter; and therefore if you have not already freed his grant from that obſtruction, I deſire you to do it, aſſuring you that I would very unwillingly receve an advantage of that nature to the prejudice of a perſon for whom his Majeſty as well as myſelf hath ſo great a kindneſs. I have nothing more to ad at preſent but the aſſuring you of my being

Your moſt affectionate friend,

JAMES.

to

to take public notice of it, or to have ſuch ill men continued no longer in his confidence, hoped, by patience, to weather the ſtorm, and give his enemies no advantage. They, ſeeing it, took all advantages of mortifying him, almoſt in every thing; but eſpecially in what concerned the admiralty. They hoped to weary him out of it, by obſtructing whatever he propoſed, though ever ſo fit or reaſonable; and getting ſome of their own creatures into employment there, whether the duke would or no. They got Sir T. Oſborne * and Sir T. Littleton made treaſurers of the navy; the firſt was Buckingham's friend, and the laſt Arlington's; without ſo much as ſpeaking, or making the leaſt application to the duke. Though the place and all patent offices are not in the admiral's gift, yet, by him they are recommended, and he gives his warrant to the attorney-general, to prepare the bill for the King's ſigning. The King ordered the duke to ſign it for them, without their or their friends making the leaſt application to him. This obſtructed Sir Jeremy Smith from being made a commiſſioner of the navy for ſome time, though an old ſea-commander, and abſolutely the fitteſt man in England for it. 1668.

Though theſe miniſters joined in mortifying the duke of York, they did not agree well together, each pretending to have the greateſt intereſt with the King; and they took all means to ruin one another. To this end, Bucks ſent a meſſage to the duke, by the earl of Berks, one of his great confidents, to offer his ſervice to him, in the beginning of December; and made great proteſtations of what he would do for him. The duke anſwered, that Buckingham had ſeveral times made profeſſions, but never had performed or kept his word; ſo that he could not truſt him. Beſides, it would do Buckingham no good, and himſelf harm; by affording Arlington an opportunity to repreſent to the King, that, as ſoon as the duke ſaw the King withdraw his favour from any of the miniſters, he joined with them. He looked on it too as below him, to join or meddle with any of their cabals; his buſineſs being to ſerve the King in

* Well known, under the ſucceſſive titles of the lord Latimer, earl of Danby, marquis of Caermarthen, and duke of Leeds. The duke afterwards recommended this Oſborne, whom he blames, to be lord-treaſurer, upon the reſignation of Clifford. It ought to be obſerved, that all theſe ſecret intrigues, mentioned by the duke, have been hitherto utterly unknown to the public. They throw light on a period little underſtood.

his

1668. his own way. Leſt Buckingham ſhould make any ſtory or miſrepreſentation of this, the duke gave the King an account of what had paſſed; but did not name the meſſenger.

Buckingham and lord Francis Villiers were bred up, with the King and the duke of York, at Richmond. They were both handſome, proper men; but unlike to one another, both in face and temper. When the rebellion broke out, they were ſent to travel; and, as I remember, returned not back to England till the King was made a priſoner. Their firſt appearance in action was with the earl of Holland, in a riſing for the King, in 1648, near Kingſton on the Thames; where they were routed by Sir Miles Liveſey, L. Francis ſlain, Holland taken, and the whole party diſperſed. Buckingham eſcaped beyond ſea and joined the prince; who, being bred up together, had almoſt a natural inclination for him. When he came to the crown, he gave him the garter, made him gentleman of the bedchamber, and was glad of any occaſion to ſhew him kindneſs. He took him with him, in all his journeys, from Holland to France; from Jerſey back, through France, to Holland and Scotland. Here he firſt began to ſhew his true temper. For, notwithſtanding the King's extraordinary kindneſs to him, he ſided with the marquis of Argyle; who, at the King's firſt arrival, had all the power in his hands, againſt the loyal party; and when the King had made an agreement, with his old friends, to eſcape from Argyle and head them, Buckingham refuſed to follow him. The King intruſted him with ſome papers, which he could not carry with him, and ſealed them up; charging him not to open them. But Buckingham, without any regard to the King's orders, opened them. All which the King paſſed over and took him along with him to Worceſter, from whence he eſcaped, as well as the King, to France, where the King continued as kind to him as ever.

He ſtayed ſome years in France; and finding friends among the government of England, to go over thither, the King conſented. But he had no ſooner arrived, than he made his court to Oliver Cromwell, by propoſing to marry one of his daughters. He railed and talked ſlightingly, of the King; and profeſſed, that he deſired nothing more, than to venture his life againſt Charles Stuart, as he then called him. This was to ingratiate himſelf with Oliver Cromwell, though it had the contrary effect. When a friend of Buckingham's ſaid this to Cromwell, he replied,

plied, that he would never give his daughter to one, who could be ſo ungrateful to the King; (Oliver Cromwell always calling the King ſo whenever he named him) he owing all he had to the family. Having failed there, he, with much ado, got lord Fairfax's daughter. Theſe actions were enough to give the King an ill opinion of him, which he ſhewed at his firſt coming into England, after the reſtoration. When the King came to Canterbury, where he firſt formed his council, Buckingham was the only man, of thoſe who had the honour beyond ſea, that was not called to it. But this mortification did not laſt long. He had ſo great an aſcendant over the King, and being pleaſant in his converſation, that he was brought into the privy council; and, by degrees, into the King's truſt and confidence. But being of ill principles, he abuſed the King's goodneſs, and joined with factious people againſt the crown, on ſeveral occaſions. He affected popularity, which he could not obtain, by his too airy wit and lewdneſs; and to be firſt miniſter, for which he wanted ſteddineſs and application. The duke of York adviſed him not to aim at what he was neither fit for nor could obtain; and to be content with the King's favour *. But he would not follow it, nor that of his friends about his eſtate, 20,000 l. a-year, at the reſtoration, which he ſquandered; and, before he died, none would truſt him or credit a word he ſaid. King James, at his acceſſion, was forced to give a 1000 l. a-year to his wife, for her ſubſiſtence. 1660.

It was lucky for the duke of York, that, at this time, Sir W. Armourer, a truly honeſt man, very ſtout, who had been eſquire to Charles the Firſt, and had ſerved as an officer all the war, and followed the King in exile, came bluntly to him †, and, in the preſence of three or four of his bedchamber, ſaid he had heard ſtrange news in the country, where it was warmly reported, that the King intended to diſband his brother's troop of guards and regiment of foot. The reaſons were, that he had ſo much diſobliged the King already, that it was not ſafe to let the duke have ſuch a body of men under his command; and he muſt ſecure himſelf from him, by putting it out of his power to revenge himſelf: That theſe and ſuch damned diſcourſes were all over the country. To which

* What follows, to the end of the paragraph, ſeems to have been written long after the reſt.

† The King.

the

1668. the King replied, it was the greateſt lye in the world; that it had never entered into his head; and, on the contrary, that he had all the kindneſs in the world for his brother; and were he maſter of more kingdoms than he had, he would truſt them all in his hands, ſuch was his confidence in him. Sir W. Armourer added, he heard it reported, that he deſigned to have the duke of Monmouth declared legitimate. A thought, he ſaid, which never entered into his head; that he abhorred it, and would endeavour to find out the authors of ſo villainous a report, and have them puniſhed. Theſe diſcourſes of the King, however, did not hinder the party to carry on their deſigns; and to inſinuate theſe thoughts into Monmouth, who ſwallowed the poiſon very eagerly.

About this time, the duke of York diſcourſed with the King, if he continued in the ſame mind, as to his religion; who aſſured him he did, and deſired nothing more than to be reconciled. About the end of December, he conſulted lord Arundel of Wardour, lord Bellaſis, Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, about it, who met Jan. 25, 1669; yet Arlington and others oppoſed the duke of York, as to the navy.

Sir William Coventry gave up his place, under the duke of York, when he joined in impeaching Clarendon, with Sir Thomas Oſborne, lieutenant-colonel Howard, Mr. Seymour, lord Vaughan, by Buckingham; Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir R. Temple, and Sir R. Car, by Arlington. Fearing the duke of York would get Clarendon recalled, the bill of baniſhment was brought in, by the King's leave. Shafteſbury made uſe of it, in Sir Thomas Bond's caſe. Buckingham, by his ill conduct, loſt all credit with the King. Arlington was a weak man and, with his pride, very timorous; yet had curſed cunning. He was ſupported by Sir Thomas Clifford, a man of good ſenſe, bold and generous, whom he had once obliged. He preſerved himſelf ſome years; but was laid aſide, by degrees. Sir Orlando Bridgman was an honeſt, but a weak man. To pave the way for the divorce, a bill was brought into the houſe, to give leave for lord Roos to marry; his wife being divorced for adultery. This was to ſerve as a precedent for the King. It was much puſhed by the party; and, with much ado, paſſed. The King promoted it. But it was the abſent proxies, and not the preſent lords, who carried it. The firſt were forty-one, againſt thirty-nine; but it was carried by the proxies. Of eighteen biſhops, only two voted for it:

it. One of thoſe was governed by his counſel, Sir Gilbert Gerard; and the other was a deiſt. 1668.

Buckingham and Briſtol were great promoters of the divorce. They ſaid, if the duke of York could be perſuaded to it, he would be laughed at and deſpiſed by all the world; if he oppoſed it, they hoped it would ruin him with the King. Doctor Burnet, a buſy, intriguing man, was one of the divines who wrote for it; and Sir Orlando Bridgman was conſulted about it. The King ſaid that, if his conſcience would allow him to divorce the Queen, it would ſuffer him to diſpatch her out of the world. Northumberland, Leiceſter, Hollis, Pierpoint, Onſlow, and others met at Guilford about it. Trevanion propoſed diſbanding an hundred of the three troops of horſe guards, and twenty of each company of foot. But the duke of York and Albemarle prevented it. They endeavoured to get an addreſs, to put the duke out of the admiralty, and put in others more acceptable to them; but it was dropt. Sir R. Temple brought in a bill for a triennial parliament. Lady Hervey, daughter of lord Montague, a very witty and intriguing *wench*, got well with Buckingham and Arlington; and brought lord Trevor to be ſecretary.

EXTRACT III.

In May, Buckingham bought the place of maſter of the horſe; giving the general a thouſand pounds a year, land inheritance, for it. It was almoſt concluded, before any body heard of it, to the wonder of all. Prince Rupert had a mind to it, ſome years before, and they had almoſt agreed. But the King refuſed his conſent, becauſe the general's quitting it would be prejudicial to his affairs. May.

In July, Buckingham's deſigns againſt the duke of Ormonde appeared. He, with ſome others, was appointed to inquire into the affairs of Ireland; and he held frequent meetings with the earl of Orrery. The army was ſome months in arrear. There were two hundred thouſand pounds of debt. The duke of York ſpoke to the King for Ormonde. July.

Secretary Morris was ſtruck at in September. He was ſucceeded by Sir John Trevor. Sept.

1668. The report of the Iriſh committee of council, at lord Orrery's houſe.—The earl of Angleſey was charged, in it, with near two hundred thouſand pounds of debt. He deſired a copy of the report, and time to anſwer, which were promiſed; but, on ſending for the copy, it was refuſed. On complaining of it, the King told him he ſhould have it. The committee hindered it; their report not being ſo perfect, as to be fit to be offered to the King, in council, till which it was not fit to give a copy to any.

Nov. The deſign of taking the admiralty from the duke of York, or to mortify him in it; and to diſband his troop of guards and regiment of foot.

Dec. On the firſt of December, Sir William Armourer told the King of the reports, as above.

1669. EXTRACT I.

1669. Macpherſon's Extracts. The duke ſpeaks of religion to the King, and finds him reſolved to be a Catholic. The King appoints a private meeting with lord Arundel, lord Arlington, and Sir Thomas Clifford, at the duke's cloſet, to adviſe on the methods to advance the Cath. religion, in his kingdoms. They met, on 25 of January. The King declared his mind, in matters of religion, with great zeal to the duke and other three perſons, at this private meeting. The reſult of the conſultation was, that the work ſhould be done in conjunction with France. The lord Arundel was accordingly ſent to treat with the French King; and the treaty was concluded the beginning of the year 1670. The French King was to give 200,000 *l.* a year. Plymouth, Hull, Portſmouth, placed in faithful hands. The troops were well affected. The D. of Buckingham ſeeks to ſupport himſelf, by favour of madame, with whom he manages a treaty with France. He ſent over Sir Ellis Leighton to treat with her. Neither the duke nor Arlington knew any thing of this treaty. The duke, after Leighton's return, had an account of it from himſelf. Nor were the generality of the church of England men, at that time, averſe to the R. C. religion.

In the mean time, the King kept the ſecret of his agreement with France, and ſuffered a mock-treaty to go on, that he might the better cover the real one; of which neither madame nor the duke of Buckingham had the leaſt knowledge. Buckingham's chief drift was to keep himſelf

himſelf at the head of the miniſtry. This management of the mock-treaty was kept a ſecret to the D. of York and Arlington. 1669.

In the beginning of Sept. 1669, the King and duke being hunting in the New Foreſt in Hampſhire, received news of the Q. mother's death, who died at Colombé near Paris. She was born on the 26th Nov. 1609; and married King Charles I. in 1625. After her great and many ſufferings, ſhe was comforted with the ſight of her ſon's reſtoration to his father's crown. She excelled in all the good qualities of a good wife, a good mother, and a good Chriſtian.

EXTRACT II.

A day or two before the King declared his reſolution, at the lord keeper's, of diſmiſſing Ormonde from the government of Ireland; Buckingham preſſed him, by his friend, to make good his promiſes to them. He ſent Ralph Montague to Arlington, to let him know he would have nothing to do with him, unleſs that affair was done in a day or two. Arlington went immediately to the King; and it was declared the next day, February the fourteenth. Carte's Extracts. Feb.

On the third of March, Sir William Coventry, for challenging Buckingham, was turned out of all his employments. March.

About this time, Buckingham went to Newhall, to perſuade the general to the breaking of parliament; and to reſign his poſt and accept that of the admiralty. But Albemarle refuſed to conſent to either. The ducheſs of Buckingham and lady Hervey met, at the ſame time, to adviſe the ducheſs of Albemarle to promote their views. April 18.

A report about an alliance with France. May.

In the beginning of June, the Queen miſcarried. Doctor Cox and doctor Williams were preſent. Buckingham inſtructed them to deny it; and to ſpread a report, that it was impoſſible for the Queen to have children. June.

The duke of York, at Tunbridge, aſſured Dr. Owen, that he had no bitterneſs againſt the non-conformiſts. He was againſt all perſecution, merely for conſcience ſake; looking on it, as an unchriſtian thing, and abſolutely againſt his conſcience. July.

1669. Auguſt. In Auguſt, the Queen-mother died. She was born on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1609. Salutes, at ſea, in the Mediterranean, regulated with Mr. Colbert.

Sept. The jealouſy, between Buckingham and Arlington, began now to be viſible to all the world; and Orrery encouraged Buckingham to it.

October. The duke of York moved the King, for ſomewhat out of the jointure of the Queen-mother, lately deceaſed.

Nov. The lords were angry, that a bill, about original cauſes and their own judicature, ſhould begin in the houſe of commons; and they reſolved to prepare another bill for the ſame purpoſe. Buckingham moved a clauſe for the trial of peers by the whole houſe.

EXTRACT II.

Buckingham's ridiculous fancies, as if the duke of York would have him murdered. The King laughed at it, and thought him unfit to be a miniſter. The duke converſed with father Symonds, a jeſuit, about religion, who confirmed him in his diſpoſition; and required him to quit the communion of the church of England. No diſpenſation could be granted for it; though he would be reconciled on any account. The duke ſpoke of the treaty with France; 200,000 *l.* a year, to be paid by quarterly payments. Colonel Fitzgerald was to have a new regiment, and be made governor of Yarmouth. Buckingham made a private treaty with madame, by means of Sir Ellis Leighton.

EXTRACT III.

Father Symons, a jeſuit, was diſcourſed with. Colbert, ambaſſador, and Sir Robert Beling draft articles with France. The treaty concluded and ſigned; 200,000 *l.* a year, by quarterly payments.

1670. EXTRACT I.

1670. Jan. On the third of January, the duke of Albemarle died. The duke of York, a little before, had adviſed the King not to make a general; it being too great a truſt even for himſelf. The Coldſtream regiment was given to the earl of Craven; and the general's troop of guards, called the Queen's.

EXTRACT

1670.

EXTRACT II.

The duke of Albemarle died on the third of January. The duke of York adviſed the King to have no general in chief; he not deſiring, for himſelf, ſo great a truſt. It was too great for any; and there was no need of it in the time of peace. Albemarle's regiment of foot was given to the earl of Craven, and made II. regiment of guards. His troop of guards was called the Queen's, and made the ſecond. Jan.

In February, the parliament met. Treaty with France. Lord Widdrington made governor of Berwick, Bellaſis of Hull, Bedford of Plymouth, the duke of York of Portſmouth, and Fitzgerald to be that of Yarmouth, with a regiment of foot. The bill to enable lord Roos to marry and declare his ſon a baſtard was carried on, with great violence, by Buckingham and others, for a precedent againſt the duke of York and the Queen, who oppoſed it. The King's countenance made it paſs. All the biſhops, except Coſens of Durham, old and doting, and Wilkins of Cheſter, a moral man, but no Chriſtian, were againſt it; ſo were the Roman Catholics and church of England lords. Feb.

EXTRACT III.

The King propoſed, to the two houſes, to raze out of their journals all that had paſſed about Skinner; as he had given orders to do, in the council-books and Exchequer. This expedient was propoſed to the King, two days before, by lord Aſhley, and agreed to. Feb. 22d.

A debate, till nine at night, whether lord Roos's bill be read a ſecond time. Fourty-one conſented, and fourty-two refuſed; proxies for the firſt, ſixteen; for the latter, ſix. All the biſhops, except Durham and Cheſter, were againſt it. A proteſt by two archbiſhops, ten biſhops, and all the Roman Catholic lords, but one. March 17th.

The ſaid bill paſſed the lords; fourty-two againſt thirty-five. Of fourteen biſhops preſent, all, but Cheſter, were againſt it. 28th.

EXTRACT IV.

About the beginning of May, in this year, madame, the K.'s only ſiſter now living, came to Dover to meet her brother, which ſhe long deſired Macpherſon's Extracts.

1670. deſired to do; which was now made eaſy for her, by his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's coming to view his new conqueſts in Flanders. This journey proved unfortunate in many reſpects. The private treaty had been, as has been mentioned, already ſigned by both the Kings, and ſome of the money paid. The French King, being deſirous to change the meaſures taken in the private treaty, ſent her to perſuade her brother to begin with the Dutch war. He was formerly averſe to her journey; and Monſieur, for reaſons of his own. She very willingly undertook this commiſſion, hoping to ingratiate herſelf with that King, and to be more conſidered in France, by ſhewing the power ſhe had with the K. her brother. She had, indeed, a mind to ſtay in England, not only out of love to her brother, but ſhe preſumed upon his temper and the aſcendant ſhe had over him; and believed, that if once ſhe could compaſs her living with him, ſhe might govern all things here. The duke foreſaw the ill-conſequences of her coming, and did not like it; and as dexterouſly as he could, without appearing downright againſt it, did almoſt hinder it. The duke being detained at London, madame, before his arrival at Dover, had already prevailed on the King to break through all the firſt meaſures, and to begin with the Dutch war. She had even gained Arlington and Clifford, and made them concur with her in the meaſure.

EXTRACT V.

May. Carte's Extracts. In May, madame came to Dover and met the King. The duke of York was againſt her coming; and was not preſent, when ſhe perſuaded the King to a war with Holland. The King was to have fifty men of war, and France thirty. She got Buckingham reſtored to the King's favour, and made him and Arlington friends. She died on the twenty-firſt of June, ſuſpected to be of poiſon. Buckingham was, ſoon after, ſent to France.

EXTRACT VI.

Before the duke of York came to Dover, madame had prevailed with the King to begin with the Dutch war. Arlington and Clifford, gained by her, concurred in her meaſures. The duke ſaid, it would unavoidably run the King in debt, and put him in the mercy of the parliament,

which was not likely to be in a good humour; and that they would not give ſufficient ſupplies for a war undertaken without their advice, and in conjunction with France. For theſe reaſons, they would not approve of it; and it would give them a jealouſy of the King's deſigns. His Majeſty anſwered, that fifty of his own ſhips, and thirty from France, would ſerve for the war. So that there was no danger of running in debt. The charge might eaſily be ſupported by the cuſtoms, eſtimated at 600,000 *l.* and, if the war ſucceeded, it was not much matter what people ſuſpected. The duke ſaid, though fifty ſhips might not coſt above 600,000 *l.* yet they could not look the Dutch in the face with eighty ſhips, ſuch as propoſed, and fireſhips proportionable; and keep convoys for trade and the preſervation of plantations, under near as much more; not to reckon the land forces. Madame reconciled Bucks to the King and Arlington. 1670.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, the news of the ducheſs of Orleans' death arrived. It was ſuſpected that counter-poiſons were given her. But when ſhe was opened, in preſence of the Engliſh ambaſſador, the earl of Aileſbury, an Engliſh phyſician and ſurgeon, there appeared no grounds of ſuſpicion of any foul play. Yet Bucks talked openly, that ſhe was poiſoned; and was ſo violent, as to propoſe to foreign miniſters to make war on France. June.

Buckingham was ſent to France, in return to the King of France's compliment by the marechal Bellefonds. The Dutch ambaſſador and others were alarmed at it; as it would break the triple alliance. July.

EXTRACT VII.

England and France join in war againſt Holland. France and prince of Orange, their parts. England ſhall have Caſſant, Walcheron, and the ports as far as Maeſland Sluys. Lord Arundel was ſent over. Colonel Fitzgerald came from Tangier, and was made colonel of a regiment of foot. Liberty of conſcience.

The ladies, Hervey and Trevor, bullied Arlington to give up the duke of Ormonde; and got Roberts made lord lieutenant. All was done as ſoon as it was poſſible to turn out the old cavaliers. Sir William Coventry was ſo provoked at Buckingham's railleries, as to ſend him.

1670. him a challenge, and it turned out a privy council affair, and he was turned out. Buckingham and Arlington differed. They both courted the duke of York, who was content to live civilly with the miniſters, and concur for the King's ſervice. But he would not engage with any one; and, as Buckingham was not to be relied on, he would have nothing to do with him. Buckingham had ſent his confident, Sir Ellis Leighton, to France privately, to madame, to propoſe a ſtricter alliance with France; and when it was known, he endeavoured to throw it on the duke of York and Arlington.

Oſborne and Littleton endeavoured to get the commiſſioners of the navy, who had been put in by the duke of York, turned out. But, on examining complaints, they ſhewed their own malice, and ignorance of naval affairs; and ſo failed. They oppoſed Sir Thomas Allen's commanding eighteen ſhips againſt the Algerines; and were for Sir Robert Holmes, becauſe he was ill with the duke of York, who wanted temper to command a ſquadron. They oppoſed Sir Jeremy Smith's being commiſſioner of the navy, though a fit perſon and an old commander. But the King underſtood ſea affairs too well to comply.

Buckingham met with his creatures and confidents, the biſhop of Cheſter, Sir Thomas Oſborne, Sir Ellis Leighton, and others. The earl of Orery hoped to be made lord lieutenant of Ireland. Arlington truſted and conſulted Sir Thomas Clifford, Sir Thomas Littleton, Sir Robert Car, and ſecretary Trevor. The lords wanted to ſupplant each other. The fanatics increaſed in number and ſtrength.

Bucks, upon the occaſion of the bill concerning original cauſes, moved for a clauſe, that no peer ſhould be tried but by the whole houſe of lords; and had the confidence to ſay, that the King and the privy council approved of it. It would, in December, have gone very hard with the earl of Orery, in the houſe of commons, had not the King commanded the duke of York to get thoſe he could influence to put it off; and it was carried but by two.

EXTRACT VIII.

In winter, the ducheſs of York was ſuſpected of being a Roman Catholic. She always before received the ſacrament once a month. But during the illneſs, in which ſhe died, ſhe had not prayers ſaid to her.

The King took notice of it, in December, to the duke, who ſaid ſhe was reſolved to be a Catholic, and to be reconciled. The King bade him keep it private; as it was from all but father Hunt, a Franciſcan, lady Cranmer, woman of her bed-chamber, and Mr. Dupuy, the duke's ſervant. So it was not known till ſhe died. The princeſs of Inſpruck was propoſed as a ſecond wife for the duke, by Sir Bernard Gaſcoigne. 1670.

EXTRACT IX.

The ſuſpicion of the ducheſs of York's being a Roman Catholic. Father Hunt, lady Cranmer, and Dupuy, a ſervant of the duke's, were only privy to her converſion. She died on the thirty-firſt of March, 1671.

EXTRACT X.

At a meeting at lord Arlington's, the accident which had happened to Sir J. Coventry was conſidered. Buckingham propoſed to the King, to ſend for the commons to the houſe of lords, on Thurſday morning, to ſpeak about it; as being beſt to begin with them. The duke of York ſeconded him in it; and all preſent were of the ſame mind. The King ordered Buckingham and one or two more to prepare the heads of his ſpeech, which were read and approved the next day: that he had heard of what had happened to Coventry, and the occaſion of it: that he diſapproved of what was done; and, at the ſame time, was troubled, that they had ſuffered ſuch words to paſs, without puniſhment: that he expected they would right him; and would ever be tender of letting them have full liberty of ſpeech: that it concerned them and him, not to let his or their enemies take advantage to break the parliament; and concluded with a compliment. Dec. 26th.

In another meeting, at Arlington's, this reſolution was laid aſide; and it was agreed, that the King ſhould ſay nothing, next day, and not obſtruct the law. 28th.

1671. EXTRACT I.

In the beginning of March, a deſign was carried on, by the biſhops of Winton, Sarum, and Cheſter, to introduce comprehenſion under 1671. March.

1671. another name and pretence; and with ſo much cunning and art, that it was like to paſs the houſe of commons. Many were zealous for the church of England; being made to believe, that the archbiſhop of Canterbury and all the biſhops were for it; though the archbiſhop had not been acquainted with it, till Mr. Cholmley aſked him whether it was ſo or no. On which he diſabuſed ſo many, that it was rejected, when propoſed. The duke of York was againſt it.

April 19th. The houſe of commons reſolving not to agree with the lords, in the bill about foreign duties, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-ſecond of April, Eaſter eve.

May. Buckingham endeavoured to ſet both houſes by the ears. The report of his marriage, with the counteſs of Salop, by doctor Sprat, his chaplain. He owned it; and the true ducheſs was called, in raillery, the ducheſs dowager. He was, ſoon after, choſen chancellor of Cambridge; and, to the wonder of all, ſeveral biſhops wrote letters of recommendation for him.

July. On a diſpute between Oſborne and Littleton, the treaſurers of the navy, it was ordered in council, that no treaſurer of the navy ſhould, for the future, have any poundage, but a good ſalary; and that they ſhould neither ſign, vote, nor have any thing to do with making contracts; but might be preſent, when any thing was done.

Oct. Bucks was diſappointed, by not having the command of the troops deſigned for France.

EXTRACT II.

The earl of Peterborough was ſent, as proxy, to marry the princeſs of Inſpruck; but he was ſtopt at Calais, by the news of the empreſs's death, and the emperor's reſolution to marry that princeſs.

1672. EXTRACT I.

1672. March. On the thirteenth of March, Sir Robert Holmes engaged the Smyrna fleet, ſixty merchant-ſhips and ſeven men of war, in the channel. The duke of York oppoſed, in council, the laying an embargo on ſhips; undertaking to man the fleet without it, if only the Newfoundland trade

was forbid for that ſeaſon. Convoys were provided by it too for the Mediterranean, which got us almoſt all the trade of the Streights from the Dutch, till the revolution *. 1672.

Sir Robert Holmes not apprizing Sir Edward Sprag, whom he did not care for, of his orders, he paſſed, within his ſight, to the Downs, when he came out of Portſmouth to fight the Dutch; and he would not allow captain Legg to go to ſpeak with his couſin, which allowed the Dutch to get off, with little loſs. Sir Robert engaged with more courage, than conduct. The Dutch loſt but four merchant-men; two only of value.

EXTRACT II.

Buckingham, Lauderdale, Arlington, Clifford, and Shafteſbury, of the cabinet council, called the cabal; none more zealous than the laſt, for the Dutch war. Declaration on the twenty-eighth of March. Money wanting; the Exchequer ſtopt; but intereſt of ſix per cent. for a year, allowed to perſons unpaid. To keep union at home, declaration for liberty of conſcience.

An embargo laid on all veſſels outward bound, by which they propoſed to man the fleet. The duke of York oppoſed it; as a ſtop to all trade, and damage to cuſtoms; and undertook to man the fleet without it, if the Newfoundland trade might be diſcontinued for that ſeaſon. For the main fleet, under his command, he deſired only ſixty Engliſh ſhips of the line, with twenty frigates, and thirty French men of war. Thus, ſhips and men enough would be left for convoys; and the war create no interruption to trade. Sir Robert Holmes ſent to intercept the Dutch Smyrna fleet.

De Ruyter, with ſeventy Dutch men of war, goes to ſea, before the junction of the Engliſh and French fleets. The duke of York, on advice of the French ſailing from Breſt, and judging, by the winds, they muſt be in the channel, ſailed for the Buoy at the Nore, with the ſhips that were ready, fourty, and twelve fire-ſhips; and was carried, by a freſh gale at weſt, down the channel. He had, off Longſand-head, in

* This laſt ſentence was added long after the former part of the paragraph was written.

1672. the evening a fight of the Dutch ſcouts. When he came to the head of the ſands, he ſtood to the ſouth; and, at the night-fall, the gale growing freſher, and bad weather likely, came to an anchor all night. The duke giving, at day-break, the ſignal for ſailing, the wind from eaſt, with a thick fog, he paſſed by de Ruyter, without ſeeing or being ſeen. The next morning he joined the French at St. Helen's, where he ſtaid two days to adjuſt all things; and then ſailed to look out for the Dutch fleet, and join the reſt of his own.

The duke of York, in the Prince, of a hundred guns, commanded the red ſquadron; Sir Edward Sprag, in the London, of a hundred guns, was his vice admiral; Sir George Harman, in the Charles, his rear admiral. Comte d'Eſtrees, vice admiral of the French, in the St. Philip, between eighty and ninety guns, commanded the white; M. du Quatre his vice admiral, la Robinier his rear admiral. The earl of Sandwich, in the Royal James, a hundred guns, was admiral of the blue; Sir Joſeph Jordan, in the Sovereign of a hundred guns, was his vice admiral; and Sir J. Kempſhorn, in the St. Andrew of ninety odd guns, his rear admiral. The duke found, by ſeveral ſhips from the river, that the Dutch, whom he ſought on their own coaſt, lay behind the Rumble Sand, in order to draw the Engliſh on it. But captain R. Haddock prevented it. Captain Cook confirmed the intelligence; and the ſcouts that were ſent experienced it. The duke then ſtood in, towards the banks of Flanders. De Ruyter, the beſt ſea commander of his time, ſtood in to the banks. He was bred under old Van Tromp. His good ſenſe was only equalled by his courage. He managed his fleet ſo, that the duke could not engage, for a long time, without diſadvantage. His ſhips drew leſs water. The weather being very bad, the duke went to Southwold bay; and the ſhips that wanted water and proviſions anchored near the ſhore; as the fire-ſhips did to take in freſh ballaſt. The duke declared, when the wind turned to the eaſt, that he would get out to ſea; ordering that no coallier or trading ſhip ſhould be permitted to go round; leſt falling into the hands of the enemy's privateers, they might be advertiſed how his fleet lay. Yet a light coallier ſlipt by, in the night, and was taken by a privateer and carried to de Ruyter; who, on the wind's turning eaſt, ordered his fleet to ſail at ſun-ſet, in order to attack the Engliſh, at day-break, before they were in order.

So

So ſoon as the duke found the wind eaſterly, he was for ſtanding out *, 1672.
to be in a poſture to receive the Dutch; and ordered Sir J. Cox, his captain, to give the ſignal for the fleet to do ſo, and to be in the order of battle. Cox urged, that there was no danger of the enemy's coming on ſo ſoon; their fleet being in the ſame condition with ours; taking in ſtores and proviſions: that captain Finch, one of our cruizers, come newly in from the coaſt of Holland, had brought no news of their motion. The maſter of the packet-boat, who was juſt come in, being brought to the duke, informed him, that he came, the evening before, through the Dutch fleet, lying at anchor off Goree; the moſt of them with their yards and topmaſts down, taking in all ſorts of proviſions. So that it was not likely, that they could ſoon be in a ſailing condition; and that the duke might lie twenty-four hours longer, for ſupplying his fleet with what they wanted, which could not be done in ſeveral days, if he ſtood out further from the ſhore. This was confirmed by the French major and captain Eliot, his aſſiſtant, who were appointed to take in water and other neceſſaries for the French ſquadron. Thus was the duke of York over-perſuaded to tarry where he was; and Cox was ſo ſure, that he brought his ſhip, the Prince, on the careen, to give her a pair of boot-hoſe-tops, to make her ſail the better.

Thus, on the twenty-eighth of May, was the duke of York ſurpriſed, about two in the morning. The captain of a French fourth rate, who had been with captain Finch cruizing on the coaſt of Holland, brought him the firſt news of the Dutch approach. His ſhip, being a bad ſailer, could not go in as Finch's did to the fleet, the evening before; and, that he might not be driven to the leeward of it, he was forced to come to an anchor, about a league to the eaſtward of the fleet; the wind being north-eaſt, and a leeward tyde. This gave quicker knowledge of the enemy. For, as he was getting under ſail to join the fleet, two Dutch ſcouts fell in with him, and, though of equal force, did not fire upon him, but brought to and ſtood from him; which made him judge their fleet was not far a ſtern of them. By way of ſignal to give notice of

* Party-writers have entirely miſrepreſented this fact. They aſcribe the ſurpriſe to the duke's obſtinacy; and mention an unauthorized fiction of his checking with rudeneſs the earl of Sandwich. The contrary appears to have been the truth.

1672. the enemy's approach, he fired all the way as he ſtood in to join the Engliſh fleet, which made it prepare to receive the Dutch. At day-break the Dutch fleet was ſeen to windward, bearing down on us. The ſhips of the line and fire-ſhips, which were nearer in with the ſhore than the flag-men, at the firſt alarm got under ſail to place them in their ſtations, in the order of battle; but, by reaſon of the leeward tyde and eaſt wind, few could get in, when the engagement began. Not above twenty of the red and blue bore the brunt of de Ruyter and Van Ghent's ſquadrons. The fight began about eight in the morning; the Dutch having the wind. The Prince was diſabled. The duke of York went then on board the St. Michael, Sir Robert Holmes captain. The French ſquadron was ſcarce charged, by the Zealand ſquadron. The earl of Sandwich's ſhip, the Royal James, was burnt; but captain Haddock was ſaved. Two ſhips, which came to burn the Prince, were ſunk. The duke, returning to refit, was followed by the Dutch, in bravado; but turning on them again, he purſued them to their own coaſts, and left fifteen of their diſabled ſhips in the rear, which nothing, but a ſudden fog, could have ſaved from being taken. Foul weather hindered him, afterwards, from attacking them, till on their own coaſts.

EXTRACT III.

Macpherſon's Extracts. De Ruyter had a hard game to play. He was obliged to keep to ſea, ſo to ſupport the drooping ſpirits of his countrymen, and to hinder the deſerting of his men, and their getting the ſame panic in the fleet, that prevailed aſhore. Had he not been qualified, as he was, he could not ſo well have fenced againſt all his difficulties, as he did. He was, indeed, juſtly eſteemed the greateſt ſea-commander of his time. He was bred up under old Van Tromp; and had been in all or moſt of the chief engagements of the two firſt Dutch wars. He had very good ſenſe, equal to his courage, which appeared, upon this occaſion, in ſo managing his fleet, that although they were ſo near one another, for ſo long a time, the duke could not come to an engagement, without great diſadvantage and hazard to his own fleet. For he poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly for his own fleet, that drew leſs water than ours, near the coaſt of Flanders, and ſerved himſelf ſo well of the weather, which was favourable to him, that the duke neither could attack him in the morning,

ſo

ſo to make a deciſive battle of it, nor far enough off from the ſands, with which they were better acquainted than we were. 1672.

Before the battle, in Southwold bay, began, the duke gave orders, that no one ſhould mention aloud the coming of a fire-ſhip, for fear of diſcompoſing the ſeamen. De Ruyter, after having exchanged ſome broadſides with the duke, ſent two fire-ſhips to clap him aboard. Sir Edward Scot, a land-officer, firſt diſcovered the fire-ſhips. He whiſpered it to Sir John Cox. But ſcarce had Sir John called an officer to give him orders thereupon, when a great ſhot ſtruck him dead, and, at the ſame time, carried off the head of Mr. Bell, a volunteer. Sir Edward addreſſed himſelf to the duke, who forthwith gave ſuch directions, as diſpatched the firſt fire-ſhip and diſabled the other. The duke with the few ſhips that were with him, were ſo plied by De Ruyter, that his own ſhip, the Prince, had, before eleven o'clock, her main top-maſt ſhot by the board, her fore-topſail, her ſtarboard main-ſhrowds, and all the reſt of her rigging and fighting ſails torn to pieces, and above 200 of the crew either killed or wounded. He went down, as between decks, to order ſomething, he ſtept into his boat, having previouſly given private orders to the captain to tow the Prince out of the line. The lord Duras, Mr. Henry Savil, Mr. Aſhton, and his chief pilot, accompanied him. He went on board the St. Michael, a ſecond rate, commanded by Sir Robert Holmes, that was a-head of him, ſomewhat to the leeward; and, for that reaſon, had not been much damaged. He put up inſtantly his flag. But there not being wind enough to ſpread it, he was fain to ſend his boat to give notice where he was. The French, as I have already ſaid, ſtood away to the ſouthward, as cloſe haled as they could. But they were not preſſed, as they might have been, by the Zealand ſquadron.

When the duke was on board the St. Michael, he was obliged to tack, on account of a ſand athwart of Leoſtoff, and ſtood to the ſouthward, as near as he could lie. He weathered, by that means, De Ruyter and moſt of his ſquadron. But had the Amſterdam ſquadron ſtill to windward of him. That ſquadron had been obliged to tack, for the ſame reaſon. The duke was now between two lines of the Dutch; and forced to lead the ſhips of his diviſion, that could get into his wake, and

tack

1672. tack after him; which were not many. The reſt tacked to the leeward of De Ruyter; ſo that the enemy and we were much mingled together.

Soon after the duke had ſtood to the ſouthward, a gentle gale ſprung up at eaſt; and being got clear of the ſmoke, he would look a little about him. The firſt thing he ſaw was the E. of Sandwich's blue flag, ſome diſtance a-head of him, appearing above the ſmoke, which was ſo great about that place, that one could not ſee any hulls. Whilſt the red ſquadron was engaged with De Ruyter and his ſquadron, the E. of Sandwich's diviſion was no leſs hotly engaged with the ſquadron of Van Ghent, who with his ſhip brought to, on the broadſide of the earl; whilſt, at the ſame time, captain Brakel, a bold, hot-headed Dutchman, in a ſhip of 70 guns, laid him on board, athwart the hauſe; by which means, raking him fore and aft, they together deſtroyed him a world of men; which obliged the earl, that he might get rid of ſo troubleſome a neighbour, to order his men to enter Brakel's ſhip. This they did, with ſwords, half-pikes, and piſtols; and, after ſome reſiſtance, they maſtered her. Though this gave the earl ſome eaſe, Van Ghent and his ſeconds ſo plied his ſhip, the Royal James, and had ſlain and diſabled ſo many of his men, that he was obliged to recal thoſe who had maſtered Brakel's ſhip.

He immediately ſent to aſk the advice of his captain, (captain Haddock) who having been wounded in the foot, was then dreſſing in the hold. By his advice he came to an anchor, by one fixed for ſuch accidents out of the gun-room. This had the deſired effect. But it proved, in part, the deſtruction of the Royal James. For beſides that ſhe was, at the very beginning of the engagement, ſomewhat to windward of her own diviſion, ſo by coming then to anchor, they drove farther from her, and the enemy came nearer to her. At this inſtant Van Ghent was ſlain, by one of her ſhot. But that did not hinder the enemy from ſtill preſſing hard upon her. They ſent a fire-ſhip upon her, which ſhe ſunk before ſhe could reach her.

The earl was now no longer at an anchor. For ſoon after he was clear of Brakel's ſhip, he cut the cable that was out of his gun-room. After which, when he had almoſt got clear off from amongſt the Dutch, another fire-ſhip came upon him. He endeavoured to bear up. But his

his ſhip was ſo much diſabled, that he could not do it; and ſo the fire- 1672.
ſhip laid her on board to windward, on her larboard ſide, and burnt her. This the duke beheld with ſorrow. But he could not help being to the leeward of her, though he paſſed cloſe by her, and ſaw the ſea covered with her men; ſome ſinking, ſome ſwimming, and others buoying themſelves up, upon what they could next catch hold of. Hereupon he ordered the Dartmouth, which was juſt come up to him, to ly by, and ſave all ſhe poſſibly could. She and ſome of the boats of the line which followed the duke, made a ſhift to pick up 2 or 300, of which number were captain Haddock, lieutenant Mayo, the maſter, and one Lowd, a ſervant of the E. of Sandwich, whom the King made a page of the bed-chamber, as ſoon as he came to London. The earl was not ſo fortunate; for he was drowned, and his body being afterwards found, was honourably buried in Henry the Seventh's chapel.

The duke's ſhip, the St. Michael, was ſo leaky, that ſhe now had five feet of water in her hold. The Phœnix, the Reſolution, and the Cambridge came up ſeaſonably to his relief. Van Ghent's ſquadron bore down on the duke. They, however, brought to, and contented themſelves to ply him very hard with their great guns. The reaſon was, that the captain who ſucceeded Van Ghent, was killed at firſt, and he who came next in command had not the reſolution to follow his plan. Van Neſſe, the elder, who carried a flag in the main-top, being to leeward of the duke, after he had tacked, and cut between De Ruyter and the Amſterdam ſquadron, ſtretched out a-head with ſome of De Ruyter's ſquadron; and tacked again and ſtood ſtern-lings with the duke; deſigning to weather him, and bring up ſome fire-ſhips he had with him. But when the Stavern, one of his ſeconds which led him, had got up with the broadſide of the duke, Van Neſſe's heart failed him; and inſtead of following the ſhip a-head of him, which was one of fifty odd guns, commanded by capt. Elzivir, he tacked and ſtood away, with his fire-ſhips. He left the Stavern behind him. She was diſabled by the St. Michael. She at length yielded to the Greenwich, a fourth rate, captain Green commander.

By this time the St. Michael having ſo much water again in her hold, made leeward way; ſo that the Dutch being alſo to the leeward, ſhe at

1672. laſt came within muſket-ſhot of their ſquadron. As ſhe paſſed by the Dutch vice admiral's ſecond, the duke raked her fore and aft.

Sir Edward Spragg, with ſome of his diviſion, was now got a-head of the duke. The E. of Oſſory, in the Victory, who had till now kept in his ſtation, a-ſtern of the duke, was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to bear away to refit. Capt. George Legg, in the Fairfax, a third rate, took his place. It was now five o'clock in the afternoon. Sir Robert Holmes informed the duke, that the St. Michael was ſo much diſabled, that ſhe could no longer continue in the line. She had loſt a great many men. Her ſails, maſts, and rigging were in a ſhattered condition. She had ſuch a quantity of water in her hold, that ſhe muſt have ſunk, if ſhe did not lie by to ſtop her leaks. The duke reſolved to go on board the London, Sir Edward Spragg's ſhip. He, at the ſame time, deſired Holmes not to ſtrike the ſtandard, till he ſaw it flying a-board the London, leſt the diſappearing of it, for any time, might diſcourage his own fleet. This was found to be a neceſſary precaution: for, by the freſhening of the gale, the London had got ſo far a-head, that it was three quarters of an hour before he got on board her.

When the duke came on board the London, he found her alſo much diſabled, eſpecially in her head-ſails; having had to deal with Van Neſſe the younger, a rear admiral, who was to windward of her. He ſwagged apace down upon her. But, at this time, being ſeven in the evening, De Ruyter made a ſignal to all his ſhips, that were to windward of him, to bear down to him. He himſelf bore away to join the Zealand ſquadron, who were ſtill engaged with the French. He came down, on the Rainbow, an old ſecond rate. Capt. Storer, her commander, obliged him to ſtand out a-head of him; De Ruyter not thinking it ſafe to lay him on board. This motion of the Dutch gave Sir John Jordan an opportunity to join the duke with 5 or 6 ſhips. The duke had now with him about 25 ſhips to windward of the Dutch. The reſt having joined the French, were to leeward of the enemy. This was the poſition of the fleets at ſun-ſet: and thus ended this memorable day, in which the Dutch, with all the advantage they could deſire, of ſurprize and wind, and of number of ſhips that engaged, were far from victory over the Engliſh; as their being the firſt to leave the ſea, and retiring into

their

their harbours, will hereafter make fully evident. The night was ſpent in refitting. The duke went again on board the Prince. In a council of the flag officers, it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould return. The Dutch, out of bravado, following the Engliſh, the duke turned upon them, and purſued them to their own coaſt. The Dutch were ſaved by a fog. 1672.

EXTRACT IV.

The duke of York propoſed ſailing to Weelings to fight De Ruyter there. But Shafteſbury and others perſuaded the King to ſend the fleet to intercept the Dutch Eaſt India fleet, then expected home by the north of Scotland, which might otherwiſe eſcape, whilſt the duke looked after De Ruyter. The duke thought the beſt way was to drive De Ruyter into harbour; becauſe, if he was at ſea, it would be dangerous to ſpread our ſhips, in order to intercept the Eaſt India fleet, leſt the enemy ſhould come upon them on a ſudden. For De Ruyter would eaſily know our ſtations. The duke cruized between the Vly and the Texel. He anchored there, for near a fortnight, in bad weather; and then cruized towards the Dogger-ſands. The Cambridge, one of his cruizers, boarded an Eaſt Indiaman, but it blew ſo hard, that he could not maſter her; and the ſtorm increaſing, the whole fleet got by before the duke could be advertiſed. Carte's Extracts.

After the duke returned to court, Shafteſbury was made chancellor, and Clifford treaſurer. Arlington was diſcontented, becauſe he did not get the ſtaff. But the King ſaid, he had too much kindneſs for him to let him have it; for he was not fit for the office; and, if he gave it him, it would be his ruin, and expoſe him to the malice of his enemies.

EXTRACT V.

Buckingham propoſed to the King, if he would break off the marrage with lord Harry * and Arlington's daughter, to get lady Piercy for lord Harry. The King anſwered, that it was too late, the other being concluded. Buckingham, at the ſame time, offered to the counteſs of Northumberland to get the King to conſent, that he ſhould command the duke of York to marry her. July 13th.

In November, Shafteſbury was made chancellor, and Clifford treaſurer; though Arlington oppoſed them. Nov.

* Created duke of Graſton, Sept. 11, 1675.

1672. EXTRACT VI.

About Chriſtmas, the King ſpoke with Clifford and Arundel, to perſuade the duke of York to receive the ſacrament with him; which the duke had forbore for ſome months before, though he continued to go to church with the King, leſt he ſhould be ſuſpected as a Roman Catholic.

1673. EXTRACT I.

1673. March 20th. The duke of York was told, that Mr. Vaughan was to move the houſe of Commons, for an addreſs to the King to put away the Queen, and to marry a proteſtant wife, and offer him 500,000 *l.* for her portion; and that it was promoted at Whitehall. Next day, he was told, that it was propoſed to the King and abſolutely rejected.

The chancellor endeavoured to get the treaſurer to join with him, in breaking the alliance with France.

May. The King was inclined to get the duke of York and the treaſurer to conform. But they both reſolved to quit their employments.

25th. Project for making the duke of Monmouth regent of Scotland.

June. On the fifteenth of June, the duke reſigned all his commands; lord admiral, warden of the five ports, general of the army, and governor of Portſmouth. The King kept the five ports in his own hands. He put the admiralty in commiſſion, and gave the government of Portſmouth to George Legg †.

July. In July, the duke's marriage, with the youngeſt princeſs of Modena, was reſolved on. Articles were propoſed, for the King's marrying a proteſtant; and for legitimating the duke of Monmouth, to incapacitate any who were not of the church of England to inherit the crown. Some were for hindering the duke of York from marrying a Roman Catholic, if the parliament met before.

Oct. 17th. The duke of York informed the King of the turbulent parties, who were deſigning to fall on Mr. Seymour, the ſpeaker; and to oblige all peers to ſubſcribe the late declaration, or elſe not to ſit in the houſe of lords, nor come within twenty miles of court. This was levelled at the duke of York.

The

† Afterwards lord Dartmouth.

The great ſeal was given to Sir Heneage Finch. Shafteſbury's pardon paſſed the great ſeal. The Duke of York was adviſed, in vain, to withdraw from court. 1673. Nov. 9th.

Lord M. adviſed the duke of York to ſtand for the crown of Poland, and to comply; but he refuſed them both. Lord Peterborrow preſſed the laſt. Dec. 18th.

The earl B. informed the duke, that the lord mayor had been long preſſed to call a common council, for a bill to mend and pave the ſtreets. But when one was called, it was propoſed, in the firſt place, to thank the King for what he had done about popery; ſecondly, to deſire him to take off his protection from the bankers, that they might be proſecuted; thirdly, to thank him for the proclamation about the parliament, and recommend following its advice. The King ſaid, that ſome had been with him to aſk leave for ſuch an addreſs. But there was no more in it. 22d.

EXTRACT II.

The duke of York being ſuſpected of changing his religion, the parliament paſſed an act for the teſt to put him out of all his commands; and to encourage the duke of Monmouth to pretend to be legitimate. Clifford reſigned the treaſury, and the earl of Danby was made lord-treaſurer.

EXTRACT III.

The lord Clifford laid down his office of treaſurer, upon account of the teſt. Sir Thomas Oſborne was recommended by Clifford himſelf, as well as by the duke, to ſucceed him; having given proofs of his diligence and capacity, when he executed the office of treaſurer of the navy. All the ſtorms now raiſed, and which, afterwards, followed the duke in parliament, bear their date and origin, from the ſuſpicion they had of his being converted to the Roman Catholic faith. Nor could his private enemies, till then, gain any advantage over him. Before that time, he was looked upon as the darling of the nation; for his having ſo freely and ſo often ventured his life for the honour and intereſt of his King and country, and for his having been always ſo active and induſ- Macpherſon's Extracts.

1673. trious in carrying on every thing, as to trade or as to navigation, that might tend to their advantage.

EXTRACT IV.

Carte's Extracts. Sept. The earl of Peterborrow was ſent to Neubourg, and then to Modena for a wife to the duke of York. Peterborrow married her, by proxy, on the thirtieth of September, N. S. The houſe of commons were alarmed at the match, and petitioned the King to break it. Arlington adviſed the King to ſtop the dutcheſs in France. She landed, at Dover, Nov. on the twenty-firſt of November. Dr. Crew married them; declaring that, by proxy, a lawful marriage. They arrived at Whitehall, on the twenty-ſixth of the ſame month. The public chapel, ſtipulated by act of marriage, was not allowed her. Many of the duke's friends, among whom was the earl of Berks, a Roman Catholic, adviſed him to withdraw. He refuſed, unleſs the King commanded him. The great ſeal was taken from Shafteſbury, and given to Sir Heanage Finch.

Shafteſbury, in all the revolutions from 1641, was famous for turning from ſide to ſide; ſtill foremoſt in the ſeveral turns of government, though ever ſo contrary to one another. When chancellor, he was a bold aſſerter of prerogative. He had the chief hand, in declaring for liberty of conſcience. He promoted the ſecond Dutch war. He adviſed ſhutting up the exchequer. He juſtified all proceedings to parliament. But when the declaration, for liberty of conſcience, was recalled, ſeeing how the ſtream ran, he dexterouſly tacked about and cloſed in entirely with the republican party.

EXTRACT V.

When the King told Shafteſbury and Carliſle, that Mrs. Barlow was not his wife, but his miſtreſs, they anſwered, "let him but ſay it, they ſhould find ſuch as would ſwear it." The King now declared it publicly; though he was too fond of Monmouth, who was made general for life of all the forces in England, by patent. The duke of York oppoſed it; but all he could obtain was, that the word *natural* might be added to *ſon*, in the commiſſion; the moſt of the orders and directions being for his ſon the duke of Monmouth, without *natural*. He had the like commiſſion for Scotland, but Lauderdale hindered it for life. This

was

was about the end of the Dutch war, in 1673, or the beginning of 1674, after the duke of York was obliged to reſign. 1673:

The young princeſs of Modena, who left that place in the beginning of October, O. S. being firſt married by proxy, by the earl of Peterborrow, landed at Dover on the twenty-firſt of November; having ſtaid four weeks ſick at Paris. She was not allowed a public chapel. The princeſs of Inſpruck, on the Empreſs's death, was married to the Emperor.

1674. EXTRACT I.

The duke of York, in the houſe of Lords, told them, that the reaſon he had not yet taken the oath of allegiance, was not for any ſcruple he had to take it; the meaneſt ſubject his Majeſty had not being readier to teſtify his obedience to him than he was; but he doubted whether he was to take it, ſince it was plain that prince Henry had not done it; and that, by authentic records, other princes had been exempted from taking it. Being unwilling to do any thing, that might give reaſon to any who might come after him, and be in the ſame poſt, to complain, that he had loſt them a privilege, which he might have retained if he pleaſed; he deſired, for his own juſtification and ſatisfaction, their opinion and judgment in it. At firſt, it was propoſed to refer it to a committee of the privy council. But the duke ſeeing, by the debate, that many lords were of opinion he ought not to have the ſame privilege as the prince, deſired them not to give themſelves the trouble, that he acquieſced and would take it; having done his part, in making his claim; and would not ſtand upon it. He took it, as ſoon as the houſe adjourned. 1674: Jan. 14th.

After the King's meſſage, about the Durch offers for peace, the earl of Saliſbury moved for a bill, to breed the Duke of York's children in the religion of the church of England. The earl of Carliſle ſeconded this motion; and moved further for a bill, that the King, nor none of the royal blood to ſuch a degree, might marry, without the conſent of parliament. Halifax moved, the diſarming all Roman Catholics and reputed ones; and lord Mordaunt, that all Engliſh prieſts might be removed from the Queen. 24th.

The

1674. Feb. 9th. The articles of peace with the Dutch were ſigned at London, on the ninth of February. It had been negotiated, concluded, and ſigned, by the marquis de Freſno, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had full powers from the Dutch, for that purpoſe. Next day, in the debate, in the houſe of Lords, about the clauſe propoſed in a bill to hinder any of the blood from marrying a Roman Catholic, without the conſent of parliament, Carliſle and Halifax propoſed, that the penalty ſhould be the declaring them incapable of ſucceſſion; for which being reproved by lord Peterborrow, who termed it "a horrid notion," he was anſwered by Shafteſbury, that it was not ſo horrid. He ſpoke for it, he ſaid, not as a thing he deſired ſhould look backward, but forward; and for which there had been precedents. But his diſcourſe and precedents were ſeverely anſwered by the lord-keeper, who ſaid it was ſtretching their liberty and freedom of ſpeech to the utmoſt, to hold ſuch diſcourſe as they had held. He ſpoke very well and home to the whole matter, proving it againſt law; and he ſhewed the bad effects things of that nature had had in this nation. The biſhop of Winton, and other biſhops, ſpoke to ſhew how any thing of the nature was againſt the rules of Chriſtianity in general, and eſpecially againſt the doctrine of the church of England; and, at laſt, the propoſition was laid aſide, with ſcorn. The heads reſolved on were, in general, that the King, nor none of the blood, within ſuch a degree, ſhould marry a papiſt, without the conſent of parliament, and no penalty put upon it.

24th. On the twenty-fourth of February, the parliament was prorogued, to the tenth of November. This reſolution was carried ſo cloſe, that none of the Commons believed it would be done, expecting only to be told of a receſs, in eight or ten days; and they looked very diſcontented, when it was done. No bill of any kind had paſſed both houſes; and but one private and two public ones were ſent up from the houſe of commons. One of each kind only was ſent from the lords. Shafteſbury and Carliſle were to propoſe to the houſe of lords the diſbanding of the duke of York's regiment.

March. Shafteſbury, pretending fear of having his throat cut by the Roman Catholics, lay one night at leaſt, in the city, at the houſe of one Cook, a fanatic; and, both then and before, he did all he could to promote petitioning

petitioning his Majeſty to call a parliament, for the redreſs of grievances. He endeavoured to get the lord mayor to conſent to the common council's meeting once a month; and had it even propoſed, in a court of aldermen. But the lord mayor would not conſent; and ſaid, they ſhould not uſe him as the King had been uſed. The King ſent Sir Paul Neal to Shafteſbury, to let him know, that he heard he was about to take a houſe in the city, to live there. He forbade him, at his peril, looking on it as a deſign to do there as he had done in parliament; and that he would do well to go down to the country, as ſoon as the weather would permit. Shafteſbury anſwered, that he had no deſign. 1674.

The duke of York told Monmouth, who was with him in the evening, that he feared Arlington. Though he was about to quit the place of ſecretary of ſtate, for the white ſtaff, he would ſtill have ſome part in affairs; and, by his fearful councils, ruin the King's affairs, as he had already done. He knew it was his deſign to ruin the good underſtanding between them. Monmouth anſwered, that he could not believe he had ſuch evil intentions, elſe he would have nothing to do with him. The duke of York made him ſuitable returns and parted; conjuring him, at the ſame time, to have a care of Arlington's practices. The ſame night, after ſupper, Monmouth came to the duke, and deſired him to move the King, for his having a commiſſion as general, during pleaſure only; and to lie by him, not to make uſe of at preſent, but in caſe of any diſorder. This he deſired, becauſe he had been told by ſome officers, that, if any thing ſhould happen, they could not obey him, nor fire on any, unleſs he had ſuch authority to command. The duke anſwered, he did not ſee it was neceſſary for that reaſon only; ſince already, by his commiſſion of captain of the King's troop of horſe-guards, he was empowered to command all the troops now on foot, as eldeſt colonel. That he believed a commiſſion of general could give him no more power. For the words of killing and ſlaying would not be in any new commiſſion; more than in that he had already; they not having been uſed in the late general's commiſſion. That it was a miſinformation of thoſe who perſuaded him to deſire it on that ground; and any ſuch officer as had ſaid this to him, or ſhould make any ſuch differences, did not deſerve to be one, or to have a military employment, that could be ſo fooliſhly ſcrupulous. Neither lord Craven's regiment nor the July 17th.

1674. queen's troop had any ſuch differences, on the diſorders of Whit-Tueſday; and on Monmouth's ſaying they had orders to do what they did, the duke put him in mind, that they could have none, being accidentally drawn up in Lincoln's Inn-Fields, when the diſorders began; and they fell upon the rabble and diſperſed that part of them, before orders could come. Monmouth inſiſting on it ſtill, the duke of York told him plainly, that he would never ſpeak to the King about it, nor conſent there ſhould be any general, as it was a poſt not fit for any body in the time of peace; and, on the duke of Albemarle's death, he had adviſed the King againſt it, when there was no thought of a duke of Monmouth.

Sept. 13th. The King told the duke of York, he thought it would be neceſſary for his ſervice to give the duke of Monmouth a commiſſion for lieutenant-general, to capacitate him to command all the troops, elſe inconveniencies might happen, on ſome refuſing to obey him, in caſe of a ſudden riſing. The duke ſaid, he thought his Majeſty had taken a reſolution to the contrary, when the late general died; and, beſides, there was no neceſſity for it, as Monmouth was already captain of the guards.

Oct. 20th. Sir R. T. told the duke of York what he had heard from another hand: That, at a meeting at lord Mordant's, at Parſon's green, it had been reſolved, by that gang, to get ſuch a vote againſt him, as that againſt Buckingham and Lauderdale, at the firſt meeting of parliament.

24th. On the twenty-fourth of October, the King told the duke of York, in Lauderdale's preſence, that he had juſt come from ſpeaking with Howard, who had told him news out of Holland; and, among the reſt, that the prince of Orange had ſaid, he heard, Arlington deſigned to perſuade the King to own the duke of Monmouth his legitimate ſon; on which, the King ſaid to Howard, that it was true, one perſon, *Shafteſbury*, once had the impudence to come near propoſing it to him; but he had anſwered it as became him. He told him, he could never be ſo baſe as to think of any ſuch thing; and that he had rather ſee James, meaning Monmouth, hanged up at Tyburn, than have any ſuch thoughts.

Application

Application of doctor Owen, Mr. Jekel, Mr. Gould, and others, to the duke of York, to get the King to ſtop the proſecution of conventicles. 1674. November.

The King ſent Arlington to the prince of Orange, to know his mind as to peace or war, that he might take meaſures accordingly. The duke of York oppoſed Arlington's going, as he was too much a friend to the prince, to make a faithful report; and, a day or two after, when the King told him, that lord Offory was to go and offer the princeſs Mary in marriage to the prince, he was againſt the commiſſion; ſince the prince ought firſt to ſeek her. The King ſaid, lord Offory was to ſay nothing of it, till the prince had done all he expected, and ſpoke firſt to him of it. The duke acquieſced, in his pleaſure.

EXTRACT II.

Peace with the Dutch was concluded, by the interpoſition of M. de Freſno, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who had a plenipotentiary power from Holland. It was proclaimed in March.

The houſe of commons preſſed the King to a war with France. The ſecond teſt was contrived to get the duke of York removed from the King's preſence, and even from the ſucceſſion. It was to contain a renunciation of many other tenets held by Roman Catholics; none to come into the King's preſence, without leave firſt obtained, under the hands of ſix privy councillors. But the duke's friends, by a majority of two, got a clauſe to except him; which put Shafteſbury ſo much out of humour, that he ſaid he did not care what became of the bill. He urged againſt the duke's ſucceſſion, by divorcing the King, and ſetting up the duke of Monmouth.

Monmouth, who was bred a Roman Catholic, under the name of Crofts, was very handſome, had no great capacity, but outward parts made him agreeable; tall, well-ſhaped, a good air, civil behaviour, none danced better, very brave, even cunning and inſinuating. He got, at laſt, to be made general of the forces in England; and even deſigned to get the great ſeal put to his commiſſion, as the King's ſon, without adding *natural*. Vernon, his ſecretary, had ſtruck out the word *natural*, in the patent obtained, for general of Scotland; and Lauderdale refuſed

1674. to draw it otherwiſe, than *during pleaſure*, and with the word *natural*. He got alſo a commiſſion of general, with which he was going to command in Flanders, againſt France; but was ſtopt by the peace.

EXTRACT III.

The duke of Monmouth had been bred, in France, a Roman Catholic, under father Gough, an Engliſh oratorian. His tutor, Thomas Roſs, a Scotſman, put the thoughts of legitimacy into his head; and would have biſhop Cozens to certify, that he had married the King and Mrs. Walters, who refuſed it, with indignity, and gave immediate notice of it to the King, who removed Roſs from about him. Mrs. Walters, for that was her true name, was born of Welch parents, very handſome, little wit and ſome cunning. Colonel Algernoon Sidney, who was then a colonel under Oliver Cromwell, trafficked for her firſt; and was to have had her for fifty broad pieces. This I had from his own mouth. But, being commanded haſtily out of London to his regiment, he miſſed her; and ſhe went to Holland, where his brother, Robert Sidney, lighted on her and kept her, for ſome time. The King, being then at the Hague, heard of her, and got her from him, who ſaid, at the ſame time, theſe words to ſome of his friends, "Let who will have her ſhe is already ſped." And after her being with the King, ſhe proved ſo ſoon with child, and came ſo near the time, that the world had cauſe to doubt, whoſe ſon Monmouth was *. When he grew a man, he proved the likeſt thing to him I ever ſaw, even to a very wart on his face. After ſhe had this child, ſhe kept ſo little meaſure with the King, and lived ſo looſely when he was in Scotland, that when, after the Worceſter fight, he came to France and ſhe came thither, he would have no further commerce with her. She uſed, in vain, all her little arts. She tried to perſuade doctor Cozens that ſhe was a convert, and would quit her ſcandalous way of life; and had, at the ſame time, a child, by the earl of Carlington, who grew up to be a woman, and was owned by the mother to be hers; as like the earl as poſſible. When the King went to Germany, ſhe impoſed on Sir H. V. the King's reſident at Bruſſels, to go along with her to Cologne, and aſk leave to marry him. But all being in

* Macpherſon's Extracts.

vain,

vain, ſhe abandoned herſelf, and grew ſo common that ſhe died at Paris, after the Reſtoration, of the diſeaſe incident to her profeſſion *. 1674.

* When James was in Ireland, in 1690, he employed ſome part of his time in drawing up inſtructions for his ſon. He is very particular, in his advices to him, as to his private conduct. But he has left only general heads of what he intended to ſay, about the government of this country, and the manner of regulating the ſeveral departments, and filling the great offices of ſtate. He gives very ſenſible directions about the navy, as the bulwark and glory of the kingdom. He deſires him to have the treaſury always in commiſſion; never to have a lawyer lord chancellor. To have neither lord high admiral nor commiſſioners, but a ſecretary of ſtate, for that department, which always ought to be the chief care, and, therefore, muſt be under the immediate inſpection of a King of England. He recommends to him to have four ſecretaries of ſtate; of whom only one, ſhould the teſt be repealed, ought to be a Roman Catholic, one a Preſbyterian, and two of the church of England.

He deſires him, in a particular manner, not to be too much attached to women. He gives ſeveral inſtances of the fatal conſequences of ſuch connexions to princes, and to their kingdoms. Many of them died without lawful heirs, and were ungratefully uſed by their natural children. He acknowledges, with ſhame and regret, that he himſelf was too much a ſlave to that paſſion. Almoſt every thing, he ſays, will apply to his brother, although he profeſſes, from a regard to his memory, to ſpeak in general terms.

He gives him, however, as a ſtrong inſtance of the diſadvantages ariſing from keeping miſtreſſes. Though he uſed them with kindneſs and liberality, they had no fixed regard for his perſon. The factious and diſcontented always gained them over to their intereſt, which he inſtances, in "a certain lady;" by whom he means the ducheſs of Portſmouth. "If you have daughters," ſays he, "you will be obliged to give them portions, and to provide them with huſbands, whom you muſt dignify with honours, or enrich with places. If you have ſons, you muſt furniſh them with eſtates out of the demeſnes of the crown; and give them employments, to the excluſion of men of merit, and the ancient nobility, who have a right to your favour."

"And now to come to what I have ſeen myſelf, and what ought to weigh very much with you. The late King, my brother, who had the misfortune to be very much addicted to that fatal vice, had children by all his owned miſtreſſes, and none by his Queen. Beſides which, he had the mortification to have had the duke of Monmouth, whom he believed to be his ſon (though all the knowing world, as well as myſelf, had many convincing reaſons to think the contrary; and that he was Robert Sidney's) fly in his face, and join with the earl of Shafteſbury and the factious party, in the deſign they had to ſeize his perſon, and riſe in rebellion againſt him; though, at the ſame time, he ſhowed him all the tenderneſs of a father, and the kindneſs of a friend, doing things for him, which ought to have made him give a better return than he did." In the Scotch College, Paris.

This paper, which he calls, "Inſtructions for my ſon, the prince of Wales," is imperfect. The laſt part contains only general heads, upon which he intended to enlarge. They are in a thin folio volume; and authenticated, by an atteſtation, in the Queen's own hand, declaring them to be a genuine copy of thoſe originally written by her huſband. They were left, by himſelf, to the Scotch college, where they ſtill remain.

When

1674. When Monmouth came over, with the Queen-mother, he was called young Mr. Crofts; pretending to be lord Crofts's ſon. But not long after, he was owned, and made duke of Monmouth; bred a proteſtant, married to the earl of Buccleugh's daughter, an heireſs of ten thouſand pounds a year. As he grew up the King's kindneſs increaſed. He was very handſome, well-ſhaped, a good air, a favourite of the ladies. The duke of York was always kind to him, till he found his deſigns. Monmouth had cunning and inſinuating ways, when he had a mind to pleaſe. He went with the duke of York to the Dutch war when Opdam was blown up. The King bought the earl of Macclesfield's firſt troop of guards for him. He ſent him in the ſecond Dutch war to ſerve in Flanders, by land, as lieutenant general, at the ſiege of Maſtricht; and young Churchill with him. He behaved well, at the retaking the Half-moon *; but ſtaid only that year. He grew ambitious, and fond of pleaſure. In the ſummer of 1674, he deſired the duke of York to get the King to make him lieutenant-general. The duke declined it, as unneceſſary; ſince, as captain of the guards, he actually commanded all the forces in England, when drawn into the field; and he had, on the duke of Albemarle's death, declared his opinion againſt a general in chief, it being an office he thought too great for himſelf. But Monmouth ſtill intrigued for it. He had then thirty thouſand pounds a year coming in, yet not ſatisfied. He fell out with the earl of Danby, for not complying with his deſires of getting money from the crown. He ſtruck the word *natural* out of a warrant for the King to ſign, for a commiſſion under the great ſeal, appointing him general, which ſtopped his patent of general, for life, in Scotland.

There was a copy of the treaty of Nimeguen ſigned, in the prince of Orange's pocket, when he fought at Mons.

* The following Epigram, written upon the occaſion, is in Tanner's collection of MSS. at Oxford.

EPIGRAMMA.

Eia! ingens *Lauri* victor, MONMUTHE! triumphum
Luna dedit juveni capta, recepta tibi;
Tu modo Idumæis tentas proludere *palmis*:
Porriget has olim Thracia *Luna viro*.
Trajectu Moſæ, ſuperaſti fortiter *urbem*
Trajectu Ponti nil minus *orbe* feres.

The

The Engliſh forces were ſent to garriſon, in Newport, Oſtend, Bruges, and other places. Some went as far as Bruſſels; and more were ordered to be in readineſs. The duke of York was preparing to go over. Monmouth went to Flanders, in time enough to be in the action of St. Dennis and Chaſteau, near Mons. In this voyage, he began to take meaſures with the prince of Orange, and lay the ground-work of what he afterwards undertook. By little arts and mean compliances, he gained the prince of Orange's favour; promiſing to ſtand by him, whenever he ſhould have occaſion, in England. He endeavoured to gain an intereſt in the Engliſh and Scotch troops in the States ſervice; and ſucceeded with very many officers and ſoldiers. 1674.

The parliament, not content with ſtripping the duke of York of his poſts, by the firſt teſt, reſolved, by an additional act, to drive him from the King's preſence. But they were diſappointed. The duke's friends, in the houſe, moving to exempt him from that part of the penalties, it was carried by two votes, which came that morning into the houſe, Sir Charles Gaudy and Sir Anthony Dean. Shafteſbury, hearing of it, declared he did not now care what became of the bill. Yet he left not off the deſign, but carried it at laſt, by the help of the earl of Danby, the treaſurer; whoſe friend the duke had been before, though it was againſt his will he had been made treaſurer of the navy. But ſeeing him ſerve with care and fidelity in the office, he grew his friend; and had ſo good an opinion of him and his capacity, that, when Clifford laid down, he recommended him to the King for treaſurer, as the fitteſt perſon. He did it very well, and ſerved the King with great vigour and fidelity, till he took diſtaſte at what the King did in favour of Buckingham.

The faction, ſeeing the King had more friends and intereſt in the houſe of commons than they cared for, thought to break the parliament, on a nicety of law and cuſtom of parliaments. This they deſigned to effect at the firſt meeting of the houſe; and were, ſome time before, very induſtrious in going about it, and ſpeaking to lords of all ſorts to bring it about; pretending they would prove the parliament diſſolved. They ſent lord Wharton to the duke of York, who, though of the party, pretended kindneſs for him, out of friendſhip and gratitude, the duke having, ſome years before, ſaved him from being ruined, to endeavour to perſuade him, that the parliament was actually diſſolved, and give his reaſons for it. The duke ſaid, he ſhould hear thoſe reaſons in the debate,

1674. bate, and would judge who ſpoke with moſt reaſon. Shafteſbury and Hollis ſpoke with Arundel of Wardour, Bellaſis, and moſt of the Roman Catholic lords, to perſuade them to join with them, and draw in the reſt of the Roman Catholics. But they would not comply. The turbulent party urged their arguments with ſo much heat and ſedition, that Buckingham, Saliſbury, Shafteſbury, and Wharton were ſent by the lords to the Tower, to remain during the King's pleaſure. But, not long after, on petitioning the King, and owning the fault, they were releaſed. Wharton ſtayed ſomewhat longer than the reſt, becauſe he chicaned, and had no mind to own his fault in plain terms. But, ſeeing no remedy, he did it either in that or the next ſeſſion.

Another great and warm debate happened in the houſe of lords, on a bill brought in or propoſed by the earl of Danby, and ſuffered by the court and epiſcopal party, by which no peer was to ſit or vote in the houſe, that did not take the oaths or teſt, not to endeavour any alteration in church or ſtate, as then ſettled. The party, eſpecially the four lords who were ſent to the Tower, the duke of Monmouth, and Halifax oppoſed it; and Shafteſbury and Hollis preſſed again the two Roman Catholic lords, Arundel of Wardour, and Bellaſis, to join with them in oppoſing it, as all the Roman Catholic lords would not agree. They ſaid, it was not prudent for any of them to irritate the King, who might execute the laws againſt them, and find means to turn them out of the houſe; and, perhaps, their party might give a helping hand to it. Shafteſbury ſwore, he and his friends never would; and wiſhed his tongue might cleave to the roof of his mouth, if he ever ſpake for ſo unjuſt a thing. Yet not above two or three Roman Catholic lords joined with the party; and theſe, in another debate, propoſed, that an addition to the ſtanding rules of the houſe of lords ſhould be conſtantly read, at the firſt ſitting of every parliament; declaring that no peer was to loſe his place or ſeat in the houſe, by reaſon of any oath tendered to him. But, on this, the bill was laid aſide.

1675. EXTRACT I.

1675. January. The miniſters, to pacify the parliament, contrive a match between the prince of Orange and the princeſs Mary. Arlington was ſent, for that purpoſe, to Holland. The duke was againſt it.

1675.

EXTRACT II.

The archbiſhops and biſhops were preſſed, by the miniſtry, to propoſe the King's executing the laws againſt diſſenters and Roman Catholics. Jan. 25th.

The prince of Orange complained to Arlington of the King's being moved to own the duke of Monmouth, by his good friends, Carliſle and Shafteſbury. Arlington told him, that the King had rejected it.

After the ſevere order of the council againſt the Roman Catholics and nonconformiſts, the duke of York ſaid to the King, he hoped he would not be diſpleaſed, if he did not wait on him to church; as he had not, at his forbearing to receive the ſacrament. Feb.

Monmouth told the duke of York, that he had aſked the King's leave to perſuade colonel Ruſſel to part with his regiment of guards, that he might have it, and lord Oſſory have his troop; and he would put the regiment in a better condition. April 24th.

In a debate in the houſe of lords, the treaſurer moved, that lords might not, for refuſing the oaths, be incapacitated to ſit in the houſe. This being approved, the duke of York moved, that it might be general for all bills; which was agreed to, and added to the ſtanding orders. 30th.

The treaſurer's friends, in the houſe of commons, conſiſted of zealous church of England men and old cavaliers, who were influenced by the biſhops and clergy. May.

Arlington's friends, by moving the duke of York to get capacity for his employments, meant to put the houſe of commons in a heat, in order to a diſſolution.

Monmouth's agreement with colonel Ruſſel being near finiſhed, the duke of York oppoſed it. June.

1676. EXTRACT I.

There is no man of common ſenſe in our iſland, who does not, or ought not, to know that England can never be ſecure and at eaſe, without ſhe be maſter of the ſeas, at leaſt to ſuch a degree, as that no prince or ſtate might alone diſpute the ſuperiority with her. This being granted, it behoves whoſoever is at the helm, ſo to do all things, as 1676. Macpherſon's Extracts.

1676. they may contribute to that purpoſe: and this is not only to be done, by building of great ſhips, and having the ſtores and magazines full of all kinds of neceſſaries, for the ſpeedy fitting out of a fleet; but by promoting and encouraging of trade of all kinds, eſpecially thoſe that breed and employ moſt ſeamen, that there may be always a plentiful ſtock of marines; and ſettling ſuch encouragements as may induce the nobility and gentry to apply themſelves to ſea affairs.

EXTRACT II.

Carte's Extracts. Jan. Compton, biſhop of London, propoſed to the duke of York to confirm the princeſs Mary, in order to her receiving the ſacrament in the church of England. The duke refuſed his conſent. But he ſubmitted to the King's orders.

EXTRACT III.

18th. The biſhop of London came to the duke of York and told him, as the lady Mary, his daughter, was of age to think of preparing to receive the ſacrament, he aſked his leave to confirm her. The duke ſaid, ſince he could not communicate with them himſelf, he was againſt his daughter's doing it; and though he had not inſtructed his daughters in his own religion, it was becauſe, if he had, they would have been taken from him. He deſired him to inform the King of what paſſed; who ordered them to be confirmed.

Feb. 20th. Shafteſbury had refuſed to go out of town, on the King's meſſage to him by ſecretary Williamſon, on hearing he was about things contrary to his ſervice.

The biſhops got leave from the King to ſend orders to number the conformiſts and non-conformiſts throughout England.

The King, on occaſion of ſomewhat depoſed in council, about Coleman, relating to a book written by one Bury, a reputed prieſt, ſaid coldly, he was an ill man very buſy; that he did prejudice, by meddling with every thing; and, looking on him as a perſon not fit to be employed in the ducheſs's ſervice, he would have had him diſmiſſed. The duke deſired ſome proofs of his meddling.

Bill propoſed for a teſt to be made for every King of England to take. In caſe of refuſal, then, as any biſhopric became void, a number ſhould

ſhould be choſen by the reſt of the biſhops, out of which the King ſhould chooſe one: the like to be done for all deaneries and church preferments; and that the children of ſuch King, or the next heir of the crown, ſhould be under the care of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and ſome other biſhops, till a certain age. As for Roman Catholics, in general, the penal laws ſhould be repealed for ſuch as ſhould regiſter their names. But all converts, after the act, to have them ſtill in force againſt them: no catholic to be capable of any office, but to fine for ſuch as were chargeable, and pay the King annually the twentieth of their eſtates; not to come to court without leave; to be liable to penal laws, if offending againſt the two laſt clauſes; for prieſts, death and perpetual impriſonment. Other non-conformiſts to have meeting-houſes out of towns, to be incapable of offices, but to fine for the chargeable. 1676.

1677. EXTRACT I.

Sir William Godolphin, by letter, informed the King, this day, that Don John had told him, that France had propoſed peace, on condition of Spain's giving up the reſt of the Low Countries; for which Spain ſhould have Rouſſillon, all Sicily, and twelve millions of livres ready money; which would put her in a condition to recover Portugal, and four millions for Don John himſelf: that Fribourg ſhould be reſtored to the Emperor, with ſome places in Alſace. On the ſame day, the French ambaſſador offered to the King, in his maſter's name, to enter into a treaty to put Oſtend and ſome neighbouring places into his hands; and to give Antwerp to content the Dutch. 1677. Jan. 25th.

When the duke of Ormonde was to be ſent to Ireland, lord Ranelagh put the duke of Monmouth on being lord lieutenant, and to let lord Conway be his deputy. March.

The King was this day aſſured, by an infallible hand, that the Spaniards, by means of the duke of Ber. de Salines, and other agents, fomented all they could a rebellion in England; and that it was by orders from Flanders and Spain. April 3d.

On the tenth of April, prince Rupert told the King, that he had oppoſed a deſign, in the houſe of commons, to addreſs for his being 10th.

1677. high admiral; but hoped he would make him ſo, in caſe of a war. The King ſaid, it was time enough yet to conſider what was to be done in that caſe.

The commonwealth-party expected, that in this parliament the miniſters would be impeached; grievances make a great noiſe; no money given, without ſacrificing ſome great officer, or parting with ſome great flower of the crown; and, the truth is, the proſpect was diſmal enough. Great diſorders were hoped for. Vaſt crowds of old rump officers and others were at the opening of it. The four lords probably expected fermentations, or they had not been ſo reſolute. For their friends, in the houſe of lords, the marquis of Wincheſter, the lords Halifax and Hollis adviſed them not to truſt that point of the parliament being diſſolved, by a fifteen months prorogation; telling them they would miſcarry in it, and only bring inconveniences to themſelves. Their ill ſucceſs frightened their friends and party, that they durſt not fall on the miniſters; and they could neither hinder the giving money to build ſhips, nor the additional exciſe for three years: all they could do was to addreſs for a war with France.

September. The King had advice at Newmarket, of the fifth-monarchy-men's deſign to murder him, and the duke of York, there or at London, on the Lord-mayor's day, in a balcony; and the prince of Orange on his way from Harwich. But the deſign was laid aſide, becauſe they were not enough prepared. The duke of York, at the ſame time, had the like advice.

Oct. 15th. On the fifteenth of October, the prince of Orange ſpoke to the duke of York about his match with the lady Mary.

November. In November the archbiſhop of Canterbury died. The treaſurer and the biſhop of Winton preſſed hard for the biſhop of London. It was objected, that he married and his wife alive.

Thoſe who, ſince the peace with Holland, in 1673, had preſſed for a war with France, out of no good deſign, but to force the King to diſoblige France; and, by a war, to get him into ſuch neceſſities as they might impoſe on him what they pleaſed, were now the only perſons that oppoſed a ſupply; at leaſt, ſuch a one as was requiſite to carry on ſo extenſive a war.

EXTRACT

1677.

EXTRACT II.

In June, Bentinck was ſent by the Prince to England, with great profeſſions to the duke of York.

Project of Shafteſbury and the party to prove the parliament diſſolved. In one of their printed papers about it, a clauſe was added, affirming that the parliament had power to alter the ſucceſſion.

The prince of Orange's journey into England, after the campaign, in October, was to concert the plan of a peace, for the ſecurity of Flanders, and to propoſe a marriage with the princeſs Mary. The marriage, at the lord treaſurer's inſtance, was firſt ſettled; and then it was agreed, that Aeth, Charleroy, Oudinarde, Courtray, Tournay, Condè, Valenciennes, St. Guillan, and Binch ſhould be reſtored to Spain; and the King to ſend an agent to the French court to require a poſitive anſwer in two days. Lord Duras was ſent to France. The French were ſurprized. But they carried it fair, and gave a general anſwer; neither granting nor denying; but that the French ambaſſador in England ſhould have powers to finiſh the treaty to the King's ſatisfaction.

1678. EXTRACT I.

Buckingham waited on the King, in private; the duke of York, the chancellor, treaſurer, Monmouth, and no miniſter knowing of it. 1673. Feb. 7th.

Monmouth's commiſſion, under the great ſeal, to be general, was ſigned by the King; the word *natural* being ſtruck out by the duke himſelf.

EXTRACT II.

The States ſtrike up a ſeparate peace with France. The King, in purſuance of a plan of peace, raiſes an army of twenty or thirty thouſand men, and ſends part of them into Flanders. The emperor and Spain had not accepted the peace; and the King propoſed to parliament the keeping up his army, for the preſervation of Flanders. But the houſe of commons voted the army to be diſbanded immediately.

The

1678. The duke of Monmouth met with the lord Ruſſel and Montague, Sir Henry Capel and others, for removing the duke of York and the treaſurer. The laſt, for his own ſafety, adviſed the King to put the laws in execution againſt the Roman Catholics, and ſend the duke of York out of England. His anſwer was, that he could not ſave him. The duke of York was more generous.

In April, 1678, a little before the parliament met, lord Ruſſel and other conſiderable men in the party, ſent to the duke of York to let him know, that if he would truſt and join with them, in what they ſhould propoſe for the good of the King and the nation, they would undertake to remove the incapacity he was under of being high admiral, or exerciſing any public office; and do any thing elſe for his ſatisfaction. But, in return, they expected his concurrence with them, in proſecuting the treaſurer. The duke ſaid, he would join with them for the King or the nation's good; but to fall on the King's miniſter, without his conſent, unleſs more viſibly guilty of ſome great miſdemeanor, which did not appear to him, he thought it contrary both to the good of the King and the nation; and, therefore, could not join with them. He adviſed them to take other meaſures.

Otes's plot.—He had gone to St. Omers, and, under pretence of becoming a jeſuit, had been admitted into the jeſuit's college there, till turned out for inſincerity and other crimes; and enraged at the jeſuits, he came into England, and pretended to have diſcovered a plot, though never was any thing ſo improbable. It was founded on ſuch reports, as had kindled a rebellion, in 1641. The King was againſt communicating Tong's information to the duke of York, till it was thoroughly examined. But he came to hear of it, by the letters ſent to Mr. Bedingfield at Windſor. When Otes was examined, he began his narrative, with ſuch aſſurance, and accompanied it with ſuch circumſtances, as would have impoſed almoſt upon any body. But the croſs examination ſhewed the villany. Otes ſaid, he knew the hands of thoſe, from whom the pretended letters came; and a line of each being ſhewed him, he told whoſe they were. But there was no ſimilitude between them and the papers of Ireland and Fenwick. Ireland was in England, when his laſt letter was dated from St. Omers; and had not, of a long time, been beyond ſea. Tong's depoſition was in the ſame hand with Blundel's letter.

letter. So Tong and Otes were the contrivers. Otes wrote one himſelf. 1678.
None of theſe letters were produced at the trials.

They were all full of falſe ſpelling, no points, no marks of diſtinction, no air of coming from men of buſineſs. Treaſon was wrote, in plain terms. Five perſons of different places and nations could not agree to write their own names falſe the ſame way, the ſame falſe Engliſh, and wrote on paper that had the ſame mark and the ſame ſize; agree in the ſame cant and affectation; which, on examination, was found all to be ſo. Nothing but inſpiration could work this miracle. On the contrary, whoever compares the periods, the manner of expreſſion, and ſtrokes of the pen, with Otes' and Tong's original papers, will find they all came out of the ſame mint. What Otes ſaid of Don John had as little reſemblance of Spaniſh forms, as his deſcription had to his perſon; and when Mr. Kirby blamed Otes for ſo groſs a miſtake, he replied, by way of excuſe, he might well give a wrong deſcription of a man he had never ſeen in his life. His contradictions about the Jeſuits houſe. Arundel and Bellaſis were to be acquainted with it. But he did not ſay they knew what he afterwards accuſed them for. He did not particularly accuſe any lord, till he had been before the houſe of commons and ſaw how they reliſhed it; nor did he till then give them their different employments, which they were very unfit for. The Queen and the duke of York were not accuſed till a conſiderable time after. Otes, before the houſe of lords, declared on oath, that he had no accuſation againſt any perſon of whatſoever quality, but who he then named. Yet, a fortnight after, he accuſed the Queen. William Coleman was examined in council. Otes told the chancellor, he had never ſeen him before; yet he told another ſtory afterwards. He ſaid he was truſted with the jeſuits greateſt ſecrets; yet they would not truſt him with money for his coach hire, when he went to Dover, but ſent Grove with him to pay it. He had delivered ſo many commiſſions, yet kept not one for a proof, though he intended from the firſt to diſcover all. He ſwore, that ſo many arms were bought, yet none were ever found. Armies, he ſaid, were raiſed, yet none appeared.

The plot was deſigned to deſtroy the duke of York; whom, in parliament and in his information, Otes calls a raſcal, papiſt, and traitor. "He ſhall be hanged; and I hope to live to ſee it. We will have

no

1678. no more regard for him, than for a ſcavenger of Kent-ſtreet. It is to be hoped, we ſhall ſee him at the bar of the houſe of commons, where many better men than he have been. If the devil has a hotter place in hell than another, I hope he will beſtow it on him." Theſe were the flowers of his eloquence. Yet this language was borne. The King diſcovered villany from the firſt, and would have nipped it in the bud, had he not been diverted from it by the treaſurer, who would lay it before parliament; and it was catched at and ſwallowed, with ſuch greedineſs, that all contradiction was impoſſible. The firſt of September was appointed, by parliament, to execute the penal laws.

Nov. On the ſecond of November, Shafteſbury moved the houſe of lords, that the duke of York might abſent himſelf from council and buſineſs. The King, at firſt, directed his ſervants to oppoſe it; but, ſoon after, he deſired the duke to abſtain, who did it out of obedience. The houſe of lords, on the eighth of November, addreſſed that the duke ſhould withdraw from court. The King endeavoured to ſtop their career. On the thirtieth, the duke was excepted out of the act. Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's death *felo de ſe*. Five hundred pounds were offered for a diſcovery. This reward made Bedloe come to one Brewer, for a deſcription of Godfrey's perſon. So, on the eighth of November, he depoſed, that Godfrey was murdered in Somerſet-houſe, by the lord Bellaſis direction. That himſelf, with ſome fellows, had decoyed him into the court, where others, ſuddenly ruſhing on him out of a door, forced him into the houſe and murdered him. That his body lay there two days, and was at laſt carried to the place where it was found. The King was at Somerſet-houſe, at the time Bedloe laid the murder. This made him doubt it, and ſend the duke of Monmouth with Bedloe to Somerſet-houſe, to ſhew him the place where every thing paſſed. On his return, the duke told the King, that the Queen's back-ſtairs was the place where Bedloe ſaid the body lay. The King was there, a centry at every door, a foot company on guard; yet nobody ſaw or heard any thing. The King was ſo ſenſible of villany, that he did not care to prolong Bedloe's pardon.

The houſe of commons' buſineſs was to defeat the ſucceſſion. So, on the twenty-fifth of November, the Queen was accuſed. Oſſory and Bridgewater were ſent with Otes, to ſhew them the place where the Queen ſaid the words charged. He directed them firſt to the guard-

room, then to the privy-chamber; out of which, he ſaid, ſhe went up a pair of back ſtairs to a great room. Whereas there were neither any ſuch ſtairs thereabouts, nor any large room in that ſtory. 1678.

The duke of Monmouth began, now, to ſet up for himſelf. He held cabals with the lord Ruſſel, Sir Henry Capel, Mountague and others; and Sir Thomas Armſtrong ſaid, on ſeveral occaſions, that Monmouth aſſured him the King had promiſed to declare him prince of Wales, and if the King died he had four witneſſes ready to ſwear, that the King was married to Mrs. Barlow. The King was acquainted with it by the treaſurer, and reproved Monmouth; but he did not change his conduct. Colonel Birch moved the treaſurer to perſuade the King to it; but was told, that the King abhorred ſuch an untruth. The treaſurer was, now, ſtruck at.

Mountague's correſpondence with the Nuncio.—He was appriſed of what was intended, and had ſecured the papers which the King deſigned to ſeize. Francis, Dugdale, Dangerfield, Smith, and others, offered themſelves as witneſſes. The parliament would not give the King a groat, yet he was forced to maintain this rabble of witneſſes. Colman condemned. He was a buſy man, and generally hated. Five lords impriſoned. The parliament was diſſolved on January the twenty-fourth, 1679. The day before the diſſolution, Praunce was removed before the King and council. Green, Barry, and Hill were his accuſers. The ſecond was a proteſtant.

EXTRACT III.

Letters from France of Dumbarton and Monmouth's regiments being reduced, from eighteen and twelve hundred to ſix and four hundred; ſeven ſhillings and ſixpence only given to men diſbanded in Dauphiny and Burgundy. June.

Iſrael Tonge, a fanatic, known to be an infamous villain, that, in rebellious times, did what he could to deſtroy both univerſities; turned out of Tangier and all places wherever he had been, was brought, the day before the King went to Windſor, on an information of one Kirby, a broken merchant, that he had a terrible plot of murdering the King to diſcover, by night to the King. He charged the jeſuits with the plot, as related in papers given to the lord-treaſurer. Mr. Bedingfield brought Sept. 28th.

1678. letters directed to him, in counterfeit hands, ſigned by jeſuits; and, ſoon after, received another packet, ſigned Blundel; all to the ſame tune, about a plot.

Oct. 13th. Otes related his ſtory, with ſuch circumſtances, in council, as to gain ſome credit, till he came to be examined, when the villainy appeared. They aſked if he knew the hands of the letters ſent to Bedingfield. He ſaid he did; and the court making the clerks ſhew him a line of each letter, the reſt being folded up, he preſently ſaid they were Ireland and Fenwick's hand-writing. Both theſe denied it; and ſeveral papers of theirs taken with them being compared, they were proved not to be the ſame. When Otes ſaid they were counterfeit hands, they denied it too, or that they knew ought of their contents; and as to Ireland's letter, dated from St. Omers, in Auguſt laſt, he proved that he was in England at that time, and had not been beyond ſea of a great while. Blundel's letter appeared to be in the ſame hand with Tong's depoſition; other hands counterfeit, and yet names ſigned at length. The packet was directed to Mr. Bedinfield at Windſor, to be left at the Poſthouſe. So White's letter appeared to be forged. Otes, after telling ſeveral improbable things of Don John, and that he was in the room, when the money was told out in Don John's preſence to be ſent to Sir George Wakeman; the King aſked him what kind of a man Don John was? He anſwered, a tall proper man. He was known to be a man of little ſtature, but a little fat. Otes did not know where the jeſuits profeſſed houſes were; but ſaid near the Louvre.

Nov. 22d. The duke of York's proviſo carried for him, in the houſe of commons. Ayes 158, Noes 156. The treaſurer was for him; but the preſbyterians were againſt him.

Bedloe depoſed to Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey's murder in Somerſet-houſe, and that his corps was laid on the back ſtairs. All the Queen's ſervants came up them, her meat was brought that way, footmen waited there conſtantly, a ſentry night and day, her Majeſty and family in the houſe, ſentries at all the doors, and a foot company on the guard; and then not diſcovered, but by ſuch a fellow long after.

25th. Otes was brought before the council, on the twenty-fifth of November. He was ſent with the lords Oſſory and Bridgewater to Somerſet-houſe, to ſhew them the place, where he heard the Queen ſay what he accuſed her of and ſaw her. But he could not ſhew the place.

The

The King could not perſuade the duke to abſtain from council, to prevent an addreſs for removing him from his preſence. The council was forced to order him to do ſo. 1678.

The King, informed by letter from Sir Leoline Jenkins, that he had been advertiſed that Mr. Mountague, envoy to France, had ſecret conferences with the nuncio at Paris, ordered in council his papers to be ſeized; and Sir John Ernely to acquaint the houſe of commons with his reaſons for it. Montague ſaid his papers were not ſeized, but ſafe, and they ſent for them. Danby impeached. Dec. 19th.

Praunce confeſſed the falſehood of all he had ſworn about Godfrey. Dec. 30th.

Ireland and Grove knew not, till ten at night, that they were to be tried at eight next morning; ſo they were not prepared to prove their innocence.

1679. EXTRACT I.

Lady Powis was deputed from the lords in the Tower to beg the duke of York to withdraw. The king lays his conduct before the parliament. 1679. Jan.

The archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Winton try, in vain, to perſuade the duke of York to turn proteſtant. The King reſolved to ſend the duke away; aſſuring him, by letter, that no abſence or any thing elſe ſhould change his affection. The duke and ducheſs go to Bruſſels; but lady Anne is not allowed to go. Two days after their departure, the parliament met, men of eſtates in it. The earl of Danby ſurrenders to the black rod. The duke of York liked him as a man of abilities and reſolution; but queſtioned his loyalty and judgment. The re-admiſſion of Bucks was the firſt thing that turned his head and heart. He then thought of reſigning; and looked afterwards more for his own ſafety, than the King's ſervice. Lauderdale and the duke of York would fain have had the King to put off his journey to Newmarket; and to examine the plot, before the parliament ſhould meet. Shafteſbury would cry louder than the treaſurer. Lady Shafteſbury's butler's ſtory of a French invaſion, with ſixty thouſand men; and the duke of York to come with them. The parliament's voting the duke's religion gave riſe to the plot. Feb.

The King is reſolved not to abandon the duke of York. He offered an expedient. The houſe of Commons vote to exclude the duke of

1679. Feb. York. The King being diſpleaſed, remained firm for the duke. The duke of Monmouth's views. The King was in ſome conflict with himſelf, about falling out with Monmouth; whom the duke of York had preſſed him to diſcountenance and not put into power, but keep him in Ireland in ſome hands; and to ſhew his diſpleaſure to Armſtrong and Young. The houſe of commons would not allow the biſhops to be preſent at the trial of the popiſh lords. The parliament is prorogued. The duke of York preſſed his return; but the King refuſed. The King forms a new council, Halifax, Sunderland, &c. who were the duke's friends; yet they were againſt his return, which could not be, till after the trial of the lords in the Tower.

EXTRACT II.

The treaſurer was blamed, for not putting an end to the popiſh plot, before the parliament met. The duke of York and Lauderdale perſuaded the King not to go to Newmarket; but to ſtay and put an end to the plot. The treaſurer, however, did not ſecond them. If the plot had been examined to the bottom, it would have ended; the perjuries being detected. But the treaſurer never acted heartily for the King's ſervice, after the King had ſeen Buckingham at Mrs. Gwyn's inſtance; and he perſuaded the King to ſend the duke of York abroad.

EXTRACT III.

April. The faction divided; ſome were for the bill of excluſion; the preſbyterians for cutting off the ſucceſſion quite, and be rid of monarchy; others would lay the duke of York aſide, and bring in the next heir: If the duke had a ſon, to have the breeding of him; and to nominate a council of ſtate, by act of parliament, elſe take the prince of Orange *.

EXTRACT IV.

May 28th. On the twenty-eighth of May, the duke of York ſent a letter to the King, from Bruſſels; alſo one on the thirty-firſt, and on the eleventh, twenty-ſeventh, and twenty-ninth of June, and firſt of July.

29th. Inſurrection in Scotland, after the murder of archbiſhop Sharp.

* From this period the prince began to turn his eyes to the crown; and all his ſecret intrigues were employed to accompliſh his purpoſe.

EXTRACT

1679.

EXTRACT V.

The duke of Mnnmouth went, on the fifteenth of June, for Scotland, with only five or ſix ſervants. He wrote, from thence, to the duke of York. At his return, he is complimented with the title of Highneſs; and received, by the King, with tenderneſs. Halifax, Sunderland, and Eſſex, undertook, that the next parliament ſhould give the King money, &c. if the duke of York was kept away. The duke's friends preſſed him to change his religion. June 15th.

On the twentieth, five jeſuits were executed; and Langhorn, a barriſter, on the fourteenth of July. 20th.

When Sir George Wakeman was acquitted, people's eyes began to open; yet the King was ſtill poſitive againſt the duke of York's return. Shafteſbury continued preſident of the council till the fifteenth of October: So fearful was the King of breaking with a popular man. July.

The King treated with the French ambaſſador not to obſtruct his maſter's deſigns, provided they related not to Flanders or Holland, if he might find his account in it; ſo far, at leaſt, as to be able to live without other helps. France catched at it; but deſired, that the duke of York's conſent might be firſt had; he having uſed ſome ſharp expreſſions againſt France. So Sunderland acquainted the duke with it; but before the duke's anſwer, the King fell ill, on the twenty-ſecond of Auguſt, and ſent for him; who came, and thanked the ducheſs of Portſmouth and all the miniſters, who were privy to his being ſent for.

The King found, that Monmouth had managed the Scotch fanatics, as if he intended rather to put himſelf at their head, than repel them; and that he had more inclination to court their friendſhip, than to puniſh their rebellion.

EXTRACT VI.

On the ſixth of September, the duke received a letter from Sunderland, that the King was ill, but he hoped it would paſs over; charging him, at the ſame time, not to be alarmed, nor to come over. Feverſham wrote, that he would ſend an expreſs, if the King grew worſe; and, on the ſeventh of September, he received letters from both, and the Sept.

ducheſs

1679. ducheſs of Portſmouth, by expreſs, that the King was ill again, and had a ſevere fit of an intermitting fever. On this, Sunderland had adviſed with Feverſham, Halifax, Hyde, Godolphin, the ducheſs of Portſmouth, and agreed to ſend for the duke immediately. The King, on propoſal, agreed to it: But all this was to be kept a ſecret; and he was to ſay, that he came of his own accord. So he came very privately. Sir R. Bulſtrode was ſent to tell the duke of Villa Harmoſa, then at Namur, the reaſon. Eſſex knew of his being ſent for, and approved of it; but none of the duke of Monmouth's cabal. He got to Windſor, by ſeven on Monday morning. Monmouth looked much diſturbed, though he had been ordered by the King to behave civilly.

EXTRACT VII.

Sept. On the eighth of September, N. S. the duke of York began his journey from Bruſſels to England, on advice from the lord Feverſham and others, that the King was in danger of an ague, and adviſing him to come as privately as poſſible, that it might not be known at court, till he arrived at Windſor. He told it only to the ducheſs; taking Peterborough and Churchill along with him. He came from Calais, in a French ſhallop, to Dover; where he was not known, but to Portman, an honeſt man, who kept the ſecret. He left Peterborough, and rode poſt, with Churchill, to London. He took a coach at Southwark, and went to Phil. F. at the Poſt-office, and lay all night at Sir Allen Apſley's near St. James's; and got to Windſor as the King waked, being better by the Jeſuit's powder. The duke of Monmouth, who was then at court, had gone to hunt in the morning; and Sunderland, though he knew of the duke's coming, denied it poſitively to Monmouth. The King received him kindly; but would not let him ſtay long, all the miniſters being againſt him. The duke returned, in a yaucht, to Oſtend; and arrived at Bruſſels, the firſt week of October; N. S. He took the ducheſs, the princeſſes Anne and Iſabella, to ſee the princeſs of Orange in Holland; leaving the groſs of his family at Bruſſels. They ſtayed a ſhort time at the Hague, then embarked at Maeſlandſluys, in a yaucht for London; and, about the end of October, the duke went by land to Scotland; leaving his two daughters at St. James's.

EXTRACT

1679.

EXTRACT VIII.

When the King told Monmouth he muſt go abroad, he ſhewed his diſpleaſure, with heat; and, ſince the King did not think him fit to command as general, which he did not ſeem fit he ſhould do, or captain of the guards, he deſired that his troop of guards might be given to the duke of Grafton. But he came next morning, with more ſubmiſſion; declaring himſelf ready to obey orders, and ſet out that night from London. He, however, held a conference, that evening, with his factious cabal. It was reſolved, that the duke of York ſhould go. Secretary Coventry propoſed to Scotland, rather than Bruſſels. Sunderland and the King came into it; only thought the duke ſhould go firſt to Bruſſels for the dutcheſs, and then go ſtraight to Scotland. But Sunderland and ſome others aſſured him privately, that if he came back to court, he ſhould not be obliged to go to Scotland at all. Sept.

EXTRACT IX.

It was now neceſſary to prepare for the meeting of parliament: So Sunderland, Eſſex, Halifax, Hyde, and Godolphin, thought it proper, that the duke ſhould return to Flanders; on condition, that Monmouth was ſent out of England. The commiſſion of general of Scotland and England taken from him; and he himſelf ſent away. He continues his correſpondence with Shafteſbury, Montague, &c. The next day, the King, in preſence of the above lords, declared his reſolution to the duke of York; when Monmouth, in a heat, told the King, that he did not think it proper for him to keep the command of the horſe-guards, ſince he was no longer general; and he deſired, that the duke of Grafton might have his troop. Next morning, he came in better temper, and told the King, that he was ready to ſubmit to what he ordered; and, that evening he went to London, where yet he had a private meeting with Mr. Montague and other diſaffected perſons; giving out, that this diſgrace befel him, becauſe he was for the King's agreeing with the parliament, and becauſe he was a proteſtant. This being publickly diſcourſed, ſome of the duke's old friends were much againſt his going; eſpecially ſecretary Coventry, who ſpoke to the King, in vain, for the duke's ſtay. Sunderland was of the ſame mind. Eſſex and Halifax were

1679. Sept. were for his going; and Mr. Hyde for his ſtay. Godolphin was for his going, ſince Monmouth was gone.

The faction were againſt the duke of York's going to Scotland; for reaſons, as an intelligencer informed, that determined the King for it. Eſſex approved of it; and Halifax, though he at firſt objected, acquieſced.

EXTRACT X.

The duke was to write from Bruſſels, on his arrival, to aſk the King's leave to go to Scotland; and to carry lady Anne and Iſabella, who had been lately permitted to viſit them, to ſee their ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange; and that the yauchts be ſent for him to Holland and ſome frigates kept ready in the Downs to carry him to Scotland.

EXTRACT XI.

On the twenty-fifth of September, the duke took leave of the King, and went to Bruſſels and Holland; and came back to London, without having troubled Eſſex or Halifax; the ſeaſon of the year not being proper for a voyage by ſea. He waited in the Downs, till leave was ſent to come to London; the ducheſs being ſo ill as to vomit blood.

Oct. 13. On the thirteenth of October, the duke came to London, by the King's leave, in his way to Scotland. A week after he arrived in town, Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde came to tell him, that the King thought it for his ſervice he ſhould go to Scotland, as ſoon as he could; but did not intend he ſhould ſtay longer than January. The duke reſolved to obey; and ſet out on the twenty-ſeventh of October. Eſſex and Halifax were, probably, the cauſe.

EXTRACT XII.

20th. A week after the duke's arrival, Sunderland and Hyde were ſent to acquaint him, that the King thought it for his ſervice he ſhould really go for Scotland, though not to ſtay longer than the middle of January. So he ſet out about the end of the month; leaving the princeſſes Anne and Iſabella at St. James's. The King ordered Lauderdale to ſend directions, for the duke's ſitting in the privy council, without taking

ing the oath of allegiance. The duke arrived at Edinburgh on the fourth of December. 1679.

The marquis of Montroſe met the duke at York; and told him of the difficulty of ſitting in the privy council, without taking the oath of allegiance.

EXTRACT XIII.

The miniſters ſent one of their number to propoſe the duke of York's joining with them, to remove the duke of Lauderdale. The duke ſaid, that Lauderdale had ſerved the King very well, and was his particular friend, of which he had many teſtimonies in his abſence; and, that it would be a great diſcouragement to the King's ſervants, to ſee a perſon, who had ſupported his authority with ſo much zeal, ſo ill requited for it; and he could not give his conſent. The miniſters ſaid, they only propoſed to lay him gently aſide, to ſweeten things before the parliament met; which had a pique againſt him and would elſe fall upon him, and, therefore, hoped the duke would be, at leaſt, paſſive in it: But he told them he would not promiſe; thinking it his duty to ſpeak his mind freely and ſincerely to the King, on all ſuch occaſions. This might, probably, give a helping hand to the reſolution of ſending him back. The King, however, promiſed to recal him a few days after the parliament ſhould riſe.

EXTRACT XIV.

On the tenth of October, the parliament was prorogued, by proclamation, to November. Another proclamation was iſſued againſt aſſociation.

Sir Leoline Jenkins had taken more pains to excuſe himſelf from the poſt of ſecretary, than another would have taken to get it.

EXTRACT XV.

The faction was alarmed at the duke of York's going to Scotland, which made the duke leſs averſe to it, for fear of a counter order to remain at Bruſſels. So the King communicated it to Eſſex and Halifax. The former readily aſſented; the laſt, with ſome heſitation. The King declared his reſolution to them all five, Eſſex, Halifax, Sunderland, Hyde, Godolphin. Nov.

1679. Nov. The duke of Monmouth returned from Holland to London, where he appeared publickly, the day after the duke of York ſet out for Edinburgh. He ſent Godfrey to the King.

The duke of York, by his induſtry, application, affability, and kind reception of the nobility and gentry, ſerved the King's affairs, and got himſelf ſuch an entire love and eſteem as dejected his enemies; and therefore, the perſecuting of him in England ſerved only to make him reign, as it were, in Scotland, where he engaged with no party.

Eſſex quitted his poſt in the treaſury; pretending that the duke of York had not kept his promiſe of doing nothing without his advice. The parliament had been prorogued to the twenty-ſixth of January; but not, then, deſigned to ſit. The faction ſet to procure a petition for it. The lord mayor forewarned, by the King. The petition of ten lords. The Roman Catholics proſecuted.

EXTRACT XVI.

Nov. 28th. On the twenty-eighth of November, the duke of Monmouth arrived, about eight o'clock at night, at Whitehall. He ſent, by captain Godfrey, a ſhort letter to the King; hoping that he would not be offended at his coming over, ſince it was with a deſign for his ſervice; and having ſome buſineſs of conſequence to ſpeak to him, deſired his leave. The King anſwered, in writing, that he was extremely ſurprized to hear of his coming into England, after ſuch poſitive commands not to do it. He ordered him to be gone immediately, if he hoped ever to ſee his face again; and to do it ſo privately and ſuddenly, that the world might take no notice of his diſobedience. Godfrey returned, with repeated inſtances for Monmouth's ſeeing the King and ſpeaking a word; aſſuring his Majeſty, that he would do any thing he deſired. The King ſaid, he would be obeyed; and ſtood firm. His coming was concerted with the lords, now framing pretences for the parliament's ſitting; and there was reaſon to think, that Monmouth had been in town three or four days before he ſent to the King; it being known, that Godfrey had been there ſo long. If the duke did not go, the King was reſolved to ſend an officer of the guards to ſee him on ſhip board. This the King told Godfrey, after being with him the ſecond time. The King went to bed, not doubting but Monmouth would obey, none as yet knowing of his coming.

coming. But after twelve o'clock at night, Monmouth came to his lodgings at Whitehall; and, before the morning, it was known all over the town. Monmouth came to viſit him, as ſoon as ſtirring. The King roſe; and freſh inſtances were made only to ſee him. Lord Fauconberg, Macclesfield, and his ſon came upon the errand. The King refuſed, and ordered him immediately from Whitehall: and, by night, out of England, on pain of loſing all his places. He anſwered, by lord Fauconberg, that he was gone out of Whitehall; but begged he might be permitted to ſtay in England, in any place. He was then at his houſe in Hedge-lane, where the cabal held a meeting. The King ſtill peremptorily ordered him to be gone; and, if he did not obey by that night, he muſt never expect to ſee his face any more. The King ſent for all the principal officers of his troop immediately, and ordered them not to obey Monmouth. He reſolved to take away his poſt of captain of the guards; and, for that purpoſe, ordered Sunderland to make a commiſſion for the duke of Albemarle to be captain, and to ſend for him to town. The ducheſs of Monmouth begged the King to ſee the duke. The King bid her tell him, that he wanted nothing but an entire obedience in this matter; and that he would give him no longer time, nor hear any more from him. The next morning, ſhe ſent the King a letter, that her huſband was not yet gone, and renewed the requeſt of admittance into his preſence, as he had ſomewhat to juſtify himſelf from the accuſation. He ſent her a verbal anſwer, deſiring her to remember what he had ſaid the night before; and that he would certainly be as good as his word. 1679.

Fauconberg came, in the afternoon, with a letter from Monmouth, pretending he had long refuſed to bring it; but had yielded, at laſt, to his importunities. The King would not receive the letter, nor ſend an anſwer to it, but that he had nothing to ſay to him. The duke of Albemarle was put, that evening, into the command of the guards, Mulgrave made governor of Hull and lieutenant of the Eaſt Riding, and the earl of Shrewſbury made lieutenant of Staffordſhire. The commiſſion of maſter of horſe was likewiſe taken from Monmouth, though not diſpoſed of. Sir Thomas Armſtrong was turned out of the guards, and his commiſſion given to Mr. Griffin. The thouſand pounds that he had paid were, however, refunded. A deſign was laid to prove the

1679. King's marriage with Monmouth's mother. They pretended that a letter was taken from her, when ſhe was put in the Tower, under the King's hand, owning the marriage; and, to prove that the paper was then taken, they produced a news-book, in 1652, calling her Charles Stewart's wife, and ſaying, that the letter was to be a ground for it. Sir —— Parry pretends to prove the marriage, by a biſhop that is dead.

On the 30th of November, the duke of Monmouth had not left London. The prince of Orange was no ſtranger to his proceedings.

Dec. On Sunday, the lords Huntingdon, Clare, Stamford, Shafteſbury, North, Gray, Cherbury, and Howard of Eſcric, came to the King, with a paper preſented by the earl of Huntingdon, now printed. Chandos and Bedford were at the door. Four com. were to make up the commiſſions for maſter of horſe.

1680. EXTRACT I.

1680. Jan. On the twenty-ſixth of January, the parliament was prorogued to the fifteenth of April. Monſieur d'Avaux ſolicits the Dutch to an alliance with France. A further prorogation to November was urged, for that purpoſe; ſo that the King of England could not aſſiſt the States, if attacked. Thus a prorogation might keep France from invading Holland, and Holland from a league with France. The King propoſed to recal the duke of York before the ſeſſion. But he was diſſuaded by his miniſters. The duke of York told the privy council, whom he had choſe, that he would acquaint the King, that he had, in Scotland, a brave and loyal nobility and gentry; a regular and wiſe privy council; and the judicature filled with learned and upright perſons. That the diſaffected party was not ſo conſiderable as thoſe in England repreſented them; and, having reconciled peace to ſome of the Highland families, they were now firm to the King's intereſt. He took leave of the privy council; the chancellor anſwering how ſenſible they were of the honour of his preſence, the advantages of his conduct and advice; and that they themſelves were entirely devoted to the King, and to his royal highneſs. Their letters to the King. The duke and ducheſs embarked at Leith; and they arrived at Privy-Stairs on the twenty-fourth of February. An addreſs from Norfolk thanking the King for recalling the

the duke of York. The faction alarmed at his return. Rumours of plots. Alford and Shafteſbury told the privy council of an Iriſh plot; Plunket's. Blackburn's contract of marriage of the King and Mrs. Barlow. The King is reſolved to ſearch into the bottom of it; and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, who was ſaid to have ſeen it, was carried before the privy council, and declared poſitively, that he had neither ſeen nor knew any thing of it. In May following, the King being indiſpoſed, with two or three ague fits, the duke of Monmouth wrote to him to inquire of his health; ſigning at bottom, "Your dutiful Monmouth." He incloſed it in one to Mr. Godolphin; who delivering it to the King, HE bid Godolphin tell him, if he would make his actions anſwerable to the concluſion of his letter, and obey his orders, it was the only way to a reconciliation. But if he flattered himſelf with the ſupport of the factious party, or that parliament might interfere in his favour, he ſhould find it would make things worſe. Accordingly, about a month after, finding no change in Monmouth's conduct, he publiſhed a declaration, proteſting, on the word of a King and a faithful Chriſtian, that he was never married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the duke of Monmouth's mother; nor to any other woman but the Queen; which, together with the oaths of all the lords preſent, was regiſtered in Chancery. 1680.

EXTRACT II.

In Norfolk, the grand jury, inſtead of preſenting the petition to the Juſtices of the ſeſſion, preſented the promoters thereof, for meddling therewith; and, in Somerſet, they not only remonſtrated againſt the petition, but iſſued warrants againſt the promoters thereof; one of whom they indicted, for promiſing to petition againſt the proclamation, and procuring a party's hand to be ſet to it, without his privity. The grand jury found a bill; but the cauſe, by a *certiorari*, was removed to the King's Bench. In Berks, the petition was preſented by Sir J. Stonehouſe, Mr. Barker, Wood, &c. moſt of them honeſt gentlemen; though prince Rupert was lord lieutenant, and conſtable of Windſor Caſtle and Foreſt: the only petition that came ſo formally to the King. The Yorkſhire petition was not preſented in council as propoſed. The King ſaw, that nothing but time could do good to parliament. Jan. 24th.

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1680. Jan. 28th. The King ſaid, in council, "I think fit to acquaint you, that I have ſent for my brother; not having found ſuch an effect from his abſence, as ſhould incline me to continue it longer; ſince we have lately ſeen, and may ſee again, queſtions ſtarted, of ſo high a nature in themſelves, and to him particularly of ſo great concern, as make it agreeable, both to reaſon and juſtice, that he ſhould be preſent at the next ſeſſion of parliament. For though it ſhall always be my care to preſerve him in his right, yet I think it may be for his ſatisfaction, as well as for his intereſt, to be upon the place, if any ſuch debate ſhould ariſe again; and, in the mean time, I promiſe myſelf ſuch a compliance from him in all things, that ſhall be thought neceſſary for the general quiet and ſecurity of my kingdom, that no body will have reaſon to be alarmed at his return; or to apprehend, that his being near me will have any ill influence upon the public."

Feb. 25th. Letters, which came from Mr. Chudleigh laſt night, ſay, that the States ſtill inſiſt on calling a parliament. So plain a combination fortifies the King, in his reſolution not to call one.

March. Journal from Tangier attacked by the Moors.

This day ſix lords, Shafteſbury, Huntingdon, Gray, Cavendiſh, Ruſſel, Brandon, and nine commoners, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Scroop How, Sir William Cooper, Mr. Thynn, Trenchard, Wharton, and Dr. Otes, went to the grand jury at Weſtminſter, and delivered an information againſt the duke of York, for being a popiſh recuſant. Juſt as they came to the jury, they found them going down to the King's Bench, with a petition for the parliament ſitting, which the foreman delivered to the lord chief juſtice, who ordered it to be read; after which, the judges ſpent ſome time in conſulting of an anſwer to it, and judge Jones demanded of them, whether they had all their preſentments ready. They replied, that a ſmall time would finiſh them: but then the court told them, that they had ſpent their time in things that did not belong to them, and neglected things they ought to have done; and, therefore, they were diſcharged, and their petition would have been returned, but they would not receive it, ſaying, they had done their duty; and ſo left it with the court. This diſcharging of the jury makes a great noiſe, becauſe they had not given in their preſentments; as doth the information againſt his royal highneſs; none believing

believing that Shafteſbury, &c. would have troubled themſelves with a bare information of the duke of York's being a recuſant, had they not had ſomething elſe to be done, after they had obtained this. 1680.

EXTRACT III.

On the twenty-ſecond of March, the King was at Newmarket; and, the ſame day, the council met at Whitehall, on information, that a great number of apprentices were inliſted by one Alford, under pretence of burning the rump. He was ſecured by the lord mayor, and committed by the council, for high treaſon, as he deſerved, for offering to inliſt men. March 22d.

Sir William Waller and the fanatics endeavoured to make it be thought a popiſh plot; and ſome were ſo malicious, as to write and contrive, as Sir Samuel Bernardiſton and others, that the guards were to join with them to fire the city, and to cut the throats of the proteſtants. Theſe were the very words of ſome of the letters, adding, that the like deſign had been diſcovered in Ireland.

On the twenty-fourth, Shafteſbury called a council, and told them of a new popiſh plot in Ireland, by primate Plunket and his clergy, to deliver the kingdom to the French. He deſired a private committee, for imparting all he knew; the preſident, lord Bridgwater, Eſſex, ſecretary Coventry, and Mr. Hyde, to form this committee, that the author might not be named; and likewiſe powers to examine, without the knowledge of the duke of Ormonde or the King. All was granted. But Mr. Hyde told the chancellor, and complained againſt it in council. 24th.

Don Pedro Ranquillo came ambaſſadour, in place of the marquis de Bourgamont, with powers for making a league, not from the King of Spain, but from the duke of Villa Harmoſa. He told them, that he would ſend for them; and the treaty was concluded in June. May.

EXTRACT IV.

On the twenty-ſixth of June, Shafteſbury and others came to Weſtminſter, to get the grand jury to preſent the duke of York, for recuſancy, hearing maſs, &c. and that the dutcheſs of Portſmouth might be preſented as a common nuiſance. She ſoon made her peace, and joined the faction, with the duke of Monmouth; and both laboured to re- June.

1680. June. move the duke of York from court, becauſe the dutcheſs of York had not ſhewn her reſpect enough.

Halifax and the other miniſters propoſed a bill to baniſh all Roman Catholics out of the realm, to rouſe the nation; though religion was only a pretence. The duke of York is ſent again to Scotland. He deſired a pardon, but was denied it.

EXTRACT V.

On the twenty-ſixth of June, Shafteſbury came to Weſtminſter, and made a ſpeech to the grand jury, then ſitting, about the danger of popery; invectives againſt the duke of York, offering an indictment againſt him for recuſancy, and witneſſes to prove his hearing maſs; and deſired them to reflect how unſafe it was he ſhould have the management of the poſt office; that two thirds of his eſtate might be ſaved; and, that they would declare the dutcheſs of Portſmouth a common nuiſance.

EXTRACT VI.

October. On the ninth of October, the duke of York had notice from Mr. Hyde, that Sunderland and Mr. Godolphin were of opinion he ſhould retire abroad. Eſſex and Halifax were of the ſame opinion; but he was more ſurpriſed at the former, who had obligations to him, and profeſſed to be his friends. The ducheſs of Portſmouth, pretending to reſent his not giving her aſſurances, during the King's late illneſs, of his friendſhip, in caſe of the King's death, though not decent for him to do, and needleſs, becauſe the King's illneſs was ſlight, and not at all dangerous, was employed to draw the King to the reſolution of ſending the duke away. She had gone from Windſor ſeveral times to London, to make up matters with Shafteſbury and his party, by the canal of lord Howard of Eſcric, and, having done it, promoted their meaſures. The King ſignified to the duke of York, that his affairs required his abſence; and he adviſed him to go to Scotland, ſending before him a letter, that he had ſent him to take care of the affairs of the realm; and ſome propoſed a pardon for him, before an impeachment, which Shafteſbury threatened; in which caſe it was undoubtedly valid. The King thought that the commons would proceed by bill, and not by impeachment, as a ſhorter

a ſhorter way, but was againſt a pardon; and, in any caſe, aſſured him, that he would diſſolve the parliament. 1680.

EXTRACT VII.

On the ninth of this month, the King came from Newmarket to London. The duke of York's removal abroad was diſcourſed more than ever. Sunderland and Godolphin both aſſured him, that the King thought of no ſuch thing. Coming to London, Mr. Hyde told him, that Sunderland was grown cold to him; and, though they often ſaw one another, had never opened his mouth to him of any buſineſs, which made him and the duke of York believe the reports were true. But Hyde did not think his friend Godolphin of that mind. He was undeceived the next day after the King came to town, when they told him they thought the duke of York's abſence for the King's ſervice; and, the next day, both ſaid ſo to the duke. Eſſex was for his returning to Flanders: Halifax only from court: the King in doubt whether he ſhould be able to ſtand by him. Eſſex and Shafteſbury are reconciled. Halifax was an atheiſt, and had no bowels. The King conſulted the privy council who were of opinion, that the duke ſhould not go; yet the King continued of the ſame mind. Oct. 9th.

Two days after, he deſired their advice, whether he ſhould break the parliament, if the duke of York was impeached; but this was a queſtion not to be anſwered, ſo no reſolution was taken in council about the Duke of York. On Sunday, the King propoſed his going to Scotland; and wrote on Monday, to his council there, that he had ordered his brother to repair thither, to look after the affairs of the realm. The duke, accordingly, on Wedneſday, took leave of the King and ſet out. The King expected, that the parliament would move for the militia, or ſome act to retrench his power, and would then diſſolve it. The ducheſs of Portſmouth complained of the ducheſs of York, as being kinder to the ducheſs of Mazarin than to her. After the duke's return from Scotland, the cavaliers are diſobliged at the directions given to the judges, in favour of the non-conformiſts, and judge Ellis not being turned out.

1680.
Oct. 21ſt.

EXTRACT VIII.

On the twenty-firſt of October, being the day after the duke's departure, the parliament met. The bill of excluſion, and the debates thereupon, by lord Ruſſel, Sir Henry Capel, colonel Titus, and Harbord. The expulſion of the members, for diſcouraging petitions, though it frightened all, had purged the houſe, and paved the way for the bill's paſſing. The bill was kept four or five days in the houſe of commons, till the houſe of Lords was prepared for it, by addreſſes from the common council of London. Rumours of plots :— Dangerfield.

The ſame ſtratagem had been uſed in the houſe of commons when the bill was firſt brought in there.

Dugdale, Franciſco Perez, and Dangerfield were thought to leſſen the votes for the duke of York, by accuſing his friends. This made the lord privy ſeal vote for it.

As ſoon as Dangerfield had given his evidence, lord Ruſſel carried the bill to the lords. Many of the houſe of commons oppoſed it; but his imperious temper hurried him on with it; and the members gave a ſhout, when it was delivered. Sunderland voted for it. A propoſal was made for the King's divorce. The commons were vexed at the bill's being rejected. Ruſſel declared, if his father had been againſt it, he would have voted him an enemy to the King and country; and if he could not live a proteſtant, he would die one. Mr. Leveſon Gower ſaid, ſome, perhaps, might be for making peace with the duke of York, "but," ſays he, "I will periſh firſt, and my opinion is, that we ſhould break up, and return each to his country, and let the people ſee how we are uſed; and I doubt not but they will ſoon join us, with their ſwords in their hands; and then we will let the duke know, that we defy him and all his popiſh adherents."

The parliament fell on the duke of York's friends. Sir E. Seymour, for miſapplying 600,000l. given for building thirty ſhips. Halifax, lord chief Juſtice Scrogs, and Sir E. Seymour warded the blow. Halifax offered to withdraw, but the King would not ſuffer it. Scrogs was diſcharged, and recompenſed with a penſion. New accuſations againſt the

duke

duke of York about the plot. Mrs. Cellier's engagement with Lewis, to burn the ſhips at Chatham. The diſputes about the pardon; which and maintenance the houſe of commons, accordingly, addreſſed for, and deſired a pardon for perjury too, it not being ſafe for witneſſes to declare at firſt the whole truth, as ſworn to ſay. The attorney general had been complained of, for not drawing Dangerfield's pardon full enough. Lewis had forgery in his pardon, to make him a legal witneſs. 1680.

EXTRACT IX.

Narrative of the victory of the garriſon of Tangier over the Moors. Oct. 27th.

The duke of Monmouth profeſſed a readineſs to make all manner of ſubmiſſion; and hoped he might be received, as earl Huntingdon and lord Mordaunt had. Mrs. Crofts preſſed the King to ſpeak to him, but was refuſed.

The duke of York's abſence hindered many from oppoſing the bill of excluſion. Nov. 12th.

The dutcheſs of Portſmouth does not find her account in her late meaſures, and except ſhe be preſerved by them, ſhe has no way of preſerving herſelf, but by the French intereſt; and by that, the duke of York might be well with her again. "But it is the moſt damned and falſe bottom you can put yourſelf on, and ſuch as I can never ſerve in, with any confidence or hopes of ſucceſs." He recommends being well with the Scots; and if the Engliſh parliament get an addreſs for his removal, he will get a contrary one from the Scotch government. Halifax firm in oppoſing the bill of excluſion. He had procured the King's meſſage, on Monday, to the houſe of commons, to deſtroy the report, as if the King conſented to the bill; and a man ſent, from the great* men to the biſhops, to prepare them for it, as for the King's ſervice; and a good correſpondence between the two houſes was acceptable to the King. This made his public diſapprobation neceſſary. The King reſolved to have the bill refuſed by the lords, at the firſt reading, and not returned, in hopes of mending it at a committee, which had been mightily laboured to get him to conſent to. Agreed to limitations or ſome tem- Hyde to the duke of York.

* The excluſioniſts.

1680. porary law. In the diſputes between the houſes, the commons have always got the victory of late years.

Nov. 15th. The additional duty on wines, expiring next Auguſt, amounts to above 300,000l. the King could ſcarce be able to live on his revenue, and pay his troops and ſeamen. Proteſt of the lords, reſpecting the bill of excluſion. Halifax ſignalized himſelf in the debate for rejecting it. Sunderland voted the other way, which diſpleaſed the king. The point of religion moved them more than a ſpirit of faction. An artifice to perſuade many; but they were engaged too far to retreat, and their ſafety conſiſted in getting it paſſed, as the duke of York would not forgive. The commons adjourned next day. The lords conſidered how to ſecure the proteſtant religion. Divorce of the Queen propoſed in the debate. Lord Peterborough was not committed by the lords, on Dangerfield's evidence, which Eſſex did not believe. It was contrary to *habeas corpus* to impriſon lady Powis twice for the ſame crime. Dangerfield withdrawn. Lord Ruſſel brought up the bill of excluſion. When he had read the title, there was a great ſhout at the bar. The debate about Peterborough was kept on till three, that the bill of excluſion might lie on the table. The duke of York's friends thought it of worſe conſequence; ſo debated from three to nine, and rejected it by thirty-three votes. Halifax ſpoke incomparably, and bore the burden of the day in the committee. He anſwered Shafteſbury and Eſſex, as oft as they ſpoke. He ſpoke, at leaſt, ſixteen times, letting ſlip no good occaſion. His reaſons were ſo ſtrong, that they convinced every body that was not reſolved not to hear. Yet he propoſed, next day, a bill of baniſhment, that the duke ſhould not come near the King's perſon as long as he lived. Shafteſbury and his party turned it into ridicule. The duke's friends ſaid nothing, and it fell. Shafteſbury ſaid no expedient would ſerve, but marrying the King to a proteſtant wife, and divorcing the Queen. He was ſeconded by Saliſbury, Eſcric, Eſſex; and oppoſed by Bridgwater, Halifax, &c. This alſo fell, though it was threatened afterwards, to be taken up. Reſolved to prepare a bill of aſſociation, as in the time of Edward Third, and the thirteenth of Elizabeth. The duke of Monmouth made a ſpeech againſt the duke of York, ſaying nothing ſhould have provoked him to it, but his concern for the King's life,

life, and becauſe he was fully ſatisfied, that the duke deſigned to take it away. Halifax reflected ſeverely on this ſpeech. 1680.

For rejecting the bill of excluſion, 49 lords and 14 biſhops, 63; for paſſing it 30.

In the houſe of commons, for an addreſs to remove Halifax 219, againſt it 95; Birch was of this number.

Ziele, one of the witneſſes againſt Mrs. Cellier, owned he knew her not, nor had ever ſeen her, only Lewis told him ſhe was the woman he talked with, who had a hood over her face. The attorney general added, that for fear of being blamed again, as in Dangerfield's caſe, for not making a pardon full enough, he had aſked Lewis whether he had been guilty of any other crimes, beſides thoſe mentioned in the King's warrant for his pardon, viz. treaſons, miſpriſions, felonies, outlawries. Lewis owned he had been convicted of forgery.

A bill of indictment had been found againſt Mrs. Cellier, by the grand jury of Middleſex, but ought to have been, by that of Surrey, the fact being done there. Shafteſbury repreſented Lewis as a gentleman of good birth, and fit for any employment; whereas his top preferment was footman to Sir J. Moreton. The King had reſolved not to pardon perjury. Sir E. Seymour's anſwer to the articles of impeachment againſt him.

Eſſex moved for a clauſe in the bill of aſſociation, to oblige the King to diſpoſe immediately of the Tower, and governments of Portſmouth, Plymouth, and Hull, to none but ſuch as ſhall be approved in parliament; and without ſuch approbation, the employments to be void. Shafteſbury called all thoſe who were againſt the bill of excluſion *Yorkiſts*. Nov. 14th.

The twenty-ninth, being the laſt day of the term at Weſtminſter, the grand jury preſented the duke of York as a papiſt: but this could not operate till Eaſter term. 29th.

EXTRACT X.

The houſe of commons addreſs and narrative of the plot. The duke of York's friends renew their ſolicitations about a recal. The duke preſented again for a recuſancy. A bill of limitation in the houſe of lords; and articles of treaſon formed againſt him. The duke to be

1680. Nov. baniſhed for the King's life to ſome place five hundred miles from England; to forfeit his revenues if he came nearer, and his life if he returned to any of the King's dominions; and whoever received him, in England or Ireland, ſhould be guilty of high treaſon. In caſe of his acceſſion to the crown, that the whole power of government ſhould be veſted in a council of forty-one: all foreign treaties and negociations to be tranſacted by commiſſioners taken out of the ſaid council: Ireland to be governed by it alſo: and it ſhould have power to fill up all vacancies, or remove any from employments; yet to be ſubject to diſallowance or approbation of parliament, which, while ſitting, was to exerciſe all the authority veſted in the other, during the interval of ſeſſions.

This, as Mr. Algernon Sidney and his party thought, was a gentle way of dropping the government into a commonwealth. Lord Stafford tried and condemned. He played his game worſt when he had the beſt cards. He made little uſe of advantages given him by witneſſes. The duke of York was aimed at in all theſe proceedings. The faction durſt not venture the trying of lord Arundel, the evidence not being full to him. Carliſle and Eſcric had voted Stafford, their kinſman, guilty; yet moved to change his ſentence to perpetual baniſhment. This being rejected, they deſired to ſee him; under pretence of carrying the biſhop of London and Dr. Burnet to him. They only wanted to get ſomewhat out of him againſt the duke of York: but the lords would not allow them to ſee him alone, without a recorder preſent: ſo their project was diſappointed.

The King was wrong adviſed, in ſitting neuter, and leaving all his ſervants to their own judgments.

All men in power, the dutcheſs of Portſmouth, &c. againſt the duke of York. The proſpect of his affairs diſmal.

Robert Sydney arrived from the Hague. The Dutch and Spaniſh ambaſſadours try to perſuade the King to paſs the bill of excluſion. The Dutch had deſerted the allies at Nimeguen. The duke of York gained ground in Scotland. The Scots were as zealous to ſupport his right, as the Engliſh were to invade it. Great endeavours were uſed to remove the duke's friends from the King. Eſſex quoted precedents of perſons being removed on reports. The lords had paſſed a bill for the trials of peers. Bill of aſſociation.

The parliament would make a bargain with the King. The privy council not to judge of *meum* and *tuum*. The commiſſion of judges rejected, by a clauſe *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*. 1680.

The duke of York's letters. All civil and military employments are in the hands of good proteſtants. Acts of excluſion and aſſociation; and then Tangier to be relieved, and the fleet ſupplied.

More projects againſt the duke of York. Contrivance to make Shafteſbury lord mayor.

EXTRACT XI.

The duke of York's letter, dated Edinburgh, Dec. 14, in anſwer to Hyde, preſſing him to be a good proteſtant. The duke was zealous in hindering his brother, the duke of Glouceſter, from turning Roman Catholic. He himſelf did not turn till after he came to England, and reading the hiſtories of the reformation. He only withdrew from communion in 1672.

The republican party are very earneſt to bring the non-conformiſt miniſters into the church; in order to infect that body of men, who they now look upon as the only ſupport of the crown. Earl Thanet about the buying of colonel Ruſſel's regiment.

EXTRACT XII.

Algernon Sidney and the ableſt of the republican party ſaid, that if a bill of limitation was once got, they ſhould, from that moment, think themſelves ſure of a republic. So the King judged. Memorial of the States, when the bill of excluſion was rejected by the lords, that the King would agree with the parliament. They were encouraged to this by Sunderland, and directed in it by Sidney, the King's envoy, elſe they would not have ventured on it. Spain and Holland wanted to engage the King in a war; and then parliament would have the management of it; the putting in all officers, &c. Dec. 7th. 28th.

The duke deſired a *noli proſequi*, to prevent his being convicted, on the preſentation laſt term, by the grand jury.

Danby concurred with the faction about the popiſh plot, to ſave himſelf from the ſtorm which was raiſed againſt him.

EXTRACT

1680.
Dec. 6th.

EXTRACT XIII.

E. Seymour to the duke of York.

On the ſixth of December, the houſe of commons reſolved to out the duke of York's friends, by addreſſes and impeachments; and to take away his revenue and ſubſiſtence, diſabling him to ſupport his dignity. He recommends his turning proteſtant, as the only means to prevent ſo many miſeries. It is much leſs trouble to conquer three kingdoms, than to ſave them from ruin. He conjures him very earneſtly.

On the ſeventeenth, a bill brought in to diſtinguiſh proteſtant diſſenters from popiſh recuſants, by declaring, that the laws of Elizabeth and James I. againſt Roman Catholics, ſhould not be executed againſt proteſtant diſſenters, though intended againſt both. Shafteſbury and his party owned frankly, that they would have all diſſenters, who ſubſcribe the teſt, exempted from taking the oath of allegiance. This occaſioned a great debate. The biſhops and lords oppoſed the bill. It was carried, in a committee of the houſe of lords, that the oath of allegiance ſhould remain ſtill on fanatics as on Roman Catholics; ſo that the faction did not care for the bill.

18th. The lord mayor, his wife, the two ſheriffs, the ſword bearer, and ſome others, have, once a year, power to make, each, one freeman of London, which they uſually ſell. Sheriff Bethel propoſed, for his, the duke of Buckingham. But the court of aldermen, though at firſt they had inconſiderately granted it, laſt Thurſday, would not, on conſideration, permit it. Had this paſſed, Corniſh would have preſented Shafteſbury; and they two had been Sheriffs next year, and afterwards mayors. Had Buckingham been made laſt Thurſday, he would have been choſen common council man; and he intended to accept of it. This looks as if London would ſet up for a commonwealth, and this the firſt ſtep to it.

On the twenty-firſt, a petition was delivered by lord Lovelace to the houſe of lords, without mention of the lords ſpiritual. A motion made by lord Saliſbury, for removing all perſons that depended on the duke of York's party, was ſeconded by the duke of Monmouth and the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. Colonel Legg, governor of Portſmouth, was moved againſt by Shafteſbury.

Almoſt all the Roman Catholics in England, worth above a hundred a year, would be put into the bill of baniſhment.

The bill about diſſenters to be read to-morrow, for the ſecond time, 1680.
which plainly enough throws down the church of England, and ſets up preſbytery; and yet independents and quakers are not ſatisfied with it, though agreeing againſt the duke of York.

Blundel is the young brother of a good and honeſt gentleman of a thouſand a year. But he is a moſt lewd, wicked, diſſolute fellow, not worth a groat. He had courted a virtuous good lady in Lancaſhire. His own ſiſter, Mrs. Penington, told her what a wretch her brother was; who, coming to her houſe, and finding her alone, threw her on the ground and beat her terribly. Her ſervants came to her reſcue, and pulled him off her; he drew his ſword and cut her in two places of the head and face; ran her into the arm and hand, the uſe of a finger loſt. He was abhorred for this, by all the country. The earl of Derby alone would receive him into company; and now he has turned informer, and begun with his own ſiſter.

Self-denying ordinance, in the rump parliament, paſſed for independents; ſo threw preſbyterians out of all employments, and got in themſelves.

1681. EXTRACT I.

The parliament impeach the duke of York's friends. The King pro- 1681.
rogues them; but they firſt paſſed ſome violent votes. One to meet Jan. 10th.
at Oxford, on the twenty-firſt of March. The duke of York preſſed to change his religion.

Saliſbury quitted the council; and Eſſex, Sunderland, and Sir William Temple were diſmiſſed.

The duke of York ſent Churchill to the King, with propoſals not to ſuffer the parliament to ſit, at leaſt till popular heats abate; nor to engage in an alliance with Spain and Holland, ſo as to break with France; ſince the parliament would certainly leave him in the lurch, in caſe of a war; and France only could enable him to ſubſiſt without a parliament. France dreaded a commonwealth in England. Spain and Holland deſired it.

1681. Jan. The prince of Orange complained of the parliament's being prorogued; and was for the bill of excluſion.

The King agrees to a treaty with France, ſo as to allow the duke of York to bring it about; but he would not move for it himſelf. He cautioned the duke, not to conſent to any article that might foreclоſe from calling a parliament, if he thought fit; and to preſs that the firſt payment might be more conſiderable, than the ſucceeding and laſt; and, that the perſon ſent by the duke might come ſtraight to London, and deliver his letters to Mr. Hyde, to be ſhown to the King. The ducheſs of Portſmouth pretended friendſhip for the duke. But it came to nothing. Mrs. Wall conferred with Mr. Hyde, with overtures for a reconciliation; but Mr. Hyde, in the treaſury, had ſhewn more regard to the King's neceſſities, than his credit with that lady. There is no benefit from it.

On Otes's affidavit, that he had ſeen the duke of York at maſs, and receive the ſacrament after the rites of the church of Rome, the grand jury, after being diſcharged at Hicks's-hall, were ſent for, by the juſtices of the Old Bailey, and preſented him for recuſancy: Which allowed a pretence for the duke to appear after proclamation, as the duke of Norfolk and others had done. But this was neither ſafe nor practicable: ſo was removed, by *certiorari*, to the King's Bench, and, if neceſſary, by a *noli proſequi*.

The King, to prepare for the Oxford parliament, had ſome guards with him, and quartered the beſt part of Oxford's regiment on the road, to ſecure his return. He left a body to ſecure the city. In doubt of colonel Ruſſel, he would have had earl Thanet buy his regiment, who agreed; but afterwards declined it, on pretence that the King went not on for a reform at court, which diſheartened honeſt men. The duke of York would have recommended Mulgrave; but the King was preposſeſſed againſt him: ſo nothing was done, only the chief command left with earl Craven.

The King wrote to all the lords to be there. Great pains were taken to prevent the parliament's meeting at Oxford.

Fitzharris's plot and malicious libel, to alienate the people's affections from the King. He was encouraged to it by the French ambaſſadour.

Everard brought privately into his chamber. Fitzharris denied what he was accuſed of; but, as Corniſh told the King, he knew of a higher plot, if he might be pardoned. The two ſecretaries were ſent to examine him. He ſaid, that Monticuculi *, before he left England, had offered him 10,000*l.* to kill the King. That he refuſed, and ſaid it might eaſily be done at madam Mazarin's, by poiſon; and, that the duke of York was privy to the deſign; who effected, that an army was to come from France and Flanders to ſupport the duke of York; a great many parliament-men to be boiled to death, to make a *Sainte Ampoulle*, to anoint him and ſucceeding Kings of England, at their coronation; and, that money had been expeditiouſly raiſed, by the dutcheſs of Modena, to ſupport the deſign. 1681. Jan.

The King, ſeeing the deſign of this incoherent ſtuff, and that the parliament would aſk a pardon, ordered a commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer, to try Fitzharris for his libel, proved by three witneſſes, Sir William Waller, Everard, and Smith. The time before the parliament met was only a warning; yet proſecution followed with all poſſible expedition. This fooliſh ſtory made the duke of York's pardon to be waved, when the King ſent for granting it. The lady Iſabella died at London.

EXTRACT II.

The King declared in council, and ordered writs for a parliament, at Oxford, on the twenty-firſt of March. The earl of Saliſbury ſpoke firſt; and ſaid, that he was ſorry for the reſolution; but ſince the King had forbid the lords to offer any advice in it, he looked on himſelf as unfit to ſerve him at the board, and begged his attendance might be diſpenſed with. The King anſwered, with all his heart; ready to grant ſo reaſonable a requeſt. Eſſex, Fauconberg, and Sir Robert Carr, ſpoke very much againſt the diſſolution; the firſt calling it a deſperate and pernicious council, and of fatal conſequences, if the King removed from London. The lord privy ſeal would fain have ſpoke againſt the diſſolution; but, according to frequent cuſtom, ended with no opinion. None elſe ſaid any thing. Letters to the duke of York.

The bill of excluſion, declared by the party, not ſufficient, without the bill of aſſociation to make it good, and all the power they could think 25th.

* Envoy for Modena.

1681. an. 25th. of put into their hands, during the King's time. The parliament was held at Oxford, to prevent the deſigned management between the faction and the city. The earl of Craven was ſuperannuated. One troop of guards to go with the King to Oxford. Halifax againſt the diſſolution of the parliament till a further trial.

The prince and princeſs of Orange to be made protectors, during the duke of York's time*. Halifax diſcontented, becauſe he not ſure of the duke of York. This, however, was only a pretence. The King could not depend upon the guards under colonel Ruſſel. Conway to ſucceed Sunderland. Seymour anſwers for him. Yeſterday, the King declared in council, that Sunderland, Eſſex, and Sir William Temple, ſhould come no more there. Cheſterfield, Aileſbury, and Oxford to be ſworn in.

This day, about noon, Eſſex, Saliſbury, Shafteſbury, Clare, and ſix more lords, preſented the King a petition, ſigned by thirteen or fourteen lords, for the ſitting of the parliament at London. The former part of it a Remonſtrance. The King ſaid, it was the opinion of ſo many private men, but he was of another; and, theſe were things they ought not to meddle with. The duke of Monmouth and lord Bedford ſigned the petition; but came not with it. Lord Townſhend was deſired to ſign it; but he refuſed, and hindered ſeveral from ſigning it.

It is expected, that Mancheſter, Suffolk, and Macclesfield, will be turned out. The lord Newport much afraid.

The King had promiſed the foreign miniſters, that the Oxford parliament ſhould meet, elſe it would not; but, if on old meaſures, he was reſolved to diſſolve, not prorogue them.

A hundred new members, in the Oxford parliament, who were not in the laſt. Wildman was one; the greater part for the worſe. Halifax ſays, the bill of excluſion if ſent to the lords, it muſt lie ſome time on the table; and the expedients offered before thrown out. The ducheſs of Portſmouth in great credit. A way from the King's lodgings to hers, ſo the King perpetually there, though not ſeen. She is implacably enraged againſt the duke of York.

* The prince of Orange, from this propoſal, was induced to continue his intrigues for mounting the throne. He owed his elevation to the ſuggeſtion, if not to the aſſiſtance of the party.

Sir

Sir N. Carew moved for the bill of excluſion, and was ſeconded. Colonel Birch was not for going ſo faſt, but harkening to expedients; and moved for a day. Hampden was of the ſame opinion. They reſolved on the bill, and rejected all expedients. 1681. January.

The ducheſs of Portſmouth laboured to get Danby out of the Tower, and to perſuade the King to give up the duke of York, as to excluſion.

EXTRACT III.

The houſe of commons, not better compoſed than the laſt, reſolved, at ſome of their cabals, to begin with the bill of excluſion. Either that, or a bill of limitations, would be the deſtruction of the monarchy. It would ſerve likewiſe, for a precedent to meddle with the ſucceſſion, on all occaſions, and make monarchy elective. Feb. 22d.

EXTRACT IV.

The houſe of commons, being enraged, ordered in the bill of excluſion, on Saturday night. It was read the firſt time on Monday, and ordered a ſecond reading, when the King ſent for them to the houſe of lords; and, to their great ſurprize, appeared in his robes. The lords, ignorant of it, had not theirs. He diſſolved them, took coach immediately, and went that night to Windſor. This ſtruck them, like thunder, with confuſion and amazement. It gave the King great reputation. His friends took courage. The faction were in the greateſt rage and deſpair. The King ſtill would not let the duke of York return, till he ſaw how matters went; and, till he had reformed the lieutenancy of the city, the juſtices of the peace, and the militia throughout the kingdom. March 28th.

Arguments by Smith, a lawyer, againſt removing the duke of York's preſentment by *certiorari*. The duke's counſel not prepared to anſwer a thing never yet diſputed; ſo prevailed with the court to adjourn, till the anſwer could be framed; which proving ſatisfactory, the *certiorari* was granted.

The duke of Monmouth tried to get into favour; ducheſs of Portſmouth helped him. The King's affairs likewiſe favoured it; but the duke of York's friends oppoſed it, as improper, while he was in exile. Some of the duke's friends would have him be content with living at Audleyend, or ſome other houſe of the King's; and the ducheſs

1681. March. ducheſs being at Bath or Tunbridge. Only Hyde, and ſecretary Jenkins wiſhed the duke's return, at this time: all being jealous, that Hyde would be treaſurer, if the duke returned. The King ſaid, that his enemies wiſhed for it, to create new troubles. Churchill is ſent to court, to beg leave for the ducheſs to go to Bath. The duke of York's return was denied. The princeſs Anne went to Scotland.

The duke of York deſired, by Churchill, a parliament to be called in Scotland. This granted, becauſe the other requeſt was denied; and the duke to be commiſſioner, it not being fit for any other perſon to repreſent the King, while he was there. But he ordered it not to be opened, till the other was denied. This being known, the faction oppoſed it. Lord Murray, ſecretary for Scotland, diſpatched the proclamation and letter to the privy council, July 28th, for the duke of York's being commiſſioner.

EXTRACT V.

April 4th. Some Roman Catholics zealous to advance the Roman Catholic religion, but no plot. Otes, at his firſt examination, before the King and council, ſaid, that he had ventured his life, for his Majeſty's ſervice, at ſea, and his ſoul at land. He owned, that he confeſſed and received once a week, at the jeſuit's, to diſcover their deſigns; yet was no Catholic in his heart, but to get favour with the jeſuits. When, on his accuſing the lords Arundel and Bellaſis, and Sir George Wakeman, as knowing of the plot, the King ſaid, that the two lords had ſerved him and his father ſo eminently, that, unleſs proofs were full, no credit was to be given them; Otes anſwered, "God forbid he ſhould accuſe any unjuſtly. He did not ſay they knew it, but were to be acquainted with it, by the jeſuits." The King, afterwards, mentioned this publickly.

At his firſt examination, he ſaid he had been at Madrid when the 5 or 10,000 *l.* were telling out before Don John, to be ſent Sir George Wakeman, as a reward for promiſing to poiſon the King. The King aſking what ſort of man Don John was, he ſaid, *a lean, tall, black man*; yet Don John was a little, fat, well-complexioned man, though brown hair. He ſaid he had been at the jeſuits' college, with father La Chaiſe, the King of France's confeſſor; he knew not where, but ſaid it was the houſe juſt by the Louvre. Otes was ſo little credited, that Sir George Wakeman

was

was diſmiſſed after the examination. Otes told none of the eſſential parts of the plot, at firſt. See Journals of the lords, for his perjury about the queen; before whom he had ſworn, that he had no other perſon of quality whatever to accuſe. This was a forthnight before he accuſed her. The lord chancellor aſking him at council, if he had ever ſeen Coleman, he ſaid, no; yet, at his trial he told another ſtory. It was impoſſible that the jeſuits ſhould truſt Otes, after turning him out of their ſociety for ignorance and debauchery. 1681. April.

Lord Bellaſis, a brave officer, was infirm, troubled with the gout, and unfit for employment: Petre was timorous, and no ſoldier: Sir Francis Ratcliff, no man of the ſword, and finical; and when Otes ſwore he had given him his commiſſion in Wild-garden, he had not been in London for two years, but conſtantly at his houſe in Northumberland, not having, in that time, lain a night out of it, as was known to all in thoſe parts, and as Daniel Collingwood teſtified in the houſe of commons when he was firſt accuſed. Colonel Thomas Howard was grown very infirm, and died of his indiſpoſition, about the time named by Otes, who ſwore he gave him a commiſſion in Wild-garden, when Thomas Howard was at Bath; and, after he came to London, he never ſtirred out, being ſo lame and infirm, that he could not walk up ſtairs, but was carried in a chair, not able to ſtand or walk. He died a forthnight after he came from Bath. Sir William Goring, not of age, and but lately come from abroad, was unfit to have many thouſand pounds paſs through his hands. No meeting of jeſuits at the White-horſe Tavern, though once in three years they met to chuſe a provincial, and other officers, ſecretary, procurator. All that died in priſon, or were executed, denied it: No commiſſion was produced or appeared: No arms in any Roman Catholic's houſe that was ſearched, beſides a fowling-piece and a caſe of piſtols.

Bedloe, when he was firſt examined, before the ſecretaries Coventry and Williamſon, in the King's preſence, declared he knew nothing of any plot; but only of Godfrey's murder (ſee Journals of the lords next day); yet turned witneſs for the plot. He made a fooliſh ſtory, of Spaniſh pilgrims to land at Milford; ſwore againſt Whitebread and Fenwick, though, when brought to the bar and examined, he denied, when aſked upon oath, if he had any thing to ſay againſt them; yet

1681. April. yet they were condemned and hanged on his evidence, which agreed with Otes's. He ſwore, that Godfrey's body lay upon the ſtairs at Somerſet-houſe, in a common paſſage for pages and footmen, between eight and eleven at night.

Praunce, after accuſing the four, afterwards hanged for Godfrey's murder, being ſent for to the council to be examined, deſired captain Richardſon to carry him firſt to the King, having ſomewhat of conſequence to tell. He was, accordingly, carried to Chiffinch's chambers, where the King came. Praunce fell at his feet, trembling and ſhaking, which the King ſeeing, he called in Richardſon and Chiffinch. Then Praunce confeſſed, that he was perjured, and not a word of truth in all that he had depoſed; that he had no reſt till he told this to the King; and, being brought to the council, he made the ſame confeſſion. But, when he got back to priſon, he unſaid it again; and ſwore to it, at the trial of the three perſons he had accuſed, and who were condemned. The fourth, Bury, a proteſtant, was reprieved. He told Dr. Loyd, he would not tell a lie to ſave his life, and, that all Praunce had ſworn was falſe. When he would not confeſs the fact, he was, after fifteen days, hanged. He died a proteſtant. Godfrey was not ſeen by any body, after one, the day he was miſſing. Bedlow ſaw the body lying on the Queen's back ſtairs, which looks into one of the courts. Praunce ſays, in a room, which looked into the garden; and they differ in the manner of the murder. Bedlow's perjury againſt Atkins, Mr. Pepys's clerk.

EXTRACT VI.

May 3d. Query, whether Fitzharris's counſel would ſubmit to the juriſdiction of the court? Danby moved the council to bail him. The ducheſs of York ill in Scotland.

24th. Halifax drew, at Oxford, a promiſe from the King, that he would not ſend for the D. of York.

On the Saturday night, Shafteſbury came to the chancellor, to tell him there was a new witneſs of Sir Edmond Bury Godfrey's murder, whoſe behaviour and parts ſhewed he was a gentleman; but, without a pardon, durſt not reveal ought; and, therefore, preſſed the King for one. There was objected, after three years time, and many proclamations

mations and pardons granted, it was hard and ridiculous, to grant more to this point, or any other of the plot. 1681.

The duke of Ormond ſays, that the King's declaration, on diſſolving the Oxford parliament, had very good effects in Ireland, where the King might be obeyed if he would; and, where they ſhould obſerve the motions of England, as ſoldiers ordered to do that of their right-hand men: And, ſince he came into government, he reſolved not to march ſlower; but durſt not go faſter, leſt he ſhould put the King to the inconvenience of defending an indiſcreet zeal, or abandon a ſervant, that reſolves, as far as he is able, to ſupport the rights of the crown, and run the fortune of it. Letters to the duke of York.

Whilſt the King and Queen went to Chatham and Sheerneſs, the ducheſs of Portſmouth went to viſit her beloved friends at Althorp. Ranelagh and Mr. Crofts were her attendants. The viſit made a great noiſe. May 28th.

Fitzharris found guilty of treaſon. Johnſon foreman, who had made a treat for the duke of Monmouth, and petitioning lords at Wapping, about ſix months ago. He made ſcruples on the late votes of the commons; but the lords chief juſtice, juſtice Jones and Dolben took the pains to clear it. His plea was being employed by the King, in ſecret ſervices. The ducheſs of Portſmouth, being called, ſaid ſhe had begged ſome charity for him of the King; but was not privy to any of his concerns. Mrs. Wall ſaid, that he had received a hundred and fifty or two hundred pounds; but it was for bringing in eminent perſons to the King's intereſt: M was one, Howard of Eſcric another. June 9th.

Howard of Eſcric is ſent to the Tower; Mrs. Fitzharris and her maid both averring, that he ſet her huſband at work on the libel; and that the greateſt part of it was his own writing. The attorney-general ordered to prefer an indictment next morning; and ſuppoſe he will make his peace by a full diſcovery. 14th.

The prince of Orange had made Sidney general of the Engliſh, in the Dutch ſervice. Conway, by the King's order, wrote to the prince againſt it; and, that he would not diſpoſe of it, without the King's conſent firſt had. The prince of Orange perſiſted he had the diſpoſal of 18th.

1681. it; but has ſince wrote, that he would not have it, if, in vain, he might write of it to the States.

Fitzharris ſent on Thurſday laſt to the King, that if he would give him his life, though with perpetual impriſonment, he would declare who had put him on accuſing the Queen, the duke of York, and Danby. He was, accordingly, to be examined to that point laſt night. Shafteſbury and his gang are much out of order. They are diſturbed at the parliament's going to be held in Scotland, and chiefly at the duke of York's being commiſſioner. Dennis offers to make a large confeſſion, who put him to accuſe the Queen, the duke of York, Ormond, &c.; and, if he ſays true, great men are reflected on. Howard is to be indicted on Tueſday before the grand jury. The Dutch inſolent refuſal of Skelton, to be King's envoy. In a way of diſcovering Shafteſbury's deſigns.

Conway's Letters.

June 30th. Brian Haynes had made conſiderable diſcoveries. He was once a favourite of Shafteſbury's, who had uſed intereſt to get his pardon; and he now owns all that he ſaid about Godfrey's death to be a mere fiction. College and Rous, a ſervant of Sir Thomas Player's, were ſeized on Haynes's diſcoveries.

EXTRACT VII.

June. Fitzharris tried. Sir William Waller, &c. forced, againſt their wills, to ſwear againſt him. The ducheſs of Portſmouth's practices laid open, by his order. He turned evidence. Shafteſbury's trick to keep up the plot. Dennis and M'Namara were to accuſe the Queen, the duke of York, the duke of Ormond, and the lord chancellor of Ireland, of a plot. Stifled, by an action of ſubornation againſt them.

14th. Eſcric is ſent to the tower; being accuſed, by Fitzharris's wife and maid, of having the greateſt hand in the libel. Plunket executed. His laſt ſpeech ſhewed his innocence. Shafteſbury was committed, the next day, on information of ſix Iriſh witneſſes, five proteſtants. He ſunk when the warrant was ſigned. "Shafteſbury had a ready tongue, great addreſs in buſineſs, without ſhame, honour, or conſcience, ſo obſtructive to ambitious deſigns. While matters went ſucceſsfully with him, his good humour kept pace with his fortune. None was ever higher for prerogative, when chancellor. But like wind he came about to the popu-

Shafteſbury's character.

lar

lar party, and turned the bittereſt enemy to the King and duke. He had rather a ſubtile wit, than a ſolid judgment; better at pulling down, than building up. "Never any incendiary had a quicker invention, and a more promiſing face, without faith or truth." He and Eſcric demanded a *habeas corpus*, before the attorney-general was aware of it. 1681. June.

The prince of Orange comes for England; but returned diſſatisfied. The faction, failing in this ſcheme, began to wheedle with the King; promiſing, if he would call a parliament, to give a ſupply, without inſiſting on the bills of excluſion or limitation. This was the prince of Orange's propoſal. The lord chancellor and others favoured it.

The parliament meets in Scotland. Queſtions about burroughs. The firſt trial of ſkill in it was carried for the King. The faction are much caſt down. The duke of York's friends ſollicit his return. Halifax oppoſed it. Hyde ſent to prevail with the duke to change his religion. A ſcheme for the government of Scotland. The revenue but 60,000 l. a-year, which ſeven commiſſioners of the treaſury are ſufficient to manage it. Cuſtoms and exciſe not to be farmed: Frauds in both: Money employed in two companies doing nothing. To be given to Huntly, Argyle, Athol, and Seaforth, ſeven hundred pounds each, to anſwer for the Highlands, and make good what is taken from the Lowlands. The King approved of it. Lauderdale offended at the duke of York's exceptions to the lord-regiſter, the earl of Argyle, and the preſident of the ſeſſion. He laboured to perſuade the King, that they were all diſpoſed to his ſervice.

The Scotch parliament had framed a new teſt, which was refuſed by the dukes of Monmouth and Hamilton, when miniſters at Edinburgh. Argyle was proſecuted, for refuſing it, or explaining it, as a privy councillor, and as commiſſioner of the treaſury. When ſworn as commiſſioner, he gave in his explanation. He was found guilty of treaſon, leaſing-making, &c. He eſcaped out of priſon; and the only deſign being not to take away his life, but to get a forfeiture of ſome juriſdictions and ſuperiorities ſurreptitiouſly acquired by his predeceſſors, and moſt tyrannically exerciſed, ſo the examination ſtopped. He eſcaped out of priſon, by means of his daughter's changing cloaths with her footman, and carrying up her train. He paſſed undiſcovered by the guards, and got out of the realm. Sentence then pronounced.

1681. The duke and ducheſs of Lauderdale intreated for lord Lorn, who had leave to come up and to plead for himſelf. He was reſtored in eſtate. Shafteſbury acquitted.—Quo warranto.—

The prince of Orange tries again to get the King to cloſe with parliament, and deſert the duke of York. The King's neceſſities forced him to a private treaty with France. Fifty thouſand pounds a quarter were the terms; and the firſt payment to be at the end of June 1681; without any condition on the King's part, but that of friendſhip; and with promiſes on the French part, not to diſturb Flanders or Holland. But France thinking it no breach to take Straſburg and Caſſel, and block up Luxembourg, the Dutch clamoured; and the King promiſed to call a parliament, if France proceeded *par voy de fait*. So the King was forced to ſend a memorial to the French King, that, unleſs he ſuffered proviſions to be brought into Luxembourg, he muſt call a parliament. Halifax is for the duke of York's being ſent for. Fifty waggons let in. The parliament to convene at Cambridge. France offered to quit all pretences, if Luxembourg is delivered. This was ſufficient to ground a treaty. All the Dutch vehement ſolicitations, for a parliament, came from the prince of Orange. The duke of York comes to court, by the ducheſs of Portſmouth's means. G. Jefferies, the ducheſs of Portſmouth's council, aſſured, that the five thouſand pounds a year being ſurrendered to him, he might ſurrender it again to the ducheſs of Portſmouth. This might be done, by levying a fine on ſo much of the profits of the Poſt-office as was neceſſary for that end. The duke of York came by ſea to Yarmouth, thence to Newmarket.

EXTRACT VIII.

Conway's Letters to the duke of York. July 2d. Shafteſbury ſent to the Tower. Three or four depoſitions, that he would depoſe the King. The party terrified. Papers ſeized. Fitzharris executed yeſterday; he delivered a paper to the miniſter of the Tower.

3d. Shafteſbury had prepared to be gone in two days. All the boys huzza'd him through London, calling "out, a traitor." He was ſent by water.

The prince of Orange referred Sidney's affair to the King's pleaſure.

The

The grand jury would not find a bill againſt Eſcric. The ſheriffs of London would return none but of the party, who would find nothing againſt them. 1681. July 9th.

Sidney had a conſiderable ſum due from the wardrobe, if he would quit his command, and uſe his endeavours to undeceive the prince of Orange, in the meaſures he had taken; for which he would have the prince invited over. The duke of York would be at public prayers, at the parliament of Scotland. Sidney came over this day, and delivered the prince of Orange's letter to the King, deſigning to come to England, and a yaucht to be ſent for him.

Lady Anne went for Edinburgh yeſterday. 14th.

The prince of Orange came to Windſor on Saturday night. Sunday, *p. m.* he had a long converſation with the King, who ſent for him next Monday morning; H. Seymour, lord Hyde, lord Conway, the writer, were preſent. The prince publicly declared, that unleſs the King could aſſiſt his allies, Flanders and Holland would be loſt; that the King could not aſſiſt them, without a parliament, was evident; and therefore, that a parliament ſhould be called. The prince was aſked, if a parliament's meeting, on no better hopes of agreement than the laſt, would contribute toward the ſupport of the King's allies; and he was told what were the deſires of the laſt parliament, and aſked, if he thought theſe things ſhould be granted, and whether he would adviſe the excluſion? he cried out, "he abhorred it." 24th.

Whether he could propoſe any limitations? He ſaid the crown could not be tied.

Whether the militia, navy, judges, and ſea-ports, ſhould be put out of the King's power? He ſaid, he would never adviſe it.

Whether all the miniſters and officers about the King, ſuſpected or eſteemed to be the duke of York's creatures, ſhould be removed, and confiding men true proteſtants put in? He diſclaimed it all. He was told, theſe were the ſubſtantial matters of laſt parliament; and if a parliament was neceſſary, he ſhould propoſe ſomewhat for a better agreement. He replied, that he knew only abroad, and underſtood them not at home. Being preſſed extremely to propoſe ſomewhat, he deſired time to think of it. The King had called ſeveral parliaments, partly to aſſiſt his foreign

1681. allies; and, inſtead of aiding him, the very treaties he had made with them, were urged as ſuſpicions for the ſupport of popery in England: And the parliament, ſo far from giving a penny to aſſiſt him, that they would not give a farthing to preſerve Tangier. The King deſired the prince of Orange to propoſe ſomewhat to remove jealouſies. England had then a greater averſion to the prince of Orange, than to the duke of York.

Macpherſon's Extracts. July 30th. The prince of Orange, being invited to dine at the lord mayor's, obſtinately reſolved to go. The two ſheriffs came to invite him. Halifax, lord Hyde, and Mr. Seymour diſſuaded him. He ſaid, he had dined with them twice before. But they replied, that the city then was in a fair correſpondence with the court: but now in oppoſition. He turned angry, and ſaid, he had promiſed and would go. Seymour poſted upon this to Windſor. The King wrote to the prince to come immediately thither. He durſt not refuſe to comply with his commands. He preſſed hard for the preſervation of Flanders. He undertook the States ſhould do whatever the King did; but HE muſt make the firſt ſtep. The King, on the other ſide, offered to do any thing he was able, in conjunction with the States and the King of Spain. They differed on theſe points.

EXTRACT IX.

Carte's Extracts. July 15th. The prince of Orange made Sidney general, in the earl of Oſſory's place. Propoſals about Scotland. The nobility in general there are well affected to the King; dreading nothing more, than to ſee either preſbytery reſtored, according to covenant, or England made a commonwealth, which would make them ſlaves, as in Oliver Cromwell's time. There are only one or two ſuſpected of being republicans.

EXTRACT X.

Auguſt. The King judged it unfit to call a parliament. But if the French King abſolutely invaded Flanders and broke the peace, he would call one; though in that caſe, he did not expect that they would do any thing for preſerving Flanders, without having their will at home; and, even in that caſe, he would part with them again. The King was deſired to name commiſſioners, to ſpeak with the Spaniſh ambaſſador, in preſence of that

of the Dutch, to ſee what they would go on, before the prince of Orange went away. This the King agreed to; and appointed Halifax, Conway the ſecretary, and Hyde. The ſubſtance of the conference was, that the Spaniſh ambaſſadour deſired the King to ſend the States word what he was in a condition to do, if France proceeded farther *par voye de fait*. Anſwer, this would put the King on making a ſtep by himſelf, if the States ſhould not be ſo forward as the King propoſed to be. Secondly, aſked, that the King and States might appoint their miniſter at Paris to preſent memorials, that the King of France would remit all further pretenſions, to be decided at the conference at Courtray; and, mean while, not to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of any place, either by decree of the chamber of Metz, or by force. And if he denied this, thirdly, that the King and States ſhould declare they muſt take other meaſures for preſerving the Low Countries. And, fourthly, the Spaniſh ambaſſadour deſired that the King would ſend over two thouſand foot, of his own men, to Flanders, by way of loan, till they could perfect the levies they were about. 1681. Auguſt.

To the firſt, was anſwered, that what memorial ſoever the States would order their ambaſſador to deliver at Paris, the King's ſhould have orders to ſecond it, though he had not had the ſame experience. The States would not order theirs to uſe the phraſe of taking meaſures; but let it be what it would, as the King had hitherto uſed jointly with the States, he would continue to do ſo, and make no ſeparate ſteps. As to the fourth propoſition, the King had no obligation to ſend any men, till war was declared; that the number was too inconſiderable for the preſervation of Flanders, but too many for him to ſpare from his ſervice. This was reported to the King, in preſence of the prince of Orange. The King agreed to it; and the prince of Orange was fain to acquieſce, though not ſatisfied. The prince's coming was certainly contrived by the Spaniſh ambaſſadour and our own people, to try, if poſſible, either by the conſideration of foreign or of domeſtic affairs, to oblige the King to call a parliament ſpeedily; in which all the points, art and induſtry imaginable have been uſed, but the King has reſiſted them all. Yet if France continue to proceed as ſhe has done, it will be unſupportable; and a parliament will be called, as the French ambaſſador has been told.

1681. told. The faction pretended now to be afraid of France; and would not aim at the bill of excluſion.

E. Seymour's letter. Aug. 13. Since the prince of Orange's going a project on foot, by the Southampton club, of having the parliament preſently called, in which they undertake for a ſupply for preſerving Flanders, and not to inſiſt on excluſion, or queſtion any miniſters, was the very dregs of the prince's council, and by his advice.

Had it not been for Halifax, the bill of excluſion had not been thrown out of the houſe of lords.

18th. College's trial laſted three or four hours; in diſpute whether a man, within the liberties of London, could be tried at Oxford. Otes was witneſs for him; but expoſed himſelf, ſo as to do his buſineſs, even with his own party. The examination of witneſſes laſted till midnight. College excepted to eleven of the jury.

Sept. 24th. The witneſſes againſt Howard and Saliſbury were frightened, with the reports of a parliament, which would certainly hang them; and they wanted the King to declare he ſhould not call one. It was expected, that Sir John Moore would be choſe lord mayor on Thurſday.

The news of Straſburg ſurprized them, and had an ill effect on diſintereſted people. The King anſwered, to the Spaniſh ambaſſador's inſtances about it, that he muſt firſt ſee what the Emperor and Empire and the States would do, all more nearly concerned than him, and then judge of what was fit to be done.

Conway's letters. Oct. 1ſt. The prince of Orange carrying on a proteſtant alliance, as he calls it, without acquainting the King with a ſyllable of it, Conway gave the King notice of it, when moved to the States, under an oath of ſecrecy, when the prince of Orange told them it was agreed on, and modelled here in England.

Mr. Hales, of the admiralty, was ſent to Holland to diſcover meaſures, as an agent, in that court. The King of France took Caſſel, and deſtroyed the Tripoline fleet, in a port of the grand Seignior's; whom he defies, as well as the Pope and Empire.

Shafteſbury afraid of a trial, offered, if the King pleaſed, to go and live in Carolina. The lord chamberlain was for the King's hearkening

to

to him. The grand jury would not find a bill againſt Rouſe. Van Beuningen came over, with the project of a general league. 1681.

The King ſpoke to lord Hyde, deſiring the duke of York to conſent to give 5000 *l.* a year of the poſt office; ſince he could ſettle nothing on the dutcheſs of Portſmouth beyond his own life. It was not to be done, without borrowing what you are to receive from the King; and, by advice of council, looking into the ſettlement of the duke of York's eſtate, and his coming into England. The duke of Monmouth had refuſed the teſt. The dutcheſs of Portſmouth would do the duke of York all the ſervice ſhe could. The King of Sweden had come into the prince of Orange's league. On Hales's excuſing himſelf, Mr. Chudleigh was choſe for Holland. When a parliament is called to preſerve Luxemburgh, the Dutch will not concern themſelves, whether it is preſerved or no; ſo that we ſhall only diſcompoſe our own affairs, diſoblige the King of France, and do Spain no good. Yet the King, if the blockade is continued, told the Dutch that he would call a parliament. Conway's letter. Oct. 22d.

This night there were bonfires, on Shafteſbury's being acquitted, by an ignoramus jury. Nov. 26th.

The dutcheſs of Portſmouth preſſed the duke of York's return earneſtly; and with as good reaſons as could be uſed. The King allowed them. Shafteſbury let out of the Tower. The lord mayor ordered to put the laws in execution againſt non-conformiſts in London. *Quo warranto* brought againſt the city-charter, which pleaſes all good men there. The common council, on the twenty-firſt, were better than laſt year.

EXTRACT XI.

Lord Hyde came to Edinburgh on the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, 1680; and brought an anſwer to the meſſage ſent by Churchill, for leave to wait on the King. The anſwer was, that, except the duke of York reſolved to conform entirely, and go to church, no leave was to be had; that, if he did not conform, the King could no longer ſupport him, though he had hitherto done it; "that I ſhould ruin myſelf and him." Hyde executed his inſtructions well, in preſſing and repreſenting the diſmal ſtate of affairs; when, after two or three days diſcourſe, he Dec. 2d.

1681. ſaw he could not prevail, he ſhewed the duke a ſhort note, in the King's own hand; "that, if I would but go to church, without doing more, I ſhould have leave to come to him, as ſoon as the parliament was up *."

Extracts from letters from the King to the duke of York.

EXTRACT XII.

March 8th. On the fourth of March, the duke of York's youngeſt daughter died.

30th. The Oxford parliament was diſſolved on Monday laſt.

April 27th. Fitzharris's indictment before the grand jury to-morrow. The King was confident it would be found; and though all the practices imaginable were uſed to pack a petty jury, yet the proofs were ſo clear againſt him, that they would hardly find twelve men ſo wicked, as to perjure

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* Had his royal highneſs's ghoſtly fathers been more indulgent, he himſelf would not probably have been ſo averſe from this propoſal. But they had forced him to a rigid adherence to the rules of the church, in articles for which others have frequently obtained diſpenſations. This appears from his own account of his converſion, which he relates as follows. The extract was made from his own memoirs, and in his own very words, by father Sanders, his confeſſor. It is to be found, as in the margin, in Nairne's hand.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 5.

"It was about the beginning of the year 1669, that (having long had in my thoughts that the church of Rome was the only true church) I was more ſenſibly touched in conſcience, and began to think ſeriouſly of my ſalvation. Accordingly, I ſent for one father Joſeph Symonds, a Jeſuite, who had the reputation of a very learned man, to diſcourſe with him upon that ſubject; and when he came, I told him the good intentions I had of being a catholic, and treated with him about my being reconciled to the church. After much diſcourſe about the matter, the father very ſincerely told me, that, unleſs I would quit the communion of the proteſtant church of England, I could not be received into the catholic church. I anſwered, that I thought it might be done, by a diſpenſation from the pope; alledging to him the ſingularity of my caſe, and the advantage it might bring to the catholic religion in general, and in particular to thoſe of it in England, if I might have ſuch a diſpenſation for outwardly appearing a proteſtant, at leaſt, till I could own myſelf publicly to be a catholic, with more ſecurity to my own perſon and advantage to them. But the good father inſiſted, that even the pope himſelf had not the power to grant it; for it was an unalterable doctrine of the church, not to do ill that good might follow. What this good Jeſuit thus ſaid, was, afterwards, confirmed to me by the pope himſelf, to whom I writ upon the ſame ſubject. Till this time, I believed (as it is commonly believed, or, at leaſt, ſaid, by the proteſtant church of England doctors) that diſpenſations, in any ſuch caſes, are by the pope eaſily granted: but father Symonds's words, and the letters of his holineſs, made me think it high time to uſe all the endeavours I could to be at liberty to declare myſelf, and not to live in ſo unſafe and ſo uneaſy a condition."

themſelves ſo impudently, againſt law and juſtice, in the face of the world. 1681.

The prince of Orange's journey to England, was to perſuade the King to call a parliament preſently; "and it was ſhewn him clearly, by myſelf and others, I truſt, that the only effect it would have, was to be broken again in a few days; and by it, abſolutely diſhearten our allies abroad; yet ſuch was his prepoſſeſſion, as I did not perceive we gained any thing on his judgment. We parted very good friends, though different in opinion in many things; and it is plain, that great pains have been uſed to miſinform him, and you know it is not an eaſy matter to convert him, though he was as well baited as poſſible. He had very little to ſay in particulars; made the King great profeſſions at parting; and, though he does not live to be convinced, I believe, in the main, when he has thought well on what was ſaid to him, he cannot be in the mind he was when he came over." Auguſt 7th.

Sent by Hyde, Sept. 6th. The faction diſpleaſed and caſt down, at the proceedings in Scotland. Sept. 1ſt.

There is a good lord mayor choſen; and, next year, good ſheriffs are to be hoped for. Oct. 8th.

Letters ſent in form, for paſſing ſentence on Argyle; but not to be put in execution, till further orders. Dec. 18th.

It was neither the King's nor the duke's intentions to take away either the life or eſtate of Argyle. But to make uſe of that occaſion to get him more under their power, and to forfeit certain juriſdictions and ſuperiorities, which he and his predeceſſors had ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and moſt tyrannically exerciſed. The King reſpited his ſentence. He was glad to get thoſe ſuperiorities and offices, which he thought too great for any one ſubject, out of ſuch bad hands. He eſcaped by means of his daughter. Some of the council adviſed that ſhe ſhould be publickly whipt through the ſtreets of Edinburgh. The duke prevented it; and ſaid, ſmiling, "That they were not uſed to deal ſo cruelly with ladies in his country." But notwithſtanding the duke deſigned no real harm to Argyle, his enemies were too watchful to let ſlip any opportunity of decrying his conduct. The duke and ducheſs of Lauderdale had a great ſhare in theſe falſe reports. They interceded vehemently in favour of Macpherſon's Extracts.

1682. Argyle's ſon, the lord Lorne. This the duke was no leſs ready to concur in, than the King to grant; only deſired, that in ſettling the eſtate, due regard ſhould be had, and proviſion made, for the younger children. But the ducheſs of Lauderdale preſſed hard for having all the offices, except juſticiary, confirmed to Lorne. The duke urged for a ſignature and diſpoſition of the eſtate, for the payment of all juſt creditors, with moderate donatives to ſuch as Argyle had ruined by his tyranny, the ſurpluſage being intended to deſcend to his family. The King refuſed to ſee Lorne, but with the duke's conſent.

The King's neceſſities had been long ſo great, and the parliament ſo refractory, that he had no way left for relief, but by a private agreement for a penſion from France. The conduct of the French upon this, had like to have obliged the King to call a parliament; which, at that time, would have turned to the duke's advantage. The project was broke off by Halifax's refined arguing, who was always for cleaving a hair in his advice. The duke owed his return to court to the ducheſs of Portſmouth, without her intending it. This turned out well for the King; for, without the duke's preſence, the King could not have obtained ſuch a victory over the faction.

1682. EXTRACT I.

Carte's Extracts. Jan. The duke of York ſtill in Scotland, at the beginning of this year; but hoping to return ſpeedily to England. Since the Oxford parliament was diſſolved, Sunderland and others of the gang were turned out; and his diſcountenancing and letting the ducheſs of Portſmouth ſee his being diſpleaſed with her management, with thoſe of the rebel party who were for the bill of excluſion; and nothing ſaved her from more marks of diſpleaſure, but the King's having owned her ſon ſo publickly. So that he doubts whether her journey to Bourbon was for health, or by order; but ſhe managed affairs ſo well, as to prevail with the King to propoſe to the duke of York, to conſent to ſettle on her a rent-charge of five thouſand a year, for which he would give an equivalent out of ſome fund of the hereditary revenue. The duke anſwered, he was ready to comply, and ſign any paper the attorney-general ſhould think neceſſary; but thought it could not well be done, without his being

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at London, in preſence of the judges, to make it valid, as was generally believed. The duke's anſwer was calculated to make his return neceſſary to diſpatch the affair, which was much deſired by the ducheſs of Portſmouth, who was greedy to have it in her power to raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds, as ſoon as the grant ſhould be paſſed; without which deſire of hers, it was not likely, from her former behaviour to the duke, that ſhe ſhould preſs his return. 1682. Jan.

This made the duke of York keep the affair to himſelf, which, by providence, none knew or had obſerved, but himſelf; which was, that it was not in his or any body's power to do what was deſired, but an act of parliament. So little did thoſe who put her on aſking it, or even the King's learned council, know or remember the purport of the act. The duke kept it ſecret from his truſtieſt friends, to get her credit and intereſt to facilitate his return from an honourable baniſhment; ſhe had promiſed, as well as Halifax and Mr. Seymour, who were ſtill againſt his return. By her influence the duke returned, embarking at Leith in a yaucht. He came to Yarmouth and Newmarket in the beginning of March. Halifax and Seymour preſſed his ſpeedy return to Scotland, deſiring the affair might be ſettled there; but could not prevail. Hyde ſolicited his ſtay, on the pretence already mentioned. Feb.

The King, to ſatisfy his brother and the ducheſs of Portſmouth, gave him pretences enough for going with him to London; and, at his return thither, ordered the attorney general to prepare a deed, to be ſigned by the duke, to do that affair of the poſt office. But, after a day or two the attorney general, peruſing the act, found that nothing, but an act of parliament, could impower the duke to do it. So the King and ducheſs of Portſmouth were diſappointed. She was then in France, and forced to be ſatisfied with the reaſon of its not being done, as ſhe could not blame the duke. She ſtill wanted to raiſe a hundred thouſand pounds ſome other way. In Auguſt ſhe returned, and was in as great credit as ever; and, though ſhe lived ſeeming well with the duke of York, began to uſe it to reſtore Sunderland to favour, and ſupport the party. Sunderland was made ſecretary of ſtate again, in the room of Conway; and, miſſing five thouſand a-year out of the poſt office, ſhe got ten thouſand a quarter paid out of the privy fund, which ſhe had no notice of till then; and was kept a ſecret from all the world but the duke of York; March.

by

1682. by whoſe means it was firſt had and negociated by Churchill, and then paid to the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. Had the ducheſs known it ſooner, ſhe would have got her payments ſooner; for the laſt quarter's payment was not made when the King died. This ſecret, and the credit the duke had with the King, made her jealous of him. What increaſed her fears was, that the King had frequent conferences with the duke about religion, which ſhe fancied to be about politics. This ſet her ſo againſt the duke, that, Sunderland being recalled, ſhe endeavoured to ſend the duke of York back to Scotland; had not the King been carried off by an apoplexy.

EXTRACT II.

France propoſed, if Spain would quit Luxembourg, to make over all her other claims. The King thought this might ſerve for the foundation of a treaty; but the Spaniſh and Dutch ambaſſadours would hear of nothing but a parliament, though Luxembourg muſt fall, if no treaty was entered on.

Feb. Halifax agreed to the duke of York's return, if he did not meddle with buſineſs. The duke, however, owed his return chiefly to the ducheſs of Portſmouth's great and earneſt ſolicitations; and though it was propoſed, that he ſhould come to Newmarket, and, from thence, return, yet Hyde adviſed him to come on any terms, and truſt the reſt to his behaviour to the King.

The duke delayed his coming, till the King went to Newmarket, on the fourth of March. When he was with the King, Seymour thought he would prevail not to return.

The States again preſs the King for a parliament.

EXTRACT III.

Feb. 17th. By a letter from lord Arran, the States were preſſing for a parliament, in concert with the faction.

28th. By a letter from W. Legg, deſiring the duke of York to meet him at Newmarket, where the King ſhould be next Saturday. The ducheſs and her daughters to ſtay behind till they met.

EXTRACT

1682.

EXTRACT IV.

The duke embarked at Leith, in the Henrietta yaucht, landed on the tenth at Yarmouth, lay that night at Norwich, and got next day to Newmarket. There was no miniſter there, but Conway and Hyde; Halifax having ſtaid at London, and Seymour was at his country-houſe in the weſt. The duke, by advice of his friends, meddled with no affairs, but in ſecret. March 6th.

EXTRACT V.

Halifax and Seymour oppoſed the King's taking the duke of York with him to London from Newmarket. The ducheſs of Portſmouth got ten thouſand pounds a quarter, out of the King's private fund, till a hundred thouſand ſhould run up, which only Hyde and Churchill knew of. April.

The duke ſtaid with the King till the third of May; when he went from Windſor to fetch the ducheſs from Scotland. He went in the Glouceſter frigate; and, through the unſkilfulneſs or treachery of captain Ayres, the pilot, who was, afterwards, tried and condemned for it, was in great danger of ſhipwreck. Ayres intention was to follow the colliers rout, betwixt the coaſt and ſand-banks; but the commanders were againſt it, and ordered him to go out to ſea, thinking to clear them all. But he ſtill perſiſted to tack, fancying he had time enough to go within the banks; at laſt, leave was given him, when the commanders thought themſelves far enough out at ſea to go beyond them all. But they were deceived: For, ſoon after, the ſhip ſtruck on the Lemon Ore, near Yarmouth roads, where ſhe ſtuck ſome time; and, had not too much haſte been made to clear her, all the paſſengers and ſeamen might have been ſaved. As ſoon as ſhe came into deep water, ſhe ſunk, and, at leaſt, a hundred perſons in her. The duke of York got into his ſhallop, and went on board the yaucht; taking the earls of Perth and Middleton with him; none offering to go into it but whom he called, viz. Churchill, and one or two more. But the other boats coming to their aſſiſtance, moſt of the perſons of quality and the duke's ſervants got off alſo; and many more might have been ſaved, had it not been for the timorouſneſs of the boatmen, hindering them from coming near the

1682. the ſhip, when they thought her about to ſink, for fear of ſinking with her *. Thoſe left, as they were ready to ſink gave a great huzza! when they ſaw the duke of York ſafe.

May. The duke, getting to Scotland, declared the preſident of the ſeſſion, lord Haddo, chancellor; the earl of Queenſbury, treaſurer; and the earl of Perth, juſtice-general; and returned, with the ducheſs and lady Anne, by ſea to England. They arrived, on the twenty-ſeventh, at Whitehall. Shafteſbury ſued for London. Lord Sunderland and the ducheſs of Portſmouth ſoliciting his being reſtored, though Halifax did what he could to hinder it.

The duke of Monmouth made offers towards a reconciliation, about the end of April, by the ducheſs of Portſmouth, though he denied it to Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, Montague, &c. and reſolved on a progreſs to Cheſter, in which he got a few acclamations from the rabble.

EXTRACT VI.

Auguſt. The ducheſs of Portſmouth came out of France in the beginning of July. Her firſt work was to make Sunderland's peace. Halifax oppoſed it; but it was done, in the firſt week of Auguſt. Shafteſbury ſent a meſſage to the duke of York, as if he had a mind to come in; yet reported at the ſame time, that the ducheſs of Portſmouth deſigned to make her ſon, the duke of Richmond, prince of Wales. This was only a deſign to make a miſunderſtanding between the duke of York and the ducheſs of Portſmouth.

Sept. 1ſt. Reports of the duke of Monmouth's coming in; for which there was no ground, but his wife's endeavours to perſuade him to ſubmit to the King, without capitulation. Shafteſbury, Ruſſel, Montague, and others, kept him from it; and, in the beginning of September, he ſet out for Cheſhire. He was received, at Coventry, with the acclamation of, "A Monmouth and no York." This, however, was not the caſe at Litchfield.

* Party-writers have groſsly miſrepreſented this tranſaction.

1683. EXTRACT I.

Quo warranto. The Rye-houſe conſpiracy diſcovered; being the laſt effort of malice to the King and the duke of York. An accident of fire at Newmarket prevented it. It was diſcovered, about the end of Trinity Term, by Keeling. Shafteſbury ſaid they were too few to do the work, and too many to conceal it. So, on the nineteenth of November, one of the days appointed for a general inſurrection, he went with Walcot and Ferguſon to Holland; pretending no longer *to walk the King out of the kingdom*, as he arrogantly expreſſed it; when he eſcaped by an ignoramus jury. Walcot and Ferguſon ſoon returned from Holland, to join with Monmouth, Eſſex, lord Gray, Eſcric, Ruſſel, Algernon Sidney, Hampden, Armſtrong, Romney, Rumbold, Sheppard, &c. Four thouſand men were ſaid to be engaged in this inſurrection. 1683.

The King was ſlow in crediting it; but the duke of Monmouth, at laſt, confeſſed it. He ſubmitted, when the proclamation was iſſued out againſt him, and owned his knowledge, naming all the conſpirators. But getting his pardon, herded in with his factious councillors; and though he had left a letter with the King owning all, he got the King to return it, and then denied every word of it. He was baniſhed from court, and retired abroad to Zealand.

The princeſs Anne, married to prince George, brother to the King of Denmark, on the twenty-eight of July. The duke of York was made lord admiral and privy councillor.

EXTRACT II.

Either juſt before the meeting, or during the ſitting of one of the laſt parliaments, a conſiderable ſum was wanted to pay off ſeveral ſhips newly come home; and the commiſſioners of the treaſury were put to it, to find ready caſh. Several ways were tried, in vain; but, the commiſſioners of hearth money, encouraged by a good bargain of the overplus of that tax, for four thouſand pounds a year, after the beſt enquiry of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, advanced it. For the demurrage of the ſhips to be paid off would have been very chargeable; and it was ſo much good huſbandry and credit to the government. Beſides, no body offered more, nor ſo much, as thoſe that had it. The Feb. 4th.

1683. bargain was concluded a year ſooner. One Shales, who had to do with the affair of chimney money, came and brought a project to ſome of the courtiers, that if they could get the bargain of overplus, and he and his friends have the collecting of it, they would give the King twenty thouſand pounds more than he was to have; and as much to the party, as he ſhould get it from. This being brought to the King, he ſent it to the treaſurer, who examined it, and judged it impracticable. Shales, angry with the treaſurer, and lord Rocheſter in particular, applied again to the King, who would have ſent him to Rocheſter, but deſired it might be to Halifax, who embraced the propoſal warmly; repreſenting it, as bringing in twenty thouſand pounds to the King; and that, if he King did not proſecute the managers of the hearth money, any body elſe might. This being ſaid to the King, he, at Halifax's inſtance, ordered the lord keeper to enquire into the grant made to the managers of the overplus, whether good in law. The lord keeper, after hearing Shales, and, with the attorney and ſolicitor-generals, examined the affair, reported their opinion, that the grant was legal, and not to be broken; that the King could recover nothing of the managers, nor could any body elſe; So Halifax deſired that the affair might be dropped; and no further enquiry was made into their books, to ſee what they had got by the bargain.

March 1ſt. When Otes and Doctor Tong came firſt to diſcover the plot, before they had appeared in public, or any body, but the King and Danby, had heard of it, or they had been with Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, being preſſed by Danby to let him ſee ſome of the Jeſuits letters, Otes pretending, he was ſo much truſted by them, that he often ſaw ſome of their letters, and that they paſſed through his hands; he promiſed, but did not perform in ſome weeks. He was ſtill preſſed, at laſt, to tell how they were directed, that they might be intercepted in the Poſt-office; but even this he could not do. After many puttings off, in the end of Auguſt or beginning of September, he wrote to Danby, whom he thought at Windſor, to tell him, if he ſent to the Poſt-houſe there, he would find letters directed to Mr. Bedingfield, that would make out what he ſaid of the plot and deſign to murder the King. Danby was gone to lord Norris's in Oxfordſhire; ſo that a packet of letters, ſo directed, were delivered to Bedingfield's man, who was ſent for letters to the Poſt-

Poſt-office. *For Mr. Bedingfield, to be left at the Poſt-houſe at Windſor till called for.* 1693.

As ſoon as Bedingfield received it, he carried the letters to the duke of York, againſt whom, and the Roman Catholics in general, he judged there was ſome deſign; the letters being counterfeited by the names of "Whitebread, Fenwick, Ireland, Blundel," whom he knew; but was ſure it was none of their hands, which he knew very well. As to Fogarty's, he could ſay nothing, having never ſeen his writing; but believed it to be counterfeited, as the reſt. Fenwick's name was wrong ſpelt. The letters were all in one packet, four fingers broad, and five inches long; and all to the ſame purpoſe, giving an account, in plain Engliſh, that they had received letters from Peter Talbot, archbiſhop of Dublin, that all things were ready, in Ireland and Scotland; and that they would riſe in arms, as ſoon as they heard *Forty eight** (by this they meant the King) was diſpatched; and all ended, with deſiring him to remember them to Mr. Colman. Bedingfield deſired the duke to deliver them to the King, or one of the ſecretaries; and tell how he came by them, and his belief of their being counterfeited, and deſigned to do him prejudice; and, that he himſelf knew of no ſuch deſign. The duke did ſo; and deſired ſecretary Coventry might have them. The firſt letter the King opened and read was that ſigned Blundel; and he ſaid, that he was of the duke and Bedingfield's mind, there was villainy. The hand he believed to be counterfeited; and ſaid, that he had ſeen one very like it; and would keep the letters to compare with ſome he had ſeen.

The duke of York preſſed Danby that the letters might be read at the committee for foreign affairs; but could not get it done, till juſt before the King went to Newmarket, when they were read there. Otes's firſt narrative was alſo read, in Tong's hand-writing; and the letter, with Blundel's name, compared with the narrative, and judged to be in the ſame hand; and that the whole affair was a mere invention. The whole committee was then preſent, the duke of York, prince Rupert, Chancellor, treaſurer, Lauderdale, Arlington, Coventry, and Williamſon. When the jeſuits were ſeized, their papers were compared with theſe letters, and found not at all alike; and when, after all were delivered to

* Being the number of years the King was old.

1683. Sir W. Jones, attorney-general, and Sir Robert Southwell, clerk of the council, they compared ſome of Otes's writing with theſe letters, they very believed one of them was of his hand-writing. They were produced at none of the trials of thoſe whoſe names were put to them. The letters ſent by poſt were ſo ill worded, that none, but ſuch an illiterate dunce as Otes, would have wrote them, or his inſtructor Tong, who made all for Otes; as his Majeſty was told by one, who was at ſupper with theſe two villains, that, being warmed with wine, as uſual every night, they fell out, and called one another by their true names. Tong ſaid to Otes, "You raſcal, was it not I that made the plot for you, which you had not invention enough to do; and could never have made any thing of it but for me?" The perſon, who told the King, deſired him to aſk another about it; who, when the King aſked him, confirmed the truth of it.

Dec. 8th. The duke of Monmouth owned to the King, in preſence of the duke of York, at ſecretary Jenkins's, that he knew of the whole conſpiracy except the deſigned aſſaſſination; and all the perſons, who were concerned in it with him; and did not contradict any thing lord Howard ſaid, but in one point not very material. He owned what colonel Rumſey had ſaid, as to lord Ruſſel's ſaying when Trenchard had failed them, that he would immediately put on his boots, go down into the weſt, to Taunton, and make them riſe himſelf. He wondered no more witneſſes came in againſt Wildman, ſince no man was more active in the conſpiracy. He ſaid, that the council of ſix gave fifteen pounds a man, to ſend down Aaron Smith to Scotland; that Sir William Courtnay, Sir —— Drake, and other gentlemen, knew of it, in the Weſt; that Mr. Booth was the perſon they depended on in Cheſhire, and Sir J. Hotham in Yorkſhire. He owned his viſiting the guards, in order to the ſurprize; that Doctor Owen, Mr. Mead, and all the chief of the north country miniſters, were privy to and active in the conſpiracy; that major Hurſt, of Chicheſter, ſaid, that it was eaſy to ſurprize Portſmouth; and that he was ready to undertake it; for the officers on the guard were, for the moſt part, drunk every night. The duke of Monmouth being aſked by the King, whether they had any correſpondence with any in the guards or court, he poſitively denied it. As for Scotland, that Sir J. Cochrane and Monroe's coming up hither about the

Carolina buſineſs was but a pretence; it being really to adjuſt matters, as to the riſing there, at the ſame time that it was to begin here: That Ceſnock, Rouallen, Bailey, and the other Scots ſo told, were all engaged in it; that they complained they only wanted arms, but not good-will; that Argyle could bring many men to help the weſtern men; that they had laid a deſign to ſurprize Stirling caſtle, by an old gutter, or ſally port, towards Balanguith, where there were no centinels; that they were to ſeize the chancellor and treaſurer, in Edinburgh, which they thought they could do with forty or fifty horſe, which they could eaſily get into the town, without notice being taken. 1683.

Luzancy, who would have paſſed for a doctor of the Sorbonne, though no prieſt nor gentleman, but ſon to Beauchateau, a player, accuſed father St. Germain and that Colman had been brought into the [illegible]; but this laſt got off, when examined, by the committee of the houſe of commons. He was buſy, and the King, ſoon after, ordered him out of the ducheſs of York's ſervice. Upon advice from E. Godfrey, in the beginning of September, that he was mentioned in Otes's depoſition, the duke of York bade him beware of his papers and perſon; yet he let his papers be ſeized; "Sure there was nothing to hurt him;" and ſurrendered himſelf to ſecretary Williamſon. Dec. 24th.

1684. EXTRACT I.

Some time after the duke of Monmouth was forbid the court, he went privately beyond ſea; only one gentleman and a ſervant along with him. He embarked at Greenwich, in a fiſher-boat, and landed at Tervere, thence to Bergen-op-zoom, Antwerp, and Bruſſels. He ſpoke with Fonſica, if not M. de Grana. He ſaid he would go to Holland; and he could ſay that to the prince of Orange, in a quarter of an hour, that would ſatisfy him. 1684. Jan.

After the duke of York had been at York, in the firſt Dutch war, he moved the King to make Sir George Saville a viſcount; and he preſſed it earneſtly, and it was done ſome time after: Yet, when he came into the houſe of lords, he always ran along with the popular party; and joined in oppoſing the King's concerns. When Otes's plot was firſt brought on the ſtage, none was ſo violent a driver of it as he; being one of the ſe- Feb.

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1684. cret committee with Shafteſbury; and not ſo favourable to the duke himſelf, as might have been expected.

May 20th. The duke of York to the prince of Orange. He found, Monmouth had been to ſee him, without advertiſing him of his coming. "This was odd enough, after engaging in a conſpiracy, for altering the government and ruining our family; and refuſing, ſince he had his pardon, to own that, under his hand, which he had confeſſed to the King, in the duke's preſence. This was to keep up his credit with his rebellious party, and vain pretenſions to the crown: For nothing elſe could make him refuſe to ſign it.

EXTRACT II.

(Oct. 4th.) When the ducheſs of Portſmouth came out of France, ſhe was [illegible] recovering the credit ſhe had loſt with the King, by taking part with Monmouth, Shafteſbury, and the party.

1685. EXTRACT I.

1685. Jan 24th. A ſtop put to the paſſing a pardon for the Roman Catholics; the attorney general being to be heard againſt it, at the lord keeper's deſire.

EXTRACT II.

Feb. 2d. On the ſecond of February, the King was ſeized with a fit of apoplexy; the biſhop of Bath and another biſhop, who read the viſitation of the ſick when he was deſpaired of. The King ſaying, that he repented of his ſins, the biſhops read abſolution to him. The duke of York propoſed ſending for a prieſt to him to count Caſtelmellor; but none being found, Hudleſton was brought up the back-ſtairs to the private cloſet, where the duke, the earl of Bath, and Trevanion, a captain of the guards were. Hudleſton gave him the extreme unction and ſacrament. The company were then called in; and he died, between eleven and twelve, on Friday morning, the ſixth of February, 1685.

EXTRACT III.

The King was ſeized with an apoplexy, about eight in the morning; being dreſſed and juſt come out of his cloſet, where he had been ſome time

time after he got out of bed. The duke of York was immediately advertiſed of it; but before he could get to him, doctor King, a phyſician, being in the drawing-room, had been called in, and let him blood. This done, the moment after he fell; and, by the help of other remedies, preſcribed by his own phyſicians, he came to himſelf and ſo perfectly to his ſenſes, that there were great hopes of him the next day: But, on the fourth day, all the phyſicians gave him over. 1685.

Mr. Hooke told, that Danvers ſent to him and others, who were to make a riſing in the city, by the duke of Monmouth, from Bridgwater to London, to propoſe the diſpatching of the King, by ſhooting him, as coming in his barge to Somerſet houſe; or ſtabbing, at Whitehall or St. James's: But Hooke ſaid they were for open war, and it would be baſe to do it; and, if they would not promiſe him to deſiſt from the attempt, he would diſcover them all. If Monmouth had not been beaten, they had riſen, and had men ready for it; Danvers, Manley, Payton, and this Hooke, with others, were to have headed them.

EXTRACT IV.

The earl of Rocheſter made treaſurer; Clarendon privy-ſeal; Halifax preſident of the council; Godolphin lord chamberlain to the Queen; Sunderland and Middleton continued ſecretaries of ſtate. The King ſhowed the late King's papers to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who did not think Charles II. ſuch a controvertiſt.

The parliament called in Scotland. The King's letter, of twenty-eighth of March. The parliament met in England, on the twenty-fourth of May: and ſettled a revenue. The King's ſpeech of the ninth of June.

The prince of Orange conſidered the King, who was the preſent poſſeſſor, and the duke of Monmouth, the pretender to the crown, as equally obſtacles to his aims. He therefore had been formerly adviſed, by the penſionary Fagel, that his buſineſs was to play the one againſt the other; and that whoever got the better would equally advantage his pretenſions. If the D. of Monmouth ſucceeded, it would be eaſy for him, that was a proteſtant as well as he, and in the right of his wife, the next heir, to ſhove him out of the ſaddle. If on the contrary the duke of Monmouth was worſted, he got rid of a dangerous Macpherſon's Extracts.

1685. rival; and was ſure all his party would then have recourſe to him; which proved afterwards true. This made him, underhand, do all he could to inflame this young man's fury and ambition; and ſend him out, like a victim to the ſlaughter; playing a ſure game himſelf, to whomſoever fortune ſhould give the advantage at preſent.

The King had been long informed, even in the life of the late King, by one Monpoulean, a companion at their drinking bouts, of the ſtrict correſpondence and friendſhip betwixt the prince of Orange and Monmouth. Upon which the late King ſaid, it ſeemed ſtrange to him how thoſe two ſhould appear ſo good friends and agree ſo well together, ... they aimed both at the ſame thing.

There were ſo many perſons, in the mean time, ready to ſecond the duke of Monmouth's requeſt, and among the reſt the Q. dowager, that the King, contrary to his judgment, conſented to ſee him, which he ſhould not have done, unleſs he had been diſpoſed to pardon. He was willing to hear more of the matter, related by Mr. Sheldon*. It was ſtrange my lord Sunderland did not oppoſe it; unleſs, as was ſaid afterwards, he underhand aſſured the duke of Monmouth of his pardon, if he confeſſed nothing; and then, when he had deſtroyed his own credit, by contradicting himſelf, he took care to have him diſpatched as ſoon as poſſible afterwards. If Monmouth's head and heart had been anſwerable to his mien and perſonal outſide, he had certainly great opportunities of purſuing his aims, by the turbulency of the times, whom my lord Shafteſbury, by his great dexterity, had ſo much inflamed againſt the duke of York.

The puniſhment of Monmouth's followers raiſed diſcontents. A commiſſion of Oyer and Terminer was iſſued to the lord chief juſtice Jefferyes, to go down into the Weſt, and inflict ſuch puniſhments as the example of former reigns and the ſecurity of the preſent ſeemed to require. But imprudent zeal, or, as ſome ſaid, avarice, carried him beyond the terms of moderation and mercy; and he drew great obloquy

* He had ſent Sheldon to meet the duke, on his way to London. Monmouth confeſſed every thing to Sheldon. He diſcovered the intrigues of the prince of Orange and his own abettors in England. But Sunderland, it ſeems, afterwards induced him to deny the whole when he was brought before the King; aſſuring him, that he was certain of his pardon, and therefore ought not to betray friends, that might be uſeful to him, on a future occaſion.

upon

upon the King's clemency, not only in the number, but in the manner too of ſeveral executions; and in ſhewing mercy to ſo few, particularly to an old gentlewoman, one Mrs. Alice Liſle, who was condemned and executed, only for harbouring one Hick and Nelſtrop, both ill men enough indeed, and the latter in a proclamation. But, as ſhe pretended, was ignorant of it, and therefore, perhaps, might ſuffer for a common act of hoſpitality. But this ſeverity was contrary to the King's intentions; as appears from the different treatment one major Holmes met with from the King and the chief juſtice. Holmes had loſt his ſon and an arm in the battle. He was brought up priſoner to town. The King being deſirous to ſee him, he behaved himſelf in ſuch a manner, as gained eſteem from every body. His carriage was free from dejection, but full of reſpect. He had recourſe to the King's mercy; and ſaid, the favour he had aſked was more beneficial to the King than to him, conſidering his loſſes and his years. The King, who loved courage even in an enemy, could not refrain from countenancing him. He diſcourſed freely with him, and no one was more frequently in the antichamber, till it was thought fit to ſend him down to the weſt to inform Jefferyes of thoſe who moſt deſerved mercy. He was hanged with the reſt. 1685.

The King queſtioned the chief juſtice, but he palliated his ſeverities, with the pretence of neceſſary juſtice; which the King knew not how to contradict, ſince he had the precaution, not only to ſend four other judges, as his aſſiſtants, along with him, but Mr. Pollexfen likewiſe, in quality of his ſolicitor; who, being a known favourer of the Preſbyterian party, he hoped would moderate the chief juſtice's heat. This made the King acquieſce in what had been done, though it was of great diſſervice to him at bottom. The cruelties of Kirk were ſtill more inexcuſable than the ſeverities of Jefferyes. He cauſed many to be hanged (vol. iv. p. 97.) more out of a bloody diſpoſition, and to ſatisfy his own brutal paſſions, than love of juſtice or his maſter's ſervice. It is not improbable, but even then he had it in his view to draw an odium on the King.

On the eleventh of June, Monmouth landed, with a hundred and fifty perſons, at Lime in Dorſet. Beſides the information of Sheldon and the prince of Orange, the King had been informed of it by one Monpouleam, Carte's Extracts. June.

1685. a bottle-companion of Monmouth's; who alſo informed him of the ſtrict correſpondence between the prince of Orange and Monmouth, when he was firſt in Holland. When Monmouth was taken, he wrote, on the road, to deſire admiſſion into the King's preſence; having ſomewhat to ſay, that would give him a happy reign. Ralph Sheldon was ſent to meet him; and being aſked who had the chief confidence with the King, he ſaid Sunderland. Monmouth then, knocking his breaſt in a ſurprize, ſaid, "*Why then, as I hope for ſalvation, he promiſed to meet me.*" He deſired Sheldon to acquaint the King with it; and that he would inform him of all his accomplices, ſeeing ſome of them had the King's confidence. Sheldon, on his return, was giving the King an account, when Sunderland, pretending buſineſs, came into the cloſet; and Sheldon ſtopt, deſiring to ſpeak to the King in private. But the King told him he might ſay any thing before that lord, which put Sheldon to great perplexity; yet he told what Monmouth ſaid. Sunderland ſeemed at firſt ſtruck; but, after a ſhort time, ſaid, with a laugh, if that be all he can diſcover to ſave his life, it will do him little good. Monmouth, after he was brought to the King, begged for mercy; but made no great matter of diſcovery. He would not ſee his dutcheſs, his wife in law, nor in the ſight of God.

Proclamation againſt colonel Danvers, J. Trenchard, George Speke, Francis Charlton, and J. Wildman. The lords Stamford, Delamere, and Brandon ſeized, and put in the Tower. Jefferies ſent to the Weſt. Major Holmes ſent to inform Jefferies of the moſt criminal, and of ſuch as deſerved mercy, was hanged with the reſt. Kirk, with his troops, made ſtrange havock. Lord Brandon Gerard was tried and found guilty, on the twenty-ſixth of November, but was afterwards pardoned. Hampden pleaded guilty. Delamere was acquitted, and Seaton found guilty of perjury. Stamford was not tried, but pardoned. Dangerfield was tried, on the twenty-eighth of June, and found guilty of perjury. Having been whipped to Tyburn, as he was returning in a coach, one Mr. Francis aſking him, in deriſion, how his back did, Dangerfield making an abuſive reply, and Francis thruſting in his cane, unfortunately hurted his eye; of which he died in ſome days. Francis was tried and condemned; and, though he deſerved well of the King, could obtain no pardon. Hook was ſent from Bridgwater to London, for the inſurrection there. On this,

this, the King had augmented the guards to twelve or fourteen thou- 1685.
ſand men.

On the ninth of November the parliament met. They were alarmed Nov. 9th.
at the King's ſpeech; and a debate enſued about it. The charge of government did not exceed 1,300,000 pounds a year; and the revenue was two millions. The forces were but fourteen or fifteen thouſand men; half as many as before. An addreſs againſt employing Roman Catholics. The King's reply. Coke ſent to the Tower for an indecent ſpeech. The parliament prorogued to the tenth of February.

EXTRACT IV.

This day captain Middleton came to me, and aſked pardon for hav- 26th.
ing been engaged in a traiterous conſpiracy; owning that he was chief promoter of it; and that it was laſt year, after Monmouth was beheaded, when he was a captain in the firſt regiment of guards. The deſign was to ſurprize the Tower, one day whilſt I was hunting: to ſeize the Queen, and the King, if they could; to put all in a diſorder, and declare for a commonwealth: that he had been at the Tower to view it, and lay his deſign of ſurprize; and had engaged ſeverals.

EXTRACT V.

The King was in danger from the prince of Orange. Bentinck was ſent to congratulate on Monmouth's being taken. He was in a grievous agony, when he underſtood that the King was reſolved to ſee Monmouth; and, though he found that the duke had ſaid nothing of his *maſter*, he was never at quiet till his head was off. This was ſo manifeſt to all, that lord Dartmouth, returning from the execution, and giving the King an account of it, told him, that he had got rid of one enemy, but had a more conſiderable and dangerous one remaining.

The earl of Clarendon was diſſatisfied with colonel R. Talbot's reformation and regulating of the army; yet he continued, till the beginning of 1687. When the late King died, Sunderland was actually contriving with the ducheſs of Portſmouth, to ſend the duke of York into baniſhment again; and the duke knew it. They thought to ſend him

1685. on ſome embaſſy abroad, or deputy to Ireland, which Sunderland foreſaw would be his ruin; and he came to the earl of Rocheſter, immediately after the King's acceſſion, and told him, though it had been his misfortune to differ with him formerly, it was the effect of the times, not his inclination. But, as he had a great eſteem for him, he would uſe ſome intereſt he had, that he might be treaſurer, and his brother lord lieutenant of Ireland. So made his merit to them, of what he knew the King had reſolved on, before they aſked it; not doubting but he would get both laid aſide, on account of religion.

The Scotch parliament met on the twenty-ninth of April; but the favour he deſired for Roman Catholics was not well reliſhed.

On the ſixteenth of November, Samuel Johnſon was proſecuted for a libel; and degraded on the twentieth.

1686. EXTRACT I.

1686. Sunderland, beſides having a penſion from the prince of Orange, had one from the King of France. He was the moſt mercenary man in the world: veered with all winds. He got the King to eſtabliſh a ſecret council of Roman Catholics, to meet at his office, or Mr. Chiffinch's, to conſult of matters of religion. Being inclined to it, he drew by degrees all buſineſs to it; and he himſelf was the umpire of all. It conſiſted of the lords Arundel, Powis, Bellaſis, Dover, Caſtlemain, and father Petre. Caſtlemain was ſent to Rome. Mr. Caryl had been ſent before; but more worthy. He got father Leyburn made a biſhop, *in partibus*, for England; but could not get Rinaldo d'Eſté, prince of Modena, and uncle to the Queen, made a cardinal. Father Petre was made a privy councillor, contrary to his own judgment and the Queen's advice, and a cardinal's cap ſollicited for him. Petre was a plauſible, but a weak man, abounding in words. Sunderland extolled his abilities; but he was not ſworn till ſome time after.

It had long before been agreed, between Sunderland and father Petre, Mr. Jermyn and lord Tyrconnel, that Petre ſhould be a cardinal. Sunderland, treaſurer, &c. The pope refuſed the cap; and Caſtlemain quarrelled with him; only getting leave for the King to name three vicars general, doctor Giffard, Smith, and father Ellis, a Benedictine, who

were accordingly conſecrated. The King took the chapel at St. James's to himſelf; and left that of Whitehall to the proteſtants. He built one there, from the ground, for his own uſe; ſettled fourteen Benedictine monks at St. James's; gave the Jeſuits leave to build one in the Savoy; and ſettled a college there, for the education of children; into which, two hundred Roman Catholics were admitted. The Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's-inn-fields, and ſome Carmelits ſettled in the city. Some Roman catholic chapels were alſo erected in the country. The religious in their habits. The opinion of the judges about diſpenſing power, as to oaths and teſts, agreed upon. Sir E. Hales's caſe. 1686.

EXTRACT II.

Halifax ſent father March to Windſor, deſiring to be admitted, and that he was ready to ſerve the King in his own way, and endeavour in parliament to repeal the penal ſtatutes. The King refuſed to admit him publickly; but he permitted him, if he really meant what he ſaid, to come to a private conference with him. Halifax ſaid that he would join in taking away the penal ſtatutes: but that there was no need of taking away the teſt, as the judges had declared that his Majeſty could diſpenſe with it. The King thought this diſingenuous; and would not admit him. Macpherſon's Extracts. Auguſt.

EXTRACT III.

Eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. The biſhop of London ſuſpended *ab officio*, for not obeying the King's letter, of the fourteenth June, about doctor Sharpe. Carte's Extracts.

A neutrality agreed on with France, in America, in caſe of a breach in Europe. Nov. 6th.

1687. EXTRACT I.

The earl of Rocheſter was turned out of the treaſury, for oppoſing all meaſures contrary to the King's true intereſt. They perſuaded the King, that Rocheſter had a mind to change his religion. The King preſſed him to it, which produced urgent heats and diſpleaſure in the King. A conference of divines was propoſed; and they had ſcarce begun, 1687. Jan. 5th.

1687. gun, when Rocheſter got up, and ſaid, he was more confirmed in his opinion, than before. The King granted him 4000 pounds for life, and 1200 pounds a year * The King reſolved on liberty of conſcience.

EXTRACT II.

Feb. Tyrconnel ſent deputy to Ireland. The Roman Catholics made free of the corporations there, for the benefit of trade. The preſent lord mayor of Dublin, they pleading the charter, was refuſed; but next they admitted him †. The charters called in from the corporations in Ireland.

18th. On the eighteenth of February, liberty of conſcience was publiſhed in Scotland. Declared in the church on the eighteenth of March. Declaration publiſhed in England, on the fourth of April. On the twenty-third of July, ſeignor Ferd. d'Adda, the pope's nuncio, had a public audience at Windſor. Conſecrated, in the King's chapel, as archbiſhop of Amaſia. On the eleventh of April, a diſpute about Magdalen colledge, Oxon ‡. A diſpute about father Francis being admitted maſter of arts at Cambridge. The vice-chancellor of Cambridge deprived, on the ſeventh of May. The Queen with child. Sunderland endeavoured to be treaſurer. He conſulted with Petre and Sir N. Butler, a convert of Petre's. Petre was to ſucceed him as ſecretary, and Butler as chancellor of the exchequer. The laſt moved it, but did not perſuade the King. Sunderland, afterwards, told the Queen, Petre, and Butler, that he could have been treaſurer; but rejected it.

EXTRACT III.

When Rocheſter was laid aſide, the King declared he would never have a lord treaſurer; yet, in the beginning of this month, he was advertiſed of a meeting between Sunderland, Sir N. Butler, and father Petre: when Sunderland propoſed his being treaſurer, Sir N. Butler chancellor of the exchequer, and father Petre ſecretary. A little before Chriſtmas, Sir N. Butler, in diſcourſe with the King, recommended a

* Some words here are illegible.

† This paſſage is uncertain, from its being almoſt illegible.

‡ Vid. printed relation of the proceedings.

treaſurer, as better than commiſſioners, eſpecially in parliament-time. 1687.
The King ſhewed his own opinion was not ſo. In the beginning of January 1688, Sunderland declared to the Queen, that Butler and Petre had preſſed him for ſome months, to be treaſurer; but he never deſired it; being content as he was. The Queen ſaid ſhe was glad to hear it.

1688. EXTRACT I.

The King recalls his troops from Holland. The marquis of Albe- 1688.
ville, a title given him by the emperor, refutes all the Dutch excuſes.

Penſionary Fagel writes his, or rather the prince of Orange's, ſenſe againſt repealing the teſt, in his letter of the fourth of November, 1687.

The King, in his progreſs, labours to convince his ſubjects of the reaſonableneſs of liberty of conſcience. Endeavours againſt it. Reaſons *pro* and *con*.

On the ſecond of July, 1687, the parliament was diſſolved.

The declaration for liberty of conſcience ordered to be reprinted; and to be read in the churches. The biſhops addreſs againſt it; thinking it illegal to diſpenſe with all ſort of laws, in caſes contrary to the very deſigns of the law.

The biſhops petition, on the eighteenth of May, againſt what they were to read on the twentieth. The chancellor adviſed the King to ſummon the biſhops before the council, on the ninth of June, for a tumultuary petition, liable to a legal proſecution. They, refuſing bail, were committed to the Tower. The Queen expected to lye in; and did the next day. The princeſs Anne contrived to go to Bath, in order to be abſent when the Queen was brought to-bed. The biſhops, perhaps, had ſome motive in forcing the King to impriſon them: for he would not only have taken their recognizance, but even their word, for their appearance. Both were refuſed; becauſe an impriſonment would inflame the nation, and prevent the archbiſhop of Canterbury from being at the Queen's delivery. The King had earneſtly preſſed the princeſs Anne to ſtay, till the Queen ſhould be delivered; but the doctor's opinion pleaded all delays dangerous. The

prince

1688. prince was born on the tenth of June. The prince of Orange ſent Mr. Keppel to congratulate the King and Queen; and prayed for the prince, who had like to have died, for want of a wet nurſe to ſuckle him.

June 29th. On the twenty-ninth of June, the biſhops were tried. The preſbyterians joined with the church-party, to expoſe the King.

EXTRACT II.

Macpherſon's Extracts. In the caſe of the biſhops, there is no doubt but the King had done better, in not forcing ſome wheels, when he found the whole machine ſtop. But it was his misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of thoſe who put him upon ſuch dangerous councils, (vol. iv. p. 322.) with intent to widen the breach between him and his ſubjects. But his prepoſſeſſion againſt the yielding temper, which had proved ſo dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the King his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He had always preached againſt the wavering councils of his brother; and ſeeing that other biſhops made not the ſame difficulty, and ſince many complied, he thought the reſt ought to do the ſame. The King, therefore, gave more eaſily into the chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not ſufficient. It was, however, a fatal council: for, beſides the common reaſons againſt it, nothing ought to have made the King more cautious, in the matter, than the preſent conjuncture, on account of the Queen's being with child. It was that gave the alarm; and by conſequence, required a greater attention, to avoid every cauſe of complaint *.

EXTRACT

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* *John Ince to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

From Tanner's coll. in the Bodleian library at Oxford, vol. xxviii. "May it pleaſe your Grace, June 30th, 1688.

"We have watched the jury carefully all night, attending without the door on the ſtair-head. They have, by order, been kept all night without fire or candle, ſave only ſome baſons of water and towels, this morning about four. The officers and our own ſervants, and others hired by us to watch the officers, have and ſhall conſtantly attend, but muſt be ſupplied with freſh men to relieve our guards, if need be.

I am informed, by my ſervant and Mr. Granges, that, about midnight, they were very loud one among another; and that the like happened about three this morning, which makes me collect they are not yet agreed. They beg for a candle to light their pipes, but are denied.

In

1688.

EXTRACT III.

The King was preſſed to come into the league of Augſbourg, betwixt the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Dutch. He refuſed; and therefore was charged by the prince of Orange with a private league with France. The prince of Orange told the States, at parting, that he ſhould live their friend or die their ſervant. Albeville and Skelton, from Paris, were informed of the deſign, by Verace, late a ſervant of the prince of Orange, and intimate with Bentinck; but diſmiſſed, and retired to Geneva *; and the King of France ſent Mr. de Bonrépos, to convince the King Carte's Extracts.

In caſe a verdict paſs for us, which God grant in his own beſt time, the preſent conſideration will be, how the Jury ſhall be treated. The courſe is uſually each man ſo many guineas, and a common dinner for them all. The quantum is at your grace's and my lord's deſire. But it ſeems, to my poor underſtanding, that the dinner might be ſpared, leſt our watchful enemies ſhould interpret it againſt us. It may be ordered thus; each man guineas for his trouble, and each man a guinea over for his own deſire.

My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble Servant,

JOHN INCE."

"N. B. There muſt be 150 or 200 guineas provided."

* *Copy of a letter written by Bude ae Verace, to Skelton, Envoy extraordinary from England to the Court of France.*

Tranſlation.

Geneva, 20th Auguſt, 1688.

I received the letter, which you, Sir, did me the honour of writing to me, while I was in the country, where I remained for ſome days. This is the reaſon I did not anſwer you ſooner; thanking you for the obliging offers which you made me, and acquainting you, that the affair for which I quitted, is of ſuch an extraordinary nature, that it would do an irreparable injury to that court, ſhould it be divulged. The King your maſter would be agreeably revenged for Mr. Fagel's letter, if this affair was known in England. Three or four perſons were acquainted with the whole of it, and ſeveral others know ſome particulars; for which reaſon I am ſurpriſed, that a diſcovery has not been made to your court. I have had conſideration enough to be ſilent hitherto, altho' ſeveral Engliſh and Scots, who are here, frequently felt my pulſe; as did likewiſe ſome gentlemen of the place, to no purpoſe. If I was to divulge the affair, it would be to the King himſelf; becauſe it regards her royal highneſs, as well as the prince and monſieur de Bentinck. It is true, it regards much more the two laſt, and likewiſe a third principal perſon concerned, not to name ſeveral others. It regards his Majeſty no further Mr. Aſtle's Collection, vol. ii.

1688. King of his danger. The King thought this laſt a contrivance to frighten him into an alliance with France. The Dutch ambaſſadours deny any deſign againſt England.

Sept. C. d'Avaux's memorial to the States, about their deſign to invade England: that his maſter ſhould look on it as a rupture with France, and invade their country with 40,000 men, which, had it been purſued, would have broke the deſign. Sunderland had perſuaded the King it was a French ſtratagem, and got him to reject all advice. He had ſtill credit to arraign this ſtep, as affording the Dutch a pretence to arm, and alarming England, with a French alliance againſt their religion. So the King diſclaimed M. d'Avaux's memorial to the Dutch ambaſſadour, and in all foreign courts; and he called home Skelton, ſending him to the Tower, who, in a conference with Croiſſy, thinking Sunderland betrayed the King, and intercepted letters had procured it; but was, ſoon after, made governour of the Tower.

Oct. 3d. On the third of October, the biſhops waited on the King, with heads of advice †, which he granted, in a great meaſure: On the twelfth, Magdalen

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than that he would have a pleaſure in knowing what paſſes at the court of the prince of Orange, and that the diſcovery would prejudice the prince in the eyes of the world. But if I could bring myſelf to ſuch a reſolution, I could diſcover to the King ſome very important things which regard him, and which came to my knowledge; for nothing paſſed at court, of which I was not informed, whatever uſe I might make of it. I wiſh ſuch a deſire may not ſeize me; and if you chooſe, Sir, that I ſhould continue to write to you ſometimes, and do me the favour to anſwer me, don't take it amiſs, if I intreat you to return my letters, and I ſhall in like manner return yours; not becauſe I do not put great confidence in your diſcretion, or would deprive you of the pleaſure and advantage you may derive from ſending them to court, but becauſe I would chooſe that the letters ſhould not, at leaſt, be loſt, after you have made all the uſe of them which is neceſſary for you; and that will engage me to be, with all kind of reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt humble,
and obedient Servant,
Budè de Verace.

† *Lord Sunderland to the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

Tanner's Collection, vol. xxviii. Oxon.

My lord, Whitehall, 24th Sept. 1688.

The king thinking it requiſite to ſpeak with your Grace, and ſeveral others of the biſhops,

Magdalen college was reſtored: and, on the fifteenth, the prince of Wales was named. His birth was proved, in a council extraordinary, on the twenty-ſecond *. The princeſs Anne waved being at it; pretending danger in coming abroad, being with child. 1688.

The ſeals were taken from Sunderland, as ſoon as he returned from the court of chancery.

On the twenty-ſixth of October, the prince of Orange ſailed from the Brill and Helvoetſluys. The biſhop of Winton, and ſome other Oct. 26th.

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biſhops, who are within a convenient diſtance of this place; his Majeſty commands me to acquaint you, that he would have you attend him upon Friday next, at ten in the morning.

I am, my Lord,
Your Grace's moſt faithful,
and moſt humble Servant,
Sunderland, P.

* *The Biſhop of St. Aſaph to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

My moſt honoured Lord, Oct. 26th, 1688. Tanner's Collection. Oxon.

I was told, the laſt night, as a ſecret, that his Majeſty intends to ſend for all the lords that were preſent at the examination of witneſſes, concerning the prince's birth; and to require them to ſubſign the examinations. This is agreeable enough with that which is printed in the Gazette, viz. That a full and particular relation of this affair will be made public. For the hands of all that were preſent will add very much to the authority of the relation. I need not ſay what it will ſeem to import. Your grace has that to ſay for yourſelf, which, perhaps, few others can ſay that were preſent. You did not hear a great part of what the witneſſes ſaid. If that will paſs for a ſufficient excuſe, your grace has no cauſe to complain of the badneſs of your hearing. But ſurely it will be better for the public, if ſuch an excuſe can be found, as will ſuffice for all that were preſent; and if all could agree to give the ſame excuſe.

It ſhould ſeem, by the calling of you hither, that either there is, or there is like to be, a diſpute concerning the truth of this child; and whenſoever that matter comes to be tried, you are like to be judges. But if the judges are called to ſet their hands to an examination of witneſſes, *ex parte*, before the cauſe comes to be heard, it is a ſtrange kind of preoccupation, that will make all the world of the plaintiff's ſide; and be rather a prejudice than an advantage to the cauſe. I hope his Majeſty will be aware of this; and will, therefore, ſpare you this unneceſſary trouble. Howſoever, I thought it a part of my duty, to let your grace know what I have heard. With my daily prayers, I humbly crave your bleſſing, and take leave,

My good Lord,
Your Grace's moſt obliged,
and moſt obedient Son and Servant,
W. Aſaph.

1688. biſhops, would have ſigned their diſlike of the invaſion; but not a majority of them. The princeſs of Denmark went with the biſhop of London and lord Dorſet to Nottingham, where the earl of Devon met her, with two hundred horſe; and prince George met her, not long after, at Oxford. A pretended letter of hers was publiſhed.

The King, at retiring, truſted count Thereſé, the duke of Tuſcany's envoy, with the papers or memoirs of his life; ſo put them in a box confuſedly, and gave them to him. It was ſent to Leghorn, and the merchant, to whoſe care it was committed, fancying it to be full of jewels, deſigned to embezzle it: but an Italian ſervant of the envoy's, miſtruſting him, got it out of his hands, and conveyed it ſafe to Leghorn, whither the grand duke ſent two galleys to convey it to France: and ſo brought it to St. Germains, under the notion of jewels and treaſure. By a writing, under his hand, he appointed them to be lodged in the Scotch college at Paris.

EXTRACT IV.

An Original Letter, indorſed the Princeſs of Orange, "Auguſt 17th, 1688."

"SIR,

"Being to go to Loo next Thurſday, if it pleaſe God, I am come to this place to go bake at night. Laſt Thurſday I received your majeſty's of the 31 of July, by which I ſee you had heard the prince of Wales was no more prayed for in my chapell, but long before this you will know it had onely bin ſometimes forgot. M. d'Albeville can aſſure you I never told him it was forbid; ſo that they wear onely conjectures made upon its being ſometimes neglected; but he can tell, as I find your Majeſty already knows, that he was prayed for heer long before it was done in England. This exceſſive hot weathere continues longer than ever I knew it, which I ſhall find ſufficiently in my journey. I have nothing more to add at preſent, then onely to beg your Majeſty to believe, where ever I am, I ſhall ſtill be

Your Majeſty's
Moſt obedient
Daughter and Servant,

Hague, Aug. 17. MARIE.

Lord

Lord Dover told me, the duke of Grafton owned to him, that, when 1688.
he went down to the fleet, a little before the prince of Orange came, it was to prepare the commanders to be for him, which he did; and aſſured him, that he had the words of two thirds of them. He owned, that he and the reſt of them had deſigns to have invited lord Dartmouth on board captain Haſting or Matt. Aylmer, to have ſeized him there, and declared for the prince of Orange; but did not ſay how it was not done. Dover ſaid, lord Godolphin and Churchill had informed him, that lord Dartmouth had got them to ſpeak to the prince of Orange, that he might keep his place of maſter of the Ordnance; and they had preſſed for it.

The King was alſo told, that Dartmouth had written from Portſmouth to the prince of Orange, that he had hindered the prince of Wales going from thence.

I was informed from a very good hand, that the princeſs of Orange ſeeing her huſband much troubled, at the news of the King's being gone for Ireland, told him, "he might thank himſelf for it, for letting him go as he did."

Mrs. Dawſon being ſent for, by the princeſs of Denmark, to come to her, when ſhe was dreſſing herſelf to go to her ſiſter's coronation, ſhe aſked Mrs. Dawſon, if really the child, which was called her brother, was the Queen's child? Mrs. Dawſon anſwered her it was; and that ſhe could anſwer for it, as much as ſhe could anſwer that ſhe, the princeſs, was the late ducheſs's, having ſeen them both born; and added, that ſhe wondered very much at her royal highneſs's aſking her the queſtion; ſince ſhe could not forget, that, when ſhe was going to Bath, coming in the morning to take leave of the Queen, and her Majeſty making her feel her belly, ſhe ſaid to the Queen, by the child ſtirring ſo ſtrong, ſhe believed the Queen would be brought to bed before her return from Bath. This I had from a gentlewoman who had it from Mrs. Dawſon herſelf.

Lord Churchill owned to lord Dover, before they laſt came from London, that the deſign of his and ſeveral other officers was laid long before the prince of Orange landed.

1688. Captain G. Churchill, commander of the Newcaſtle, owned to lord Buckley, that he and captain Matt. Aylmer, with ſome other commanders, had a deſign to have ſeized lord Dartmouth, before the prince of Orange landed; and that the duke of Grafton, lord Berkeley, and Sir J. Barry, knew of it. Captain Powel of the Queen's regiment of Dragoons told cornet Recordan, that, when Sir J. Lanier was ſent to Ipſwich, to oppoſe the prince of Orange's landing, in caſe he ſhould have endeavoured there, with the Queen's and the prince's regiments of dragoons, Arran and Hamilton's horſe, that Sir J. was reſolved, if the prince had landed, to have declared for him; and had agreed with ten officers to have ſecured lord Arran, colonel Ric. Hamilton, and colonel Connor.

It was about the middle of September, before the King gave any credit to the advices, from his envoy at the Hague and others, of the prince of Orange's deſign to invade him. The repeated aſſurances he had from the States, by their ambaſſadour and others in their name, that the preparations were not deſigned againſt him, the prince himſelf often confirmed. Sunderland and others, the King truſted, perſuaded him it was impoſſible for the prince of Orange to go through with it; and Sunderland turned any body to ridicule that ſeemed to believe it; and, indeed, none that the King truſted, except Dartmouth, ever ſaid they credited the reports; and he, from the time of Monmouth's beheading, always told the King he was confident, that, ſooner or later, he would attempt it. But though the King did not, till then, believe it, he ordered more ſhips to be fitted out, to fortify the ſquadron at ſea, on the notion he had of the Dutch fitting out merchant ſhips; and though he did not then accept of the King of France's offer of ſixteen ſail to join his, yet he deſired them to be ready at Breſt, in caſe of need: and when M. de Citters, the Dutch ambaſſadour, was alarmed at the report, and took notice of it to the King; he anſwered, he did not intend to make uſe of them, unleſs his maſters obliged him to it.

The King, convinced of the Dutch invaſion, went immediately from Windſor to London; ordered his fleet to be made up thirty men of war, all third and fourth rates, with ſixteen fire-ſhips; and for troops of horſe, foot, and dragoons, to be recruited, ten men in each, except the guards; gave

gave out commiſſions for new regiments of horſe and foot; ordered the troop of guards, regiment of horſe, that of dragoons, and three battalions of foot, to march from Scotland into England; ſent for three battalions, a regiment of foot and dragoons from Ireland: ſo that his troops would be, in all, near 40,000 men. He thought this a ſufficient force to deal with the prince of Orange; as it would, if they had been faithful to him. Writs had been iſſued for a parliament, and ſome elections made; but, as he could not be at the head of the army and attend the parliament at the ſame time, though both were neceſſary, he put off the meeting of parliament; and, as his council and generality of his officers were averſe to French aſſiſtance, he did not ſend for the ſixteen ſail from Breſt. Thoſe who had adviſed his meaſures, which gave moſt offence, were for undoing all, even liberty of conſcience, to diſoblige the non-conformiſts; now the church of England was offended. Of theſe was Sunderland, catholic as he pretended to be, ſince his public declaration, in July laſt, though he was privately reconciled ſome months before. He reſtored to the church of England, Magdalen and Sidney colleges, which he had deſigned for breeding up Roman Catholic ſcholars; but did not recall liberty of conſcience. The King had kept the original petition or remonſtrance of the ſeven biſhops in his pocket; yet copies flew about. The King drew his army near London. The earl of Dartmouth, Sir Roger Strictland, and Sir J. Barry, were the three flag officers of the fleet. 1688.

The prince of Orange at firſt ſtood northward; but the wind turning contrary next day, and blowing very hard, diſperſed many, and drove them back to port. Lanier's, major general Arran's, and Hamilton's regiments of horſe, with the Queen's regiment of dragoons, under colonel Connor, were ſent to Ipſwich: two regiments of horſe and one of dragoons to Colcheſter. Dartmouth propoſed to anchor to the eaſt of the Galloper, clear of the ſands, to ſtretch away as he pleaſed; but the eaſt wind taking him, and blowing very freſh, he anchored a-breaſt of the Long-ſand head. The prince of Orange paſſed by to the weſtward. Dartmouth's ſcouts took a Dutch fly-boat, a league and a half a head. Why he did not ſail is uncertain. He ſaid he could not get about the Longſand-head, as the wind and tyde were; yet ſome commanders ſaid he might have done it. If he could, and if the commanders were true, he might have deſtroyed the fleet, or hindered their

1688. landing. Three battalions of guards, the King's regiment of dragoons, and a hundred horſe grenadiers, were ordered to Portſmouth; and, if the prince of Orange had gone further, to march for Saliſbury. The reſt of the troops were ordered to the weſt; Lanier to command the troops at Saliſbury, Sir J. Fenwick at Marlborough, and another body ordered to Warminſter; Feverſham to come to Saliſbury, and march weſt, to hinder the prince of Orange's advance, and others from joining him. This body conſiſted of twenty ſquadrons of old horſe, and ten of dragoons. All the foot were ordered to the ſame place.

The public talk in the prince of Orange's army was, that he was betrayed, none coming to join him. His own officers were for re-embarking. Colonel Strangeways, &c. ſent his letters to the King. None joined him, till lord Cornbury began the defection, colonel of the King's regiment of dragoons and chief officer, by *

ordered the King's regiment of foot, under Sir Francis Compton, the lieutenant colonel, the duke of Berwick being at Portſmouth, of three ſquadrons, St. Albans's two ſquadrons, under lieutenant colonel Langſton, Fenwick's two ſquadrons, to march, pretending orders; and accordingly marched to Blandford, Dorcheſter, and towards Honiton. When his own major, Clifford, aſked to ſee his orders, or, at leaſt, to know his deſign, in making ſo great a march toward the enemy; Cornbury ſaid, it was to beat up a quarter of horſe in thoſe parts; and, when they came to Axminſter, he commanded ſixty dragoons to fall into the quarter at Honiton. By this, major Littleton and other officers, ſuſpecting the matter, and beginning to queſtion him, Cornbury, the commander, went away, with thoſe commanded men and their lieutenant colonel Hayford, captain Ruſſel, and the reſt of the captains then with a regiment, without letting the common men know their intention. Langſton followed with his two ſquadrons, being the chief man that concerted with Cornbury; not letting his other officers know of it.

When they came to Honiton, two regiments of the prince of Orange's foot were ready to receive them; one commanded by Talmaſh. Being there, Littleton told his men, that he had brought them to ſerve the

* The ſentence here is illegible.

prince

prince of Orange; which Norton*, his major, and ſeveral ſubalterns re- 1688.
fuſing to do, were immediately diſarmed, diſmounted, and plundered; and, with much a-do, got leave to go back on foot to the King's army. The other two regiments, finding themſelves betrayed, marched back in great diſorder; only cornet Compton and two or three more ſubalterns, with about ten troopers of the King's regiment of foot, deſerted. Clifford, major of dragoons, brought back the body of the regiment. The common men were generally loyal, though ſo many of the officers deſerted; and many of St. Albans' troopers came back, as they found opportunity with their horſes. Though the number of deſerters was inconſiderable, it was attended with bad conſequences. It cauſed a jealouſy in the troops, who ſuſpected one another; encouraged country gentlemen to go in to the prince of Orange; and animated the enemy, who were before diſcouraged. The King was at London when this happened. Feverſham was juſt come to Saliſbury; and thinking the regiments gone, ordered thoſe at Marlborough and Warminſter to Saliſbury, the foot to Andover, and thoſe on march to march back to Windſor, Staines, &c. This ſurpriſed all at London; and the King ſtaid to ſettle their minds before he went to Saliſbury. He made a ſpeech to all the general officers about Cornbury's deſertion; and offered to diſmiſs them, if they did not care to ſerve: but all promiſed fidelity.

The duke of Grafton, one of the firſt, ſet out for Saliſbury on the Nov.
ſeventeenth. The prince of Wales was ſent, at the ſame time, to Portſmouth, under the eſcort of ſome Scotch horſe and Iriſh dragoons: but the night before he left London, ſome of the biſhops preſented a petition ſigned by them and ſome peers, ſeventeen in all; of which the dukes of Grafton and Ormonde, the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and ſeveral conſiderable lords, having refuſed to join with them. The King ſaid it was too late at ten at night to give an anſwer in writting; being to go next morning to Saliſbury: that it was not a time to call a parliament, nor fit for him to treat with the prince of Orange, who had invaded, contrary to the laws of God, duty of a nephew and ſon-in-law. He told the biſhops, that it would have become them

* Vid. Norton's own account of this affair, in the papers printed, in this collection, under the head of 1688.

1688. better to have declared their diſlike of the invaſion, than preſenting ſuch a petition. The biſhop of Winton and ſome others had been for ſigning their diſlike*.

Nov. 19th. The King got to Saliſbury too late, to execute his firſt project of advancing, with horſe and dragoons, to Axminſter and Lamport, to hinder the country's going in, to coop up the enemy, and with foot to ſupport them in hedges as good as retrenchments. The prince of Orange at Axminſter. The train of artillery, the Scots and Iriſh dragoons, and a troop of horſe guards, not come up. In the mean time, the King reſolved to viſit the advanced quarter at Warminſter, commanded by major general Kirke, of the foot; Trelawney and Maine, brigadiers of horſe, who had the third troop of guards, Warden a troop of horſe. Two battalions of Dunbarton's, Kirke's, and the Queen's made the two other battalions, and the Queen's regiment of dragoons. But the evening before, his noſe fell a bleeding, and doing ſo next morning a conſiderable quantity, and continuing to do ſo ſeveral times that day, he was obliged not to go, but to be let blood. It was three days before it could be quite ſtopped. It is generally believed, had it not been for this accident, that Churchill, Kirke, Trelawney, &c. deſerted ſoon after, with ſome in that quarter, had deſigned to ſeize the King, in going thither or coming back, and have carried him to the prince of Orange. It was eaſy enough to do, the King having no ſuſpicion of them. But, a few days after, he began to doubt ſome of them; and once intended to ſecure Churchill and the duke of Grafton, and have ſent them to Portſmouth; but on further conſideration, did not think fit to do it.

In a council of all the officers, Feverſham, count de Roy, lord Dumbarton, and the truly loyal, adviſed retiring to London: Churchill, &c. were for ſtaying at Saliſbury. The firſt advice was followed; and Churchill and Grafton went off that night or the next. Schomberg ſaid to Churchill, when he arrived, "That he was the firſt lieutenant general he had ever heard that had deſerted from his colours." The next morning advice came, that Rogers, lieutenant of horſe grenadiers, colonel Lawſon,

Macpherſon's Extracts.

* Vid. Original Papers, under the head of this year.

captain

captain S. George, and two or three other captains of the queen's regiment of dragoons, were gone from Warminſter, with ſome few of the common men. Kirke did not execute his orders for marching to the Devizes, and by Hungerford to Reading. The King marched the ſame day; deſigning to poſt behind the Thames the foot and horſe of the army; but ordered Feverſham to ſtay behind, with horſe and dragoons to eat up the forage and maintain Reading as long as he could, without expoſing himſelf to have his quarter beaten up. The King went from Saliſbury the firſt night to Andover; and that night prince George, the duke of Ormond, lord Drumlanrick, and others deſerted and ſeveral officers from other quarters. The King fearing Kirke would do ſo too, ordered Dumbarton to take two ſquadrons of horſe to help bringing off the four battalions of foot ordered from Warminſter. But before he could join them, as they were to march from the Devizes, Brigadier Trelawney, who commanded them, with lieutenant colonel Churchill, and all his captains but captain Fox, and about twenty or thirty common men, and ſome ſubalterns, deſerted; the reſt of the men, being loyal, would not go. 1688.

The King continued his march to London; and the troops were ſent to their quarters at Maidenhead, Windſor, Staines, Egham, Chertſey, and Colnbroke. Every day ſome officers, though few common men, deſerted. The King arriving, on the twenty-ſixth of November, at London, found his daughter, the princeſs of Denmark, had gone off, with lady Churchill and Mrs. Berkley. Whether it was by prince George's directions, or the two ladies advice, is uncertain, though with child, and much afraid; being apt to miſcarry. She was under the biſhop of London's conduct, at leaſt he met her, as ſoon as ſhe was out of town. This made a great noiſe in town; and her nurſe and the earl of Clarendon went up and down like mad perſons, ſaying the papiſts had murdered her; and aſking ſome of the Queen's people what they had done with her: But it was known the next day which way ſhe went. Some days after, a letter of hers, or bearing that title, to the Queen, came out in print; as if ſhe left it on the table, when ſhe went off. But no ſuch was found; or, at leaſt, delivered to the Queen. Prince George and lord Churchill ſent letters to the King, with reaſons for their withdrawing. The duke of Berwick coming to the army, lord Dover had been ſent to command in Nov. 26th.

1688. Portſmouth. Orders to ſend away the prince of Wales to France, if things grew worſe; and to the captain of the Mary yaucht, to tranſport him; and lord Dartmouth, to facilitate it, who was come to Spithead, with his fleet much ſhattered, by ill weather. He had got the length of Torbay, and ſaw the prince of Orange's fleet at anchor, under Herbert. But the weather was ſo bad, that he could attempt nothing on them; and his fleet was much diſperſed and damaged. Some were forced back to the Downs, Dartmouth himſelf to Spithead, and captain G. Churchill put into Plymouth to ſtop a leak: And, finding the place had declared for the prince of Orange, he did ſo too.

None of the deſerters ſurprized the King ſo much as the earl of Bath, who had received ſo much from the crown, and was of ſo loyal a family. Till then, thought above temptation to do an ill action; but he declared, and ſecured the earl of Huntingdon, whoſe regiment was in garriſon in the citadel, and all the Roman catholic officers, and common men of that perſuaſion, and kept them priſoners; Ferd. Haſtings, his couſin's lieutenant colonel, and ſome other officers, joining with him in it. Every body now vied, who ſhould firſt abandon the King; who, ſoon after his arrival at London, had advice that Sir G. Hanmer, lieutenant colonel of Montgomery's regiment, in garriſon at Hull, hearing that ſeveral lords were up in ſeveral parts of the realm, and combining with Copely, the lieutenant governor, the preſent officer and ſome magiſtrates, had ſurpriſed the governor, lord Langdale, and lord Montgomery, by night, in their lodgings, declared for the proteſtant religion, and kept theſe two lords, and ſome Roman Catholic gentlemen of the country who had retired there for ſafety priſoners; and then let them go. Before this, lord Danby, and many other perſons of quality, had met at York, and ſeized Sir J. Rearſby, who had only the name of Governor, having but one company of foot with him, and declared for a free parliament and the prince of Orange; ſeized all the King's money in the collector's hands, diſarmed the Roman Catholics, demoliſhed the Roman Catholic chapel in the town, and raiſed men, forming them into companies and troops. About the ſame time, the earl of Devon ſent to the duke of Newcaſtle to come and join him. He got ſome Nottinghamſhire gentlemen together, and declared as Danby did; but the duke of Newcaſtle refuſing, he plundered him of what arms and horſe he had at Welbeck.

Welbeck. Before this, lord Delamere was up in Cheſhire and Lanca- 1688.
ſhire, on the ſame account. He diſarmed the Roman Catholics and ſome new raiſed men, demoliſhed the Roman Catholic chapels, and roved about with four or five hundred diſorderly ill-armed men.

The King wrote to the lords Dover and Dartmouth to ſend off the prince of Wales, moſt of whoſe baggage was on board; when Dartmouth, ſending for Dover to dine with him, told him it was againſt the law to ſend the prince of Wales out of England, without more poſitive orders; and he would not let it be done; and every night after, he examined every boat and veſſel that went out. He had before ſent up a ſtrange addreſs, by lord Berkely, ſigned by the commanders of the fleet, for calling a parliament and declaring for the proteſtant religion. The fleet would certainly have fought at firſt, their animoſity was ſuch againſt the Dutch. But the caſe was altered. The prince of Wales was ſent for to London, under eſcort of Saliſbury and Holmes's regiments of horſe and ſome Iriſh dragoons, which they did in two days.

In a meeting of lords, the King was adviſed to treat with the prince of Orange. He ſent Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin with propoſals to him. When they came to Andover, the prince of Orange ſent them word to go to Ramſbury, where he delayed them a day or two. When his anſwer came, the King reſolved to go away with the Queen and prince.

Monday, about twelve at night, the tenth of December, the King Dec. 10th.
went privately from Whitehall to Vauxhall. He there took horſe about one, with Sir E. Hales, Sir E. Quartermaſter, and a guide. He paſſed the Medway, at Ailesford-bridge, took freſh horſe at Woolpeck, ſent before by Ralph Sheldon, an equerry. He got, by ten, to Emby-ferry, near Feverſham; where a Cuſtom houſe hoy, hired by Sir Edward Hales, waited for them. When on board, they found it had no ballaſt; and it blowing freſh, the maſter eaſily perſuaded the King to let him take in ballaſt at Shelneſs. It was half ebb before they ran aſhore to take it in; deſigning to ſail as ſoon as afloat, which would have been about eleven. He was near afloat, when three fiſher-boats, of Feverſham, with fifty men, boarded them, ſeized the King and two others, as was ſaid by orders from thoſe of Feverſham; ſuppoſing them papiſts endeavouring to eſcape; and, when the veſſel was afloat, turned with the tide up Feverſham.

1688. verſham water. The King was not, however, known. Sir E. Hales whiſpered the captain, and clapt fifty guineas privately into his hand, as an earneſt of more, if he would let them go before they were put aſhore. The captain promiſed, but kept not his word. Coming to anchor before the mouth of the creek, he went to the maſter and told him, that he had Sir E. Hales and two more on board; then came back and took what money they had, under pretence of ſecuring it from the ſeamen; yet the ſeamen came down and ſearched them.

They were guarded to town, in a coach, by one Edwards, and ſome rabble, to an inn, where the King was diſcovered, and was told, lord Winchelſea and moſt of the country gentlemen were at Canterbury. He ſent to him to come. In the meantime, the King tried to get off; and had got a cuſtom-houſe ſmack. But Edwards and the rabble beſet the inn ſo, that the King could not get to the horſes he had got to carry him to the boat. Several proteſtants and Roman Catholics had been ſeized on the road, as judge Jenner, R. Graham, Mr. Burton, proteſtants; Mr. Arundel, and two ladies of that name, with Dr. Obadiah Walker, and three or four more Roman Catholics. The King lodged at Mr. a loyal man. The earl of Winchelſea came. The ſeamen guarded the King; but ſaid a hair of his head ſhould not be touched. Sir B. Dixwell and Sir James Oxenden came next day with militia, on pretence of ſecuring the King from the rabble; but it was to hinder his eſcape. Thoſe, who came laſt, were very rude. The King's letter, for cloaths, linen, and money, from London, was ſtopped one night. Lord Feverſham, with ſome horſe guards and horſe grenadiers, coming to convey the King to London; they ſent to the prince of Orange, for orders what to do with the King. Early on Saturday morning, Feverſham came to the King and told him, that the guards were at Sittingburn. The King was conveyed thither by the militia, and by the guards to Rocheſter that night; and he ſent Feverſham to the prince of Orange.

The Queen and the prince of Wales were ſent away privately, on the ninth of December, at night, under the conduct of the Count de Lauzun, in a yaucht, commanded by captain Gray. The King ſent the prince of Orange word, that he would be at London, on Monday, and treat to ſettle the nation. He doubted the fidelity of the troops, and paſſed to Whitehall, through the city. It was not to be imagined, the

acclamations that were made, and the joy ſhewed at his coming back, among all orders of men. He never ſaw the like. Whitehall was crowded, and the like joy prevailed there. But he had no ſooner got to his bed-chamber, than Zuleſtein came, with a letter from the prince of Orange, that what Feverſham propoſed was of too great conſequence to be anſwered then; and the King had beſt ſtay at Rocheſter. The King ſaid, had Zuleſtein came before he left it, he would have ſtaid there; but now he hoped the prince of Orange, then at Windſor, would come next day to St. James's, to ſpeak about his propoſal by Feverſham. Zuleſtein ſaid, he believed the prince of Orange would not come, till the King's troops were ſent out of town. The King gave him a letter to the prince of Orange; and, upon hearing that Feverſham was confined, he expreſſed to Zuleſtein his ſurprize, at a breach of the law of nations, and deſired the prince of Orange would releaſe him. But he neither did it, nor ſent any anſwer to the King's letter. Next day, the prince of Orange left Feverſham priſoner in Windſor caſtle, and came to Sion; and, at nine at night, the King was informed, that count Solmes was coming with the prince of Orange's guards to take poſt at Whitehall. But he ſuppoſed they would only do ſo at St. James's, where the prince of Orange was to come the next day. But at eleven that night, the earl of Craven came to the King, as he was going to bed, and told him, that Solmes was in the Park, with three battalions of the prince of Orange's foot guards and horſe; and ſaid he had orders to take poſt in Whitehall. The King ſent for Solmes, and told him, that he believed it was a miſtake. But Solmes ſaid his orders were poſitive for Whitehall, and ſhewed them to the King. After arguing the matter, the King told Craven, that he might draw off his men, and let Solmes take poſt; which he did immediately. 1688.

Shrewſbury and Delamere were with Solmes in the park; but came not up with him. Soon after one in the night, the earl of Middleton waked the King, who was aſleep, and told him, that Halifax, Shrewſbury, and Delamere had called him up, and told him, they had a meſſage from the prince of Orange to deliver immediately to the King. They would not ſtay till morning. They were called in, and delivered a paper, ſigned by the prince of Orange: That to avoid diſorders, which the King's preſence in London might occaſion, he would poſitively have the King to go to Ham; and

1688. and to be gone before ten, with what ſervants he would, and the prince of Orange would ſend guards to ſecure him. The King excepted to Ham, as not being furniſhed, and a bad winter; and had rather go to Rocheſter, as mentioned in the prince of Orange's letter, by Zuleſtein. They ſaid they would aſk the prince of Orange, and bring an anſwer by nine; but he muſt poſitively be gone before ten. The King had ſaid he might be guarded there by ſome of his own foot; but Solmes ſent a party with him. The King would have gone by water to Graveſend, but Halifax oppoſed it rudely. Shrewſbury was very fair and civil, and agreed to the King's deſire; who took barge, attended by a hundred of the prince of Orange's guards, before and behind it. They were ſo long of embarking, that they loſt the tide. The King arrived not till ſeven at night. He lay there that night; and, next day, he received a blank paſs, from the prince of Orange, to ſend one to London. The guards not being exact at Rocheſter, the King was confirmed in his opinion, that the prince of Orange wanted to have him gone; and he that brought the paſs, brought orders to the captain of the guards not to look ſo ſtrictly after him; ſo they put centinels at the fore door towards the ſtreet, but none to the back-door towards the river; yet the King apprehended, if he did not get off, that the prince of Orange would have ſent him out of the world another way.

EXTRACT III.

The King came to Rocheſter, on the nineteenth of December, in the morning, where he ſtaid till the twenty-ſecond, at night. Several of his ſervants, the lords Arran, Dumbarton, Aileſbury, Litchfield, gentlemen of the bed-chamber; three of his grooms, F. Griffin, and Biddolph; major generals Fenwick and Sackville; Sir J. Talbot, brigadier; Sutherland, quartermaſter general of horſe, came to him, who all gave up their commiſſions; as before he left London, lord Newburg, Griffin, Litchfield, young Griffin, had done; and others did the ſame, next day.

EXTRACT IV.

The prince of Orange had convened all the lords ſpiritual and temporal. The archbiſhop of Canterbury refuſed to come, or do any thing while the King was under reſtraint. The lords adjourned, next day, to the

the houſe of lords, at Weſtminſter. Some biſhops and others adviſed the King not to go, at leaſt not out of England. Doctor Bradey, his phyſician, was ſent to him, and argued the matter; but could not convince the king they did not think the prince of Orange would attempt his life. He argued it afterwards with lord Middleton, who owned, at laſt, there was no ſafety in ſtaying. The King reſolved to go. 1688. Carte's Extracts.

The prince of Orange had ſent word to the lord mayor and aldermen, not to give oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, or teſt, to the common-council, choſen on the twenty-firſt of December: and he ordered them to act, without taking them.

Captain Macdonald bringing word, before twelve at night, on the twenty-ſecond of December, that captain Trevanion was come up with the ſhallop; the King left a paper, with reaſons of his withdrawing. He charged lord Middleton to have it printed, when he got to London; but left it with Dumbarton to be given, next day to Middleton. The King told the earl of Litchfield of it; truſting him entirely, a man of great honour, and who had always ſerved with ſteadineſs and fidelity. He was forced alſo to truſt Aileſbury with it; elſe he would have lain in his bed-chamber, with the ſervants, a room through which the King was to paſs.

The King went to bed, at his uſual hour. As ſoon as the company were gone, he got up, dreſſed, and went, by the back-ſtairs, through the garden, where Macdonald ſtaid for him, with the duke of Berwick and Mr. Biddolph, to ſhew him the way to Trevanion's boat. About twelve at night they rowed down to the ſmack, which was waiting without the fort at Sheerneſs. It blew ſo hard right a-head, and ebb tide being done before they got to the Salt Pans, that it was near ſix before they got to the ſmack. Captain Trevanion not being able to truſt the officers of his ſhip, they got on board the Eagle fireſhip, commanded by captain Wilford; on which the wind and tide being againſt them, they ſtaid till day-break, when the King went on board the ſmack. It blew ſo very hard, E. N. E. and E. N. when they got to the Buoy of the Nore, that they durſt not venture to turn down any lower, and they were obliged to bear up the river towards Lee, and anchor on the Eſſex ſhore, under the lee of the ſand, in ſmooth water, till the next tide of flood ſhould be gone. It blew very hard all that day, being Sunday.

1688. As it began to be dark, the gale ſlackened a little; ſo that when the tide broke, they got under ſail, and turned down as far as the Red Sand. Next morning, the weather being fair, they got under ſail before ſun-riſe; and, without tacking, reached the buoy off the Narrows, turned through it, and ſo to North-foreland; deſigning to go on the back of the Goodwin, and not through the Downs. But they could not weather it, and ſo went through the Downs. There ſeven ſhips lay at anchor; but not one under ſail. It began to ſnow about ſix; and not being able to fetch Calais, they bore away for Boulogne, and anchored before Ambleteuſe, where they landed, about three on Tueſday morning, Chriſtmas day.

1689.

1689. Macpherſon's Extracts. The King landed at Kinſale, on the 12th of March. He found a great deal of good will in that kingdom, but little means to execute it; which made the prince of Orange ſlight it to the degree he did. The fear of diſguſting the Iriſh catholics, on whom he wholly depended, and the hopes of recompenſing ſuch proteſtants as ſuffered by the act for reſcinding the acts of ſettlement, induced the King, at laſt, to give his royal aſſent, though he ſaw it was highly prejudicial to his intereſt. Nothing, but the unwillingneſs to diſguſt his only friends, could prevail with him to foreclose himſelf in the act of attainder, from the power of pardoning thoſe comprized in it; and to agree to ſuch diminutions of his authority, as that the acts of the Engliſh parliament ſhould not be binding in Ireland, nor that writs of error and appeals ſhould be carried from thence to England. It would, without doubt, have been more generous in the Iriſh, not to have preſſed ſo hard upon their prince, when he lay ſo much at their mercy; and more prudent not to have graſped at gaining all, before they were ſure of keeping what they already poſſeſſed. He gave his royal aſſent, with good will, only to the act for liberty of conſcience.

[Mr. Thomas Carte made no extracts, from the memoirs of James, concerning the tranſactions of 1689; probably for the ſame reaſons which induced the editor to content himſelf with the preceding; having found,

found, among Nairne's papers, the original materials, from which James compoſed his memoirs for the preſent year. That prince uſually wrote, with his own hand, all the occurrences of the times, or examined and corrected what was written by others. He ſometimes wrote down his inſtant reflections and conjectures on the ſtate of his affairs, and the expected effects of his meaſures, without waiting to ſee what time might determine. The pen muſt have been conſtantly in his hand. The firſt paper which occurs, relating to the tranſactions of this year, is a journal, in his own hand, containing an account of ſome intelligence he received, when on his journey from Cork to Dublin. 1689.

The journal which immediately follows the intelligence, in James's own hand, contains an account of what paſſed in Ireland, from his landing at Kinſale, on the 12th of March, O. S. 1689, to the 18th of July, when he prorogued the parliament. There are two copies of it among Nairne's papers; one in French, and another in Engliſh, which is full of French idioms. The language and orthography of the French copy, which is in Nairne's hand, is the moſt correct. There are ſome additions in the margin, by lord Melfort, in French; and ſeveral, by James himſelf, in Engliſh. From the mention made of it in James's inſtructions to lord Dover, it appears he intended it for the information of Lewis XIV. However, the Engliſh copy, from which the other is ſaid to be a tranſlation, is printed here, though corrected in ſome few places according to the French, which is more exact. The additions are placed in the margin, as they occur in the margin of the French copy. The variations are carefully marked, and the letters and memorials, from which the journal was framed, are placed at the bottom of the page, as further illuſtrations of the ſubject.

This journal may be reckoned, in a great meaſure, the work of James, from the corrections, alterations, and additions in his own hand. The account which he gives, in his memoirs of the military tranſactions in Ireland, during the year 1689, is but an abſtract of what this and the following journal contain; and theſe journals were compoſed from the letters which James received from his generals; and of which ſome are inſerted, as vouchers and illuſtrations, in the notes.]

1689.

"*News from the army in Ireland, and from Scotland, from the 16th to 20th of March, 1689;*" *in King James's own hand.*

March 16.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 7.

THIS morning, by letters, and an officer who came from Cavan, had an account, that Kirke came thither on the 14, in the morning, about ſeven, with ſix ſquadrons of horſe and dragoons and fifteen hundred foot, all of Schomberg's owne army; they marched into the towne, deſigning, as was believed, to attacque the fort on that ſide: but brigad. Wachop, who commanded there, having left ſome men in three ſtrong ſtore-houſes in the towne, to preſerve it, they obliged the enemie to march out of it, leaving ſix of their men ſlain in the ſtreet. What others they had killed or wounded there, is not knowne. There had been greater, if ſome of the proteſtant inhabitants had not advertiſed the enemie, as they were marching on, of ſome of Wachop's men being in thoſe houſes; for had they not had that notice, they had come up cloſe to them; our men having had orders from the brigadier, not to fire till they were juſt under them; and they kept cloſe, till they ſaw the enemie begin to march back, who were come within half muſket-ſhot, and ſo did that execution on them. After this, they marched up to the fort on the other ſide; but, after viewing it, and having ſkirmiſhed for ſome time, they finding it ſtronger and better provided than they expected, marched, about two in the afternone, back for Belurbatt. What men they loſt on that ſide, one cannot certainly ſay, only that from the fort they ſaw them carry of ſeveral dead bodies on horſe-back befor them. It's probable their deſigne was to take the fort, or to burn the towne, ſince they came with ſo great a body. They only burnt two ſmall cabins at the town's end. Wachop writes word he is afraide a ſmal foot-guard, which he had at Butler's Bridge, which he had there to advertiſe him of the enemies motion, may have been cut of by the enemie.

A ſoldier newly come from Charlemont, gives an accout, that a party of that garriſon marched twenty miles to the enemie.

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[*Here there is a leaf wanting.*]

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only

only put out their enſigne, and not their gib; upon which two maſters 1689.
of ſmall ſhips, which were in the harbour, came on board the Pink; believing ſhe came from England, to know news, whom capt. Anderſon ſecured, and one of the boats they came in. The other boat got away, and gave the alarm upon ſhore. Upon which, captain Watſon, capt. lieut. to col. Tiffany, who was quartered and commanded in that town, came to board the Pink, with three boats full of ſoldiers. They let the captain come up into the ſhip, and then ſeized him and the men of the firſt boat, who came up with him; which the other two ſeeing, made away. But the Pink's men fired ſo faſt on them, that one of the boats cryed for quarter, and rowed on board and yielded. The third got off. But moſt of her men were killed or wounded. As ſoon as it was night, the Pink warped out of the harbour, the wind blowing right in; and, by that tyme 'twas day, got clear of the mouth of it. The enemy, by that tyme, got downe to the ſea-ſide, and on the rocks, in great numbers. A regiment of foot being quartered hard by, fired ſome ſmall ſhot, which did no harme; and to the country towards Derry ſtayd there about three days, plundered the country, and brought back with them ſome twelve horſes, loaden with plunder, and ſome ready money they met with.

I have had an account from Caſtleblany, that a party of Macmahon's, and ſome of the garriſon of Dundalk, having met a party of the enemy, not far from Caſtleblany, who came a cow-ſtealing, fell on them, beat them, and killed 20 on the ſpot, and took 10 priſoners.

March 19th.

The Pink, which carried gen. major Buchan into Scotland, is come back to Broadhaven, in the county of Mayo, gives an account, that ſhe had a long paſſage back from the Iſle of Mull, and endeavoured to have put into Sligo. But being near to Killibeg, in the county of Donegalle, put into that harbour; believing it to be in the King's poſſeſſion; but no ſooner in, than they found they were miſtaken; and, it blowing hard, and right into the harbour, the mouth of which was very narrow, ſo that they could not turn out, came to anchor. The Pink got of, and brought away the captain, the two maſters, 20 ſouldiers and ſeamen

1689. priſoners to Broadhaven. In this Pink came as paſſengers, Sir Alexander M'Laine, colonel James Purſell, Sir George Berkley, and Mr. Hays, with ſome others.

March 20th.

This day had an account, that the party ſent to Charlemont, with proviſions, got ſafe thither, by knowing the country well, though that place be ſtrictly blocked, and came back, without ſtriking a ſtroke, though the enemy had notice of their march, and had way-laid them. Have been informed, by one come out of the enemy's quarters, that ſome of the Danes are already landed, and that the reſt were expected every day; that one Engliſh regiment was alſo landed.

"*A Journal of what paſſed in Ireland, from his Majeſtie's arrival, on the 12th of March, Old Stile, to the 18th of July, 1689, when he prorogued the parliament.*"

March. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 6.

HIS Majeſty arrived in his kingdom of Ireland, the 12th of March, O. S. 1689; and was received, at Kinſale, where he landed, with all the demonſtrations of joy imaginable.

His Majeſty's firſt care was to have the money, arms, and ammunition, which he brought along with him from France, ſafely landed and ſecured in his fort of Kinſale; and, *becauſe one part thereof was ſent by Mr. de Louvois, and the other by Mr. Seignelay, his Majeſty* * ordered one of his ſervants to receive that of Mr. de Louvois, and to deliver it to the Sieur de Pointis, that he might take care and give an account thereof; having, for that end, ſeveral commiſſaries under him: all which was done, with great readineſs and care, and in a few days.

After this was done, his Majeſty calling into his council the count d'Avaux, embaſſador of France, and the earl of Melford, cauſed himſelf to be informed, in their preſence, of the poſture of affairs in this kingdom, by thoſe of the country that were come to wait upon him at his landing; but chiefly by Sir Thomas Nugent, lord chief juſtice of

* The words in Italicks are omitted in the French tranſlation.

Ireland,

Ireland, and his lieutenant-general, the lord Mount Caſhell. He found by theſe, that the lord deputy of Ireland, finding the deſigns of the prince of Orange ſucceed ſo well in England, and that the half of the Iriſh army was there, and conſequently loſt for his Majeſty's ſervice, had endeavoured to ſupply this defect, by giving commiſſions to raiſe men, to all whom either the love of their religion, their King, or their country incited to accept thereof. That the fidelity of the Iriſh, and their zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, had appeared ſo extraordinary, on this occaſion, that, in leſs than a month, there were above one hundred thouſand men on foot. The reputation of which alone, was ſufficient to hinder the prince of Orange from attempting any thing againſt Ireland, without very great preparations. That this thing alone had ſaved the kingdom †. But that, on the other ſide, it was attended with great inconveniencies; for the troops being raiſed, and having no pay, were forced to live on the people; and, though the officers had undertaken to maintain them at their own charge, there were very few that did it effectually. 1689.

That the lord deputy had done another thing very neceſſary for the ſafety of Ireland, by diſarming the proteſtants and ſeizing their horſes. But that too brought inconveniencies along with it, and cauſed ſo great diſorder, that every catholique thought himſelfe entitled to pillage the proteſtants, and render back to them the ſame uſage they had before received at their hands. This ſo provoked the proteſtants, being already too much inclined to revolt, that they took occaſion to aſſemble publickly for the forming themſelves into troops; and committed great diſorders, particularly in the North and at Banden.

† The prince of Orange has been much blamed for his long neglect of the affairs of Ireland, and his conduct was variouſly accounted for. Some ſaid, that he was deceived by Tyrconnel's aſſurances of attachment and fidelity; others affirmed, that he was willing to give the Iriſh an opportunity of riſing in arms, that he might enrich his followers by forfeitures; and thoſe who were diſpoſed to judge with more candour, alleged, that he followed the opinion of the marquis of Halifax, that an unſettled ſtate of affairs in Ireland, would compel the Engliſh to a ſpeedy ſettlement of England. But the writer of this Journal, with leſs malignity and refinement, gives another account of that prince's ſuppoſed inattention.

That

1689. That the rebels at Banden had been reduced without much difficulty; and that thoſe in the North were ſo near being ſo, that it was not doubted but the firſt news from that country would bring the news of it; and that his Majeſty ſhould have no ground to fear any ill conſequence from that ſide.

His Majeſty, applying himſelf after this to the forming of his army, gave orders to his lieutenant general, the lord Mount Caſhell, to form ſeven regiments of foot, of the forces raiſed in thoſe quarters, as alſo to arm the regiment of dragoons of Sir James Cottar, and to tranſport the reſt of the armes to Dublin, with all ſpeede. Having ordered this, and, with much trouble, found horſes to carry the French officers to Dublin *, his Majeſty advanced to Corke, 12 miles from Kinſale; after having viſited that place, and left orders at his departure for the putting it out of danger of any ſudden attempt. Leſſieur de Baiſſelau to command under lieutenant general Mount Caſhell ‡.

‡ Note on the margin of the French text in lord Melfort's hand. *To command under the lieutenant general Mac Carty.*

His Majeſty was no ſooner arrived at Cork, than he cauſed an exact view to be taken of that place; and finding it in a reaſonable good condition, he gave orders for the ſtrengthening the garriſon, and the leaving ſome ammunition and fifty thouſand livres there, for the paying ſome ſmall ſubſiſtence to the ſoldiers; of which there were a great many in that country. *It was here, that his Majeſty, having received a great number of petitions for leave to tranſport wool into England, refuſed them all; but gave a general liberty for the tranſporting into France, which had been done in great aboundance, but that veſſels were wanted* †. It was here too that his Majeſty began to find the difficulty of tranſporting his arms and ammunition, as he deſigned, as well by reaſon of the unfitneſs of the carriages uſed in the country, as of the ill ways; and that the general officers and others of his train, having taken all the horſes, and ſeveral not paying for them, had cauſed the country people to drive what they

* Nairne's Papers, D. N. 1. No. 59. Eſtat des officiers François qui ſe ſont embarquez pour paſſer en Irlande, et qui ont eſte payez de leurs appointements pour ſix mois d'avance.

† The words in Italicks are inſerted here in the Engliſh text. But they are on the margin of the French text in Lord Melfort's hand.

had

had remaining into the mountains, from whence it was impoſſible to get them. His Majeſty having remained ſome days at Cork, the earl of Tyrconnel came thither to wait upon him; and was immediately created duke, in recompence of his great ſervices, and ſucceſsful endeavours towards the preſervation of the kingdom of Ireland. He brought along with him the news of the rebels being defeated, by Hamilton, at Dromore; and that he purſued them ſo briſkly, that he hoped to reduce them entirely, before any recruits could be ſent him; and, in this belief, moſt people continued for ſome time after his Majeſty's arrival at Dublin [a]. 1689. March.

[a] A marginal note to the French text in Melford's hand. *The lieutenant general Hamilton was advanced to this rank by the duke of Tyrconnell, before the King's arrival, without the King's knowing any thing about it until he arrived, as alſo the viſcount Mount Caſhell and ſome brigadiers.*

In the way from Cork to Dublin, his Majeſty ſettled ſeveral things much out of order in the country; and on the road, found every where troops of peaſants armed with long ſticks, tip'd with iron at one end; and even thoſe troops, which were ſaid to be armed, had only half of them pikes and half muſquets; of which, two in one hundred were not fit for ſervice; *the officers were almoſt all natives differing little from the ſoldiers* *.

His Majeſty arriving at Dublin, and finding the troubles in the north ſtill prolonged, and that he had been but ill informed of the number and reſolution of the rebels, and well knowing of what importance it was to him, to put an end to the diſorders of this kingdom; he reſolved to ſend more troops yet to the north, to ſtrengthen thoſe with Hamilton. But his firſt care was to form a council, in which all affairs ſhould be debated; and reſolved it ſhould conſiſt of the French ambaſſador, the duke of Tyrconnel, and the earl of Melford.

It was in this council, where it was conſidered, what troops ſhould be ſent to ſtrengthen the camp of Hamilton, who was not ſtrong enough to take Coleraine, much leſs to attack Derry. It was agreed, that his Majeſty ſhould ſend ſome regiments to block up Coleraine, on the other ſide of the river; and that they ſhould be commanded by the duke of Berwick and the marquis de Puſignian. But it happened, that the commiſſion of general major, granted to the duke of Berwick, was of an ancienter date than that of the marquis de Puſignian. The King, to

* The words in Italicks are wanting in the Engliſh, but are inſerted in the French text.—The tranſlator, by ſaying that the officers were *gens du pais peu differentes des ſoldats*, means perhaps that they were peaſants as well as the ſoldiers.

1689. March. ſhew the particular eſteem he had for the French, on all occaſions, would not ſuffer the duke of Berwick to command the marquis, on that occaſion. But ſent him ſtraight to Hamilton, and left to the marquis the ſole command of the detachment; the troops of which he doubted not to be in a good condition and fit to march, being the firſt that were armed of the new levies.

A marginal note to the French tranſlation in the King's hand. *A miſtake as to the troops.*

This detachment conſiſted of five regiments of foot, that is Bellow, Germanſtowne, Louth, Nugent, and Moore; the duke of Tyrconnell's regiment of horſe, captain Burke's troop of horſe, and another detachment commanded by the lord Gallmoy, brigadier, conſiſting of one hundred and ſixty-five horſe, one hundred dragoons, and five hundred and ſixty foot; which made, in all, with the other troops that were already in the North, eleven thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-eight foot, ſeven hundred and thirty-five horſe, and ſeven hundred and fifty dragoons; and, becauſe his Majeſty was informed, that the free communication, that thoſe of Coleraine had with thoſe of Derry, did very much hinder the taking of the firſt of thoſe places, he commanded Monſieur de Puſignian to march, with the detachment under his command, betwixt the two rivers; by that means to hinder their communication for the future.

Whilſt the troops, thus deſtined, prepared themſelves for their general rendezvous at Charlemount, the King conſulted with his general officers at Dublin about the ſiege of Derry, in caſe Coleraine ſhould be taken. It was propoſed, to prepare ſtore of tools and other things neceſſary for a ſiege. Upon which, his Majeſty cauſed his magazines to be looked into. But, inſtead of finding things neceſſary, as he expected, he was informed, by the earl of Melford, who had viſited the ſaid magazines, by his order, that there was nothing at all of what was required, nor even any thing that looked like a magazine *; and as his Majeſty

Nairne's Papers, D N. vol. i fol. No. 64.

* See "*An account of arms, ammunition, and other habilaments of war, remaining in the ſeveral magazines in the kingdom of Ireland the 1ſt day of April* 1689." There were but 6 mortar pieces, 188 guns mounted, 79 guns not mounted, 397 barrels of powder, 196 barrels of ball, 421 bundles of matches, 878 muſkets ſerviceable, 896 muſkets unſerviceable, 1132 piſtols in pairs, 1029 carabines, 2 petards and covers, 7 waggons, 9 tumbrills with 1449 cannon-ball, 190 tents for horſe, 335 for foot, 100 pike axes, 100 ſhovels and the like number of ſpades, 5 hand-ſcrews, 200 baſkets, 145 wheel-barrows, 170 hand-barrows, 1398 pikes, 130 yards of caddows, that is tartan for hoſe, 54 yards of canvas, 12 axletrees and 789 iron balls.

was

was obliged, for the repairing of this defect, to ſet people at work immediately for the making of the tools and inſtruments, that were wanting, it was ſcarce poſſible to find workmen enough to make fifty or ſixty of them a week; and even thoſe workmen that were employed, being proteſtants, and going unwillingly about their buſineſs, the preparations were delayed; and by that means, the army was not ſo ſoon provided, as they ſhould have been, with the tools that were neceſſary. Even this his Majeſty began to look out after, providing cannon, of which there was not one piece of battery ready mounted in all Ireland, of field-pieces but twelve, in all of which three were with Hamilton, and two little mortars, the two great mortars and two of a middle ſize (which were all that were in the kingdom) not being in a condition to march. 1689. March. A marginal note to the French tranſlation in lord Melford's hand. *Effects des magazines marké No. 1.*

Monſieur de Puſignian, who was to command the troops deſtined for the recruit of Hamilton, would have deferred his departure to join the ſaid troops, till ſome cannon could be mounted to march along with him. But being aſſured, that there were ſome at Charlemount, both better and readier for ſervice, he parted from Dublin the 2d or 3d day of April, and went ſtreight to Charlemount, where he found only two ordinary batards fit for ſervice, and thoſe two without carriages. April.

It being there and at Dungannon, where the troops under his command were to rendezvous, he expected to have found them there at his arrival, but they, being little acquainted with military diſcipline, came two or three days ſhort, which the Sieur de Puſignian, not to loſe time, employed in mounting the two pieces of cannon he found at Charlemount, by the workmen which he carried along with him from Dublin.

Whilſt things went thus in Ireland, news was brought from Scotland, that the convention was aſſembled at Edinburgh, that the duke of Hamilton was preſident thereof, and that his Majeſty's letters had with much difficulty been allowed to be read, and in fine his friends, and thoſe that were faithful to his intereſt, had quitted the convention, finding things carried on againſt his intereſt with the violence which they could not oppoſe. Affairs of Scotland.

His Majeſty, to neglect nothing that might confirm his friends in their fidelity, and reduce his enemies to their duty, took that occaſion to publiſh his declaration of the firſt of April, of which he ſent ſeveral

1689. April. copies into Scotland *. He diſpatcheth alſo two or three perſons of truſt into England and Scotland, to have, by them, a more certain account of the poſture of affairs in thoſe countries, and to carry letters to thoſe of his ſubjects who eſpouſed his intereſt, and were capable to ſerve him, with commiſſions to raiſe men upon occaſion. He ſent at the ſame time two young Scotch noblemen, who came with him from France, and who had great intereſt in the Highlands, giving them commiſſions to raiſe regiments and arm all their friends and followers.

A marginal note to the French tranſlation in the King's hand. *Le chevalier Mac Lean et le Sieur Mac Donald.*

Affairs of Ireland.

About this time, his Majeſty applying himſelf inceſſantly to provide for the good and welfare of his ſubjects of Ireland, and finding that there were above one hundred thouſand men of foot, which were a charge as well to the people as to the officers who raiſed them, reſolved immediately to reduce them to a leſſer number, and gave his orders to that effect to the duke of Tyrconnel, who diſbanding all the reſt, reſerved only, according to the King's intentions, ſeven regiments of horſe, of which one was of nine, three of eight, and three of ſix troops; ſeven regiments of dragoons, of which three of twelve troops, and four of ten; and thirty-five regiments of foot, of which the regiment of guards had two battalions, and the reſt thirteen companies each, every company of ſixty-two men. Having thus reduced this great army to a more compact number, his Majeſty gave orders to bring the arms without delay, that thoſe whom he thought fit to be kept on foot might, by receiving them, be fit for ſervice.

Having thus provided for the reform and arming of his forces, and left the care of ſeeing his orders put in execution to the duke of Tyrconnell, his Majeſty reſolved to goe to Charlemount, in perſon, to ſee the troops that were there, under the command of the marquis de Puſignian, which he did as well to animate the ſoldiers by his preſence, as to ſee himſelf what they wanted, and to give orders on the ſpot for their ſupply, *being extreamly ſurpriſed at the ill poſture in which he was informed the marquis de Puſignian had found them* †.

* A marginal note to the French and Engliſh copies of this Journal refers to the printed proclamation. D. N. 1. fol. No. 2.

† The words in Italicks are in the French text in lord Melfort's hand.

He

He was alſo perſuaded to this voyage, becauſe he ſhould be there both nearer to Londonderry, in caſe his affairs required his preſence there, and nearer to the coaſt of Scotland, whither he might ſend what troops he might judge neceſſary, with more expedition, in caſe Derry ſhould ſurrender, which would have been of very great conſequence and advantage, as well for the frightening of his enimies, as the fortifying his friends, and preſerving and encouraging in their duty thoſe of his ſervants and ſubjects that began to waver, *his approaching that way making them hourly fear his paſſing into Scotland* *. 1689. April.

He parted from Dublin the 8th day of April, and two days after the duke of Tyrconnell parted from thence alſo, and went thro' all the garriſons to execute his Majeſty's orders, for the arming and reforming his forces, which his Majeſty would alſo have ordered to be paid, if his Majeſty had wherewith. But the duke of Tyrconnell, who foreſaw well enough, how abſolutely neceſſary it was for the good of his Majeſty's affairs, to have ſtill a reſerve of money againſt any ſudden occaſion, propoſed, with great prudenee, to his Majeſty, to ſpare that little that he had, and to find means to make the forces ſubſiſt yet ſome time longer, and to get them cloathed without putting him to any charge †.

Whilſt Monſieur de Puſignian aſſembled his troops nigh Charlemont, and Hamilton was ordered by his Majeſty to try on his ſide to make himſelf maſter of the bridge, which would render the communication eaſy betwixt him and Monſieur de Puſignian; which the enimies fearing, they burned the bridge, before we could come at it; but that did not ſtop his march, and ſo great was the courage of himſelf, his officers, and the troops he commanded, that moſt of them paſſed the river in the face of the enimie, and made themſelves maſters of a redoubt on the other ſide.

As his Majeſty was on the way from Dublin to Charlemont, he received news, that the rebels had quitted Coleraine, when they ſaw that Hamilton was maſter of the paſſage over the river, and that M. de Puſignian marched to get between them and Derry, and having ruined all

* Theſe words are in a marginal note to the French text in lord Melfort's hand.

† The earl of Melfort inſerts here in the French text with his own hand, *And even to get them cloathed by the officers.*

the

1689. April. the country between Coleraine and that place, retired to Derry, and into the country on the other ſide the river Finne.

His Majeſty ſtayed ſome days at Ardmagh, a town pillaged by the enimie, and very inconvenient as well for himſelf as his train, whilſt he ſent Mr. de Rozen and Mr. de Maumont to view the troops at Dungannon, and to give him an account of them. A little after he advanced to Charlemont, from whence he went two days after to viſit the poſt of Dungannon, Mr. de Rozen's quarter. He ſaw the regiment of Cavenach armed half with pikes and half with muſquetts, but ſo bad and ſo much out of order, that not one hundred amongſt them were in a condition to be ſhot in; at which his Majeſty was much ſurpriſed, believing them to have been in a much better condition, which made him redouble his orders for bringing the arms from Corke, Kinſale, and Waterford, with all ſpeed.

Att the ſame time the marquis de Puſignian, in purſuance of the orders which his Majeſty had ſent from Ardmagh to him and Hamilton to march to Straban (a paſſage of the river Finne, at the mouth of which is ſituated, ten miles from thence, the city of Derry), march't with his detachment within a league of Dungannon, and hearing of his Majeſty's being there, came to give him an account of the troops which were with him, and were in little better condition than thoſe at Dungannon; which obliged his Majeſty to reiterate his orders, and write to the duke of Tyrconnell and the Sieur de Pointis to ſend away the arms and ammunition with all ſpeed.

The King ſeeing there was no more enimies left on this ſide the river, except in Inniſkillin, and that every where, upon the approach of his troops, the rebels had abandoned the villages and little caſtles, where they had garriſons, he reſolved to go on as far as Omi, being perſuaded by all thoſe who knew the country, that Derry will ſurrender upon his approach.

He left Charlemont the fourteenth of April, and arrived the ſame day at Omi; from whence he found that Hamilton was marched for Straban, and that Monſieur Puſignian, with half the troops under his command, of which the moſt were horſe and dragoons, was advanced to Cladyford, three or four milesabove Straban. His Majeſty was alſo informed, that the rebels appeared in great numbers on the other ſide the

the river which obliged him to ſend Mr. de Roſen, Monſieur de Maumont, and Monſieur Lery before him, with all the reſt of the troops that were at Omi, except one regiment of foot and one troop of dragoons, to ſee if poſſible they could paſs the river at Straban. In the mean time Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and Monſieur de Puſignian having joined their troops about Straban, forced the paſſage of Cladyford with a handful of men in ſight of five or ſix thouſand of the enemy that were on the other ſide to oppoſe them. 1689. April.

Monſieur de Roſen not finding them at Straban on his arrival, and not being willing to ſtop there, went himſelf to view the paſſage of the river from Straban to Lifford, and though he had with him only two troops of horſe and one of dragoons, and that the number of the enemies on the other ſide appeared, and were effectually ten times the number, he bravely attempted the paſſage, and himſelf and the general officers leading the way, his troops followed him with that courage that they all ſwam the river; and by ſo bold an action, ſo frightened the enimies, that they fled upon the firſt charge, and purſuing of them for three or four miles killed many of them.

His Majeſty judging by this manner of proceeding of the enimies that they reſerved all their efforts for the defending of Derry, and ſeeing the neceſſity there was, to provide things neceſſary for the ſiege, as alſo to reinforce his army, reſolved to return to Dublin, and left the command of his army in the hands of Monſieur de Roſen, Monſieur Maumont, Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, Puſignian, and de Lery.

The ſixteenth his Majeſty came back to Charlemont, where he ſent more troops to reinforce the garriſon of Coleraine newly taken, as alſo, the county of Down, where he was informed that there was a likelihood of ſome ſtirring of rebels. The night of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth the King received an expreſs from the army, which let him know that the general officers had reſolved to reſt the troops, the 17th and the 18th, to join all their troops together and march ſtraight to Derry; and that it was the general opinion, that in the conſternation in which the enimies were ſince the forcing of the paſſages of the river, the town would ſurrender without any reſiſtance.

The

1689. April. The morning of the 17th arrived another expreſs ſent by the duke of Berwick, acquainting his Majeſty, that the rebels of Derry had ſent to capitulate with lieutenant general Hamilton, who had ſent them to Monſieur de Roſen as his ſuperior officer, who anſwered, that he referred himſelf to the King's declaration †, and would allow them the advantage of it if they forthwith ſurrendered. Upon which the deputies of the town went back, promiſing to ſend their anſwer by 10 o'clock the next morning; and that it was the general opinion, the town would ſurrender, and, that he was deſired by the general officers, to inform his Majeſty, that in their opinion, his preſence would be neceſſary.

The King who would fail in nothing that might contribute to the good of his affairs, or the reducing of ſo important a place, reſolved to go thither; and although he foreſaw that the voyage could not be only troubleſome, but dangerous, yet he would expoſe himſelf thereto, and ſhew thereby the regard he had for the opinion of his general officers: He knew that thereby his return to Dublin was delayed, where the main of his buſineſs lay, but having left all his things there to the management of the duke of Tyrconnell, whoſe care and exactneſs in putting theſe orders in execution which he had left them, would, he doubted it not, ſupply his abſence; and conſidering, on the other ſide, that the reſiſtance of the town would have been imputed to him, if by avoiding two or three days of fatigue extraordinary, he had neglected any expedition which might have had the leaſt ſhadow or probability to reduce it; he delayed no longer to return back again, to appear at the head of his army, within ſight of Derry, to diſabuſe thoſe unhappy rebels of the obſtinate belief which they had entertained, that his Majeſty was not in Ireland, but had died at Breſt, and, that what was ſaid to perſuade them to the contrary was only to deceive them: therefore as ſoon as he had received the duke of Berwick's letter, he ſet out from Charlemont, where he left a great part of his train, taking with him only thoſe who were moſt neceſſary of his houſhold, as well becauſe of the ſcarcity of proviſions as the general want of forrage, the ruin of

† There is a reference here on the margin of the Engliſh copy of the Journal to paper 2d in Mr. Nairne's collection. It is the King's proclamation of the firſt of April, referred to above.

horſes,

horſes, and other extremities, which were feared. And after a long and painful day's journey of thirty miles, he arrived that night very late at Newtown Stewart, where having reſted three or four hours in his clothes, he was on horſeback the next morning by break of day, and by 8 o'clock came to Straban, where he received a letter from Monſieur de Roſen, which let him know, that the rebels at Derry had again ſent to capitulate for the ſurrender of the place; and that to induce them to do it the more readily, he was marched with the whole army to ſhew himſelf near the town. The ſame letter informed him that there were Engliſh ſhips in the lake, with ſuccours of ſoldiers and arms for the town. 1689. April.

The King, who expected to have found the army at Straban, finding it march towards Derry, and deſiring to overtake it with all ſpeed, ſtopt not at all, but paſſing the river on horſeback, he overtook the foot, commanded by Monſieur de Puſignian, two miles from Lifford, and having viewed them without ſtopping, went on to join Monſieur de Roſen, who was gone from Straban four hours before his arrival, with part of the horſe; the reſt of the horſe and dragoons being ſent a day before to Raphoe, as well to ſave the proviſions which were there in great abundance, as to confine the enemies and drive them further into the Peninſula, had orders to rejoin Monſieur de Roſen within ſight of Derry, being commanded by Hamilton and the duke of Berwick.

His Majeſty, having joined Monſieur de Roſen, within two miles of Derry, put himſelf with him at the head of his troops, and, marching ſtraight to the town, ſtopt upon a hill within cannon-ſhot of the walls.

The place being thus inveſted by the few horſe and dragoons that were there, Monſieur de Roſen deſired his Majeſty to haſten the march of the foot that was behind, which coming up but ſlowly, Monſieur de Roſen preſſed his Majeſty to ſend back two or three meſſengers one after another to make them advance with all ſpeed, which his Majeſty did. Mr. de Roſen having poſted the foot round the town, from the ſea on the one ſide, by the wind-mill, to the garden and ſea on the other ſide, *the King propoſed to ſend to ſummon the town, that they might know he was there; to which Monſieur de Roſen anſwered, that it was not proper to*

1689. April. *do it till all the troops were in battalion in view of the town, and deſired the King to ſend to haſten Hamilton and the foot; in the mean time, he, Monſieur de Roſen, advanced with ſome horſe and dragoons, and poſted them in the bottom within leſs than half cannon-ſhot of the town, they of Derry not firing one ſhot at them. His Majeſty, who was reſolved to let Monſieur de Roſen act as he thought beſt, remained on the height, where the horſe and dragoons were firſt drawn up; ſeeing from thence the foot marching along the highway in the bottom, went down to meet them; finding Monſieur de Roſen reſting himſelf in a large field on the ſide of a hill out of cannon-ſhot, though in full view of the town, propoſed to him to draw up the foot there, to give the rebels a full view of them. But Roſen deſired his Majeſty to let him poſt them as he thought beſt, to which the King acquieſced and ſaid no more; but went down and met the foot in the bottom, and let them follow Mr. de Roſen's orders, and kept himſelf juſt out of cannon-ſhot from the town, and then ſent a trumpet to ſummon it; ſo that it was not by the King's orders that they advanced ſo far. Monſieur de Roſen, notwithſtanding that, made the troops advance towards the town, and poſt themſelves very near it under the ſhelter of the wind-mill, and a houſe near it, and the high encloſures thereabouts, and detached others along the bottom towards the Butcher's Gate. Whilſt this was a doing, the trumpeter came back to the King, and told him, the anſwer he had was, that they would in an hour's time ſend an anſwer, but deſired the troops might not advance further. Whether the trumpeter told this laſt particular to Monſieur de Roſen as he came back, is not known; if he did, Monſieur de Roſen took no notice of it, for he did not ſtop the troops who were then advancing: the trumpeter ſpoke French very well, being either a French or a Dutchman, and was ſlain ſince *.* Every one was ſurpriſed to ſee that in a little time, that anſwer was nothing elſe than

* The paſſage in Italicks is in both the French and Engliſh copies of the Journal, and yet it is in Engliſh in James's hand on the margin of the French copy.——It was James's conſtant cuſtom to write inſtantly an account of whatever happened, as appears frequently from his miſtaken conjectures about the conduct of others, and from the manner he expreſſes his hopes of ſucceſs in his own undertakings. He ſeems to have been ignorant of what paſſed in Londonderry. The inhabitants offered him terms of capitulation at the inſtigation of Lundie;—but Murray arrived with a reinforcement, and perſuaded them to take arms and fire upon James.

cannon and muſquet ſhots from every ſide. This continued the reſt of the day, and there were ſome ſoldiers killed. In the mean time ſeveral came out of the town that aſſured his Majeſty, that this only proceeded from the rabble, who being drunk had ſeized upon the cannon and fired without order from any people of authority in the town; that the better ſort were generally reſolved to ſurrender, and did all they could to perſuade the common people to the ſame. 1689. April.

His Majeſty, who had eat nothing all day, had the patience, notwithſtanding the fatigue of the two preceding days, to remain a horſeback until the evening, expoſed to cannon, *and under heavy and inceſſant rain*, waiting for the effects of the aſſurances which had been given him, and endeavouring to bring theſe unhappy rebels to a ſenſe of their duty with a ſingular and unwearied benignity and forbearance *.

His Majeſty ſeeing that he gained nothing upon the minds of theſe obſtinate wretches, who neither offered to ſurrender nor capitulate, he drew off his troops [*on account of the bad weather*, French copy] to the quarters neareſt the town; there to expect the arrival of the cannon and other things neceſſary for the forming of a ſiege or blockade, as ſhould be found moſt expedient, and retired himſelf to St. Johnſtone.

The next day, being the 19th of April, conſidering how much his troops were haraſſed, he let them remain in their quarters to reſt themſelves. That night, the King called together the general officers, when it was reſolved in the council of war that his Majeſty held with them, that the horſe ſhould be ſent to reduce the rebels, who were ſaid to be retired into Inniſhowin, and to drive away all the cattle from thence, and that a party of foot ſhould go and ſummon the fort of Killmare, whilſt the reſt of them ſhould draw up on a mountain to ſhew themſelves near Derry. The King, in the mean time, at St. Johnſtone gave protections to all the proteſtants, who having laid down their arms, were come to ſubmit themſelves to him, who were in great number.

Marginal note to the French copy in the King's hand. *To leave Maumont, Hamilton, D of Berwick, and Puſignian, to command, and to go back himſelf with Roſen and Lery to Dublin.*

The twentieth in the morning his Majeſty parted from St. Johnſtone, to repaſs the river and return to Straban, taking along with him the

* This paſſage is in the French copy of the Journal;—the pen is drawn through the words in Italics, but they are ſtill legible.

1689. April. marquis de Roſen and Monſieur de Lery, leaving the chief command of the troops and the care of all to Monſieur de Maumont, as firſt lieutenant general.

Marginal note to the French copy in the King's hand, *who ſayd they would give up the place if they were ſure it was his Majeſty was there, and upon their return it was given up to Maumont.*

At Straban his Majeſty received the deputies of the garriſon of Killmare who came to offer the place, which he accepted, pardoned them, and gave them his protection; and the day after their return, the place was ſurrendered to his Majeſty*.

The 21ſt the King came to Omi, where he received the deputies of the caſtle of Dergue, who came, in the name of the whole garriſon, to offer to ſurrender upon condition to have their goods and lives ſaved, and leave to return each man to his home with a protection. His Majeſty was pleaſed to grant them theſe requeſts; and ſo that caſtle, which is ſtrong of itſelf, and ſtands upon a narrow paſs between Inniſkilling and Derry, and might have hereafter much inconvenienced his Majeſty's army, was reduced without trouble, and received a garriſon without reſiſtance.

From Omi his Majeſty came, the 22d, to Charlemont, where he received an expreſs from Derry, who brought in the news, that thoſe in the town had made a ſally the with three ſquadrons of horſe and three thouſand foot towards Killmare; that they had poſted their horſe upon the ſtrand and their foot in the hedges a little farther advanced, and to the left, ſo that it was neceſſary to paſs directly before the foot to attack their horſe. This hindered not Monſieur de Maumont from putting himſelf at the head of the advanced guard, conſiſting of 40 troopers, with Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, Mr Fitzjames, Monſieur de Puſignian, and ſeveral volunteers, and to march ſtraight to attack them; and, although he received all the fire of the foot paſſing by, yet he charged their horſe ſo ſmartly, that he put them in diſorder, *(notwithſtanding what Brigadier Sheldon ſaid to him, to perſuade him not to expoſe himſelf, and all the general officers, at the head of ſo few men;)* and his foot to the number of 400 men coming up, with 40 dragoons, they made ſuch an impreſſion upon the enemies, that after an obſtinate combat,

A marginal note to the French copy in the King's hand. *Sheldon begged of Maumont not to goe at the head of that ſmall party of horſe, it not being fit for him to engage himſelf and all the general officers, but to let him* (Sheldon) *goe.*

* In the French copy the words are, *and a few days thereafter the place ſurrendred to Monſieur Hamilton, who had the King's orders to receive it, and to execute all the conditions which his Majeſty's clemency had been pleaſed to grant to the garriſon.*

they

they fled, and were purſued by ours to the gates of the town. The marquis de Maumont was killed at the beginning of this fight, with a lieut. col. that was near him, and ſome other officers killed or wounded. The duke of Berwick had two horſes killed under him, and the marquis de Puſignian one. His Majeſty was extreamly afflicted with the loſs of monſieur de Maumont, and commanded his body to be brought to Dublin. He writ too, at the ſame time, to Hamilton, poſitively forbidding the general officers to expoſe themſelves after that manner; it being a thing altogether contrary to prudence and the good of his ſervice *. 1689. April.

The King had already ſent a general officer to command the troops, which were to march into the county of Down, near Antrim and Carrickfergus, to hinder the landing of the Engliſh, in caſe their ſhips which had appeared before Derry, and retired the day the King came before the town, ſhould attempt any thing againſt the caſtle of Carrickfergus; a place of much importance, as commanding a convenient port of that ſide. But being informed that there were again in that county ſome new commotions of the proteſtants, he ſent thither a recruit of one troop of horſe before he left Claremont, and the next day being the 23d, being come to Newry, and finding the diſorders in the ſaid county of Down increaſed, he ſent one troop more of dragoons, which was all the force on that ſide of the country or with his perſon.

From Newry his Majeſty came, the 25th, to Drogheda, and the 26th to Dublin, where he found the duke of Tyrconnell not returned from viſiting the troops; the arms not arrived from Cork, Kinſale, or Waterford; and that in the arſenal nothing had been done for preparing of tools, which obliged him to renew his orders on thoſe two heads.

The news from Scotland being, that there were many among the gentry diſpoſed to declare themſelves for his Majeſty, and that the people in general were well inclined, his Majeſty reſolved to ſend thither the regiments of Ramſey, Antrim, and O'Neile; and, in the mean time, his Affairs of Scotland.

* Marſhal de Roſen writes to the King of this affair in the following terms: Je ſuis fort faché de la pert de tant de braves officiers que V. M. a faite a l'occaſion de Londonderry. Mais, ſire, cela ne peut jamais arriver autrement, quand on veut attaquer des places bien garnies contre toutes les regles de la guerre. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 16.

1689. April. firſt letters, ſent by Mr. Bradey, having been intercepted, and he who carried them made priſoner, tho' not much of his Majeſty's deſigns could be thereby diſcovered, yet as ſome of the perſons to whom the ſaid letters were directed, being known thereby to be friends to his Majeſty, would be obliged, in their own defence, and for his Majeſty's intereſt, to take up arms, his Majeſty found it convenient to ſend freſh letters, with commiſſions; and, at the ſame time, he publiſhed a declaration againſt all the members of the convention, and the adherents of the prince of Orange, as rebels; and gave full power to all his loyal ſubjects to fall upon and deſtroy them; this being neceſſary for authoriſing the actions of his good ſervants; ſince, by the law of the land, none can take up arms without the King's authority.

A few days after the King's return to Dublin, his Majeſty received the ill news of the death of monſieur de Puſignian, who was wounded in a ſally made by the rebels of Derry, and died two days after. His Majeſty was extremely concerned at it; nor could enough regret the loſs of two ſuch brave men as monſieur de Maumont and him, whoſe courage, conduct, and obliging manners had gained the love and eſteem of all men.

His Majeſty, being ſtill bent upon finding means to put his armies in a good condition, propoſed the having three camps; that Derry being taken, the troops on that ſide ſhould camp in the North, toward Scotland; that ten regiments ſhould camp near Dublin, and all the reſt of the army, except the garriſons betwixt Cork and Kinſale; and that magazines ſhould be eſtabliſhed near each of thoſe camps, from whence the troops ſhould be furniſhed with all things neceſſary.

His Majeſty likewiſe applied himſelf to the arming of his troops, with all ſpeed poſſible, ſtill ſending to Derry thoſe that were beſt armed; he ordered all the old arms to be mended, two pieces of cannon for battery, and one great mortar to be prepared, and tools and other inſtruments to be made without delay; and, that this might be done with more regularity, he gave the commiſſion of maſter general of the artillery to the lord viſcount Mount Caſhell. *He was alſo reſolved to have ſent cannon to Derry by ſea; but the Engliſh veſſels being abroad, that was impracticable* *.

* The words in Italicks are in lord Melford's hand, in the French copy of the Journal.

His

His Majeſty reſolving to draw together the horſe and dragoons newly levied, to ſend them to ſeveral places in garriſon; and, by that means, to have more men to ſend to Derry, more ſtraightly to beſiege the ſame; having been hitherto, properly ſpeaking, but blocked up; thoſe new levies, when looked into, were found to be only regiments in name, and not formed or fit for ſervice. The duke of Tyrconnell, at his return from viſiting the troops, acquainted his Majeſty, that he found amongſt the infantry ſo many good men, that he could not think of diſbanding them; and therefore, that he had kept up, in ſome regiments, twenty companies, inſtead of thirty; and in others, 22 companies, &c. However, thoſe which were diſbanded, committed ſtrange diſorders every where; for the preventing of which, his Majeſty erected ſeveral provoſt martials in all the provinces of the kingdom, to reſtrain and puniſh the authors of ſuch diſorders without delay. He gave orders alſo for ſeizing the goods of abſent proteſtants and rebels, making uſe, for that purpoſe, of the moſt effectual means which the laws of the country permitted, and going even beyond that where the occaſion required. 1689.

The King, conſidering the trade was loſt, and all commerce broke off with England, reſolved to give out commiſſions of privateers to all thoſe who would take them; giving ſeveral to thoſe of St. Malo, which he had done much ſooner, if he had not conſidered, that after beginning to take the Engliſh veſſels, it would be no longer eaſy for him to have any intelligence from England, the frequency of which was of ſo much importance to the good of his affairs.

All traffick being thus broke off, and the tranſporting of wool, hides, and other merchandiſe of the country into England entirely forbidden, his Majeſty found an expedient, by which trade might yet go on with ſome ſecurity with France; and to that end commanded ſuch merchants as deſired to trade for the advantage of the country and their own intereſt, to endeavour to find Spaniſh and Dutch veſſels, to which he would give paſſports for the tranſporting of ſuch goods into France *.

The

* Before King James left France, a memorial was preſented to Lewis XIV. by one of his miniſters, recommending a treaty of commerce between France and England, before James returned to his dominions, which might be publiſhed along with his declaration, granting

1689. The reſiſtance of Derry had encouraged ſeveral of the rebels, and eſpecially thoſe of Inniſkillin, to commit inſolences. They began to make excurſions into, and deſtroy the neighbouring country, when his Majeſty ſent colenel Sarsfield, with thirty-five companies of foot, four troops of horſe and dragoons, towards Sligo, to confine them within narrow limits, and repreſs a little their inſolence.

About this time happened the defeat of the rebels in the county of Down, by colonel Baughan, general major of his Majeſty's forces [*le Sr. Bochan, marechal de camp*] who had ſet upon them with one troop of horſe, another of dragoons, and two regiments of foot; they being be-

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granting a liberty of free trade to ſuch of his Majeſty's ſubjects as ſhould declare for him, and obtain paſſports from him; and propoſing to erect a court of admiralty in France, to regulate this trade in ſuch a way as ſhould confine it to James's faithful ſubjects. It does not appear, that ſuch a treaty was made. But, on the ſixteenth of July, James gave the following memorial to D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador.

D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 12.

A Memorial given to the French Ambaſſador, the 16th July, 1689.

Tranſlation.

Ibid. No. 10. His Majeſty, when he entered his kingdom of Ireland, gave his orders, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſubjects, trading to the ſaid kingdom, ſhould be treated as the Iriſh, and not pay more duty than they did; and that the crown *per* ton, which they uſually paid for their veſſels, ſhould not be exacted. That order was given, by his Majeſty himſelf, to the commiſſioners of his revenue, and executed ſo punctually, that the French have not ſince paid any duty for their merchandize, nor the crown *per* ton. But, as that order was only verbal, his Majeſty has given it in writing, in order that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary might ſend a copy of it to France.

His Majeſty likewiſe ordered to allow wool to be exported to France, by all thoſe who would aſk permiſſion, which he has never, and never will refuſe to any, who will chooſe to tranſport wool to France. But the want of veſſels has hindered that traffic. The King has entirely forbidden the exportation of any wool into England; and would be very well pleaſed, that French veſſels would come for it, as was promiſed.

His Majeſty having anſwered to the article propoſed concerning wine, that, if his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty demanded the diminution of the duties upon it, he will diminiſh it as much as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will deſire. But if he imagines thereby to augment his Majeſty's revenue, his Majeſty has got that affair examined by his commiſſioners, in order to know the ſtate of it, that he might ſend an exact information of it to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. In the mean time, he has, as the French ambaſſador demands it, bought all the wines which the French had imported for ſale, without making them pay any duty.

Done, at Dublin, the 16th day of July, 1689.

MELFORT.

twixt

twixt three and four thouſand in number, of which ſix hundred were killed on the ſpot, and the reſt diſperſed. Upon which, that country being a little more ſecure from the enemy's attempts, Boughan had orders to march with his troops to Derry. A few days after, the King received the welcome news of the arrival of the French fleet, in the bay of Bantry, and of the fight they had with the Engliſh, who were beaten and put to flight with as much ignominy, as they had, with inſolence, and diſreſpect to the law of nations, attacked them. This arrival of the fleet, which brought a ſupply of officers, arms, and money; and which was followed with ſo glorious a victory, filled the court with a general ſatisfaction; and the whole city expreſſed their joy for it with bonfires. His Majeſty, who had expected this fleet, with the French officers, a month before, had given orders, when he went to the North, to all the ſeaports, intimating how he would have them received at their arrival. He had kept for the moſt of them places vacant in the regiments, though not without difficulty, conſidering that the officers who had raiſed the ſaid regiments, had placed the ſubalterns, who were, for the moſt part, their relations, and had maintained them five months at their own expences. His Majeſty ſent orders to bring the French officers with all ſpeed from Bantrey to the quarters of the regiments in which they were to ſerve; and they were all employed and diſtributed in different poſts, according to the rank which the ambaſſador deſired: his Majeſty making thoſe who had been captains in France, majors; thoſe who had been lieutenants, captains; the enſigns, lieutenants; and the cadets, enſigns or lieutenants *; the engineers were particularly ſent for, and diſpatched 1689.

* The whole hopes of James reſting upon Lewis XIV. that unfortunate prince was reduced into an abject dependence on the count D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador. The French in general were treated with ſingular attention; and James paid great reſpect to the perſon, and deference to the opinions, of the ambaſſador in particular: yet he was conſtantly miſrepreſented by him to his court. James was very ſenſible of this, when he wrote as follows to lord Waldegrave, then in France.

"Probably there will be complaints ſent to that court againſt our court martial, for a ſentence given in favour of an Iriſh ſoldier, accuſed of having wounded his officer, a Frenchman. That you may know how the thing paſſed, we ſend you an abſtract of the tryal." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 42.

1689. patched to Derry, where they were extremely neceſſary. His Majeſty alſo ſent Henry Bond *(le chavalier Bond)* one of his receivers general, to Bantrey, to bring from thence the arms to Dublin, with all poſſible diligence. But the country being full of mountains, and a deſert where they were landed, the diſtance, and the want of all ſorts of carriages, and not daring to venture them any more at ſea, was the cauſe of their arriving but very ſlowly. Whilſt they were a-coming, his Majeſty diſpatched to Derry two cannon, one great mortar, with bombs and ammunition, and two battalions of the regiment of Euſtace, being all that was armed and fit to be ſent; and, for the greater advantage and conveniency of the army, his Majeſty eſtabliſhed a French munitioner, to furniſh the rations of bread to the ſoldiers, who was to begin to do the ſame, fifteen days after the ſigning his agreement, to the camp of Derry, where there was then bread or meal for above a month.

The officers that had hitherto ſubſiſted the regiments at their own charge, being weary of receiving no pay, the moſt of them having laid out all they were worth, and reduced themſelves to an impoſſibility of doing ſo any longer, it was reſolved in his Majeſty's council, that they

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" At a general court martial held, at his Majeſties camp near Dundalk, the 24th day of September, 1689.

" An information was preferred, by the judge advocate, againſt John Wall, a private ſentinel in colonel Nicholas Purcell's regiment of dragoons, for drawing his ſword againſt le Sieur Coverent, againſt the latter part of the 13th article of war, and againſt the cuſtom and rule of war.

" To this information, the priſoner pleaded Not guilty, and put himſelf upon his tryal.

" His defence was, that le Sieur Coverent was not an officer, which he proved firſt by his colonel, who ſaid, that lieut. general Hamilton had writt to him, and deſired him to take him as a ſecond lieut. *ſans façon*; but that he never ſaw any commiſſion he had. The major of the regiment gave evidence, that he never did guard or party duty, or was received at the head of the regiment, or any troop thereof, as the major heard or ſaw, as an officer. The priſoner alſo produced one Fitzpatrick, a cornet in the ſaid regiment, who depoſed, that he never took him for an officer in the ſaid regiment; but believed him to be a comrade only of a reformed officer, he ſaw him very much with. By all which, it appearing to the court, that he was not a known officer in the regiment, he neither having produced the King's commiſſion, nor done guard or party duty, the priſoner was acquitted, by the whole court, *nemine contradicente*.

" By this, you ſee the court martial proceeded *ſecundum allegata et probata*. The judge advocate may be blamed, for that he preſſed on the tryal, before witneſſes on both ſides could be produced."

ſhould,

ſhould, for the future, be paid regularly; and for that end an exact liſt 1689.
was taken of all the regiments, and all the companies of which they conſiſted, with the number of each company: and twelve commiſſaries were ſent through all the provinces and garriſons, to take an exact muſter of them, they being obliged, before the 28th of May, to give an account of ſuch their muſter, that his Majeſty might, in purſuance thereof, cauſe them to be paid for that month: but whilſt this was a doing, it being repreſented to his Majeſty, that the commiſſaries newly come from France would, either by themſelves, or others appointed by them, make muſters much more exact and true; for this reaſon, without having any regard to the review made before, his Majeſty having eſtabliſhed the ſaid French commiſſaries, ſent them a ſecond time to make it, in their way; and, in the mean time, cauſed money to be given *a bon compt* to ſuch as had moſt occaſion for it. After which, the pay of officers was regulated, who had hitherto received no ſubſiſtence; having been given only to the ſoldiers, at the rate of eighteen pence *per* week to the foot, and of five and forty pence half-penny to the horſe, and ſix and thirty pence to the dragoons. This being regulated, and the account of the muſters examined, it was reſolved to compleat the full payment of the month of May to the whole army, defaulting what they had received *a bon compt*; and as his Majeſty had not yet eſtabliſhed a method for receiving the money which came out of France, but ſeeing that the ambaſſador was willing to take the trouble of it upon himſelf, his Majeſty left it entirely in his hands, requiring none but as he had occaſion for it for his army, to the payment of which he had deſigned to employ it entirely; ſhewing to the ambaſſadour, from time to time, the reaſons for which he demanded any; and thereupon the ambaſſador delivered to his Majeſty's receivers general the ſums agreed upon, or elſe gave orders to Monſieur Alexander, treaſurer of the money which came from France, to pay the troops; directing orders to him for that effect by his ſecretary, with which his Majeſty was ſo much the better ſatisfied, in that the ambaſſador ſaw thereby how the ſaid money was employed to a farthing, and his Majeſty's officers were not charged therewith.

But however exact the method was, which was taken for the *acknowledgment*, [*menagement*, French copy] of that money, his Majeſty foreſaw very well, that it could not ſuffice for ſubſiſting, any longer time, the

1689. great number of troops which he was obliged to have on foot for the defence of Ireland; and fearing, with reaſon, to fall into the greateſt difficulties, if the army ſhould once come to want every thing, and that he ſhould not have wherewithal to maintain them, he conſidered of all the expedients and ways imaginable to prevent ſo great an evil. His faithful ſubjects of Ireland were not in a condition to lend him any *; money from France not being to come, but with the fleet, the preſent neceſſities of the army, which required a ſpeedy remedy, could not be relieved time enough. All theſe reaſons made his Majeſty reſolve to coin certain pieces of copper, which ſhould go and be received as ſilver; and this, after having weighed all the inconveniencies which could happen thereby, was found the only expedient capable of ſerving the army, in the want to which it was reduced; not having yet received ſubſiſtence for the whole month of May, nor any means left to find in the whole kingdom wherewith to pay them the half of the month of June; and it being of the greateſt conſequence to the good of his Majeſty's affairs, that he ſhould keep ſome two hundred thouſand livres, which yet remained of the French money, in caſe his Majeſty ſhould have occaſion thereof for England or Scotland, or for intelligence and other things of that nature; pieces of copper, worth ſix-pence, were therefore begun to be coined, which is continued every day; nor can enough be made for the payment of the army, which is very well ſatisfied with them; and they paſs now in the country without difficulty.

All this time, the parliament was employed in making acts neceſſary for the good of the kingdom, for the raiſing of money, and for eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, ſuch as might give no cauſe of diſcontent to his Majeſty's ſubjects in his other kingdoms.

At Derry, the reſiſtance of the rebels continuing, they made ſeveral ſallies; in one of which, colonel Ramſay, who commanded the troops that were furtheſt advanced, having begun his work too late, the nights

* *All the Chriſtian princes, and even the pope himſelf, only pitied him, but gave him no relief. His Chriſtian Majeſty alone, though he himſelf was attacked by all Europe, had undertaken to ſupport him, and had already done ſo much, that it was unjuſt to abuſe his generoſity, at a time when he himſelf was ſo much involved: beſides, it is always proper to ſave the money of our friends.* Theſe words are in the French, but are omitted in the Engliſh copy of the Journal.

being

being extremely ſhort, was perceived by thoſe of the town, who fell upon him, before he could put his work in a condition of defence; ſo that, overcome by a great number of the enemies, he was beat back, with the loſs of thirty men, and himſelf killed fighting bravely. He was a very good officer, and one whom the King regretted extremely. 1689.

His Majeſty ſeeing that the ſiege of Derry was likely to continue yet ſome time, and that the rebels of Inniſkillin grew ſtronger every day, and becoming more and more inſolent, pillaging and deſtroying all the neighbouring country, he ſent three regiments of foot, five troops of horſe, and one of dragoons, under the command of Monſieur de Roſen, who had orders to ſtraiten thoſe of Inniſkilling, and to force them further towards Derry, as he ſhould ſee occaſion; doing therein what he ſhould judge moſt proper for his Majeſty's ſervice and intereſt.

The marquis de Roſen, following his Majeſty's orders, marched, the day of June, from Dublin to Trim, where he remained until he had received all the arms, that the King could ſend him for the arming of his troops, ſo as to put them in a condition to ſerve. He was advanced as far as Cavan, on his way to Inniſkilling, when his Majeſty had the news, that the Engliſh appeared in the lake before Derry, which obliged him to ſend him orders to march forthwith towards that place, that being near it, he might be able either to ſupport general Hamilton, by ſending him ſome part of his troops, or to go and take the command of the ſiege himſelf; that being left to his prudence to determine as he thought fit, and as the juncture of affairs ſhould require. June.

Having received his orders, he marched immediately from Cavan, and made ſuch haſte, that he came time enough to be at the camp at Derry, before the Engliſh had attempted either to land or relieve the town†.

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† De Roſen, while he was on his march to Derry, wrote ſeveral letters to James. Dundagh, 11th June—He complains of bad roads, the want of arms, and the deſertion of his troops. Legaurey, 13th June—He gives the King an account of the intelligence ſent to him by Hamilton —The Engliſh fleet had attempted, the preceding day, to enter the lake.—Both Hamilton's forces and his own were few in number, oppreſſed with fatigue, and wanted arms; whereas the Engliſh fleet had brought arms in abundance; and as the rebels in that diſtrict amounted to 20,000 men, beſides the Inniſkilliners, who were already D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 16.

1689. In the mean time, his Majeſty, not being willing to leave the poſt of Belturbatt unguarded, ſince it was of great conſequence for ſtraitening the rebels in Inniſkilling, he ſent thither two regiments of foot and one of dragoons, and two troops of horſe, under the command of colonel Sutherland, brigadier of his forces, whom his Majeſty commanded to keep correſpondence with Sarsfield, who was, with three troops of horſe, one of dragoons, and three battalions of foot, within twelve miles of Inniſkilling, on the other ſide, in a place which covered all the country towards the South. Sutherland marched ſtraight to Belturbatt, where he received orders from monſieur de Roſen to march towards Omi, to ſecure the troops employed in the ſiege of Derry on that ſide. He immediately obeyed his orders, and went for Omi; leaving only two hundred and fifty men at Belturbatt. The rebels of Inniſkilling, ſeeing his march, endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of a narrow paſs to hinder it; but Sutherland having notice, marched all night, and got there before them; who ſeeing themſelves prevented, and diſappointed of their deſign, reſolved to return and attack thoſe men he left behind at Belturbatt, which they did, and had not much difficulty to ſucceed; they being neither numerous enough, nor having any fortification, which might enable them to make any great reſiſtance, they were all taken priſoners, before the ſuccours which his Majeſty ſent could arrive; tho', in the moment he heard of colonel Sutherland's march, he ſent the regiment of Bophin, two troops of horſe, and two troops of dragoons to that place.

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already very well armed, a conſiderable army would ſoon appear in the North. He had foreſeen this long ago, and therefore diſapproved of forming the ſiege of Derry with ſuch a ſmall, ill-armed body of men; and now intreats his Majeſty to aſſemble more troops, and march them towards Derry, according to the plan which he and the French ambaſſador had laid before him. Dungarvan, 15 June—He gives the King extraordinary inſtances of the negligence and want of diſcipline in the troops.—He excepts only one officer, and propoſes to break ſeveral.—He had entered, that morning, into Charlemont.—The governour, tho' he had been adviſed the day before of Roſen's coming, had ſlept in his country-houſe; all the officers and ſoldiers, except a few who were in the fields, watching the duke of Berwick and general Hamilton's horſes, were in bed—He complains of the want of tents, forage, ammunition, and neceſſaries of every kind.—He was obliged to let looſe the horſes at night, to paſture in the fields; and had not a ſurgeon to take care of the ſick and wounded.

His

His Majeſty being advertiſed from ſeveral hands, that a great many horſes and a great quantity of arms, belonging to the rebels, were concealed in Dublin, it was reſolved in council, that ſearch ſhould be made for them; and it was referred to Mr. de Roſen to do it †. This order was ready to be put in execution, when his Majeſty received advice by a ſpy, that the rebels had a deſign to ſend letters into England, which the ſpy himſelf was to carry. His Majeſty thought it neceſſary to intercept thoſe letters, and to ſecure the writers of them; and therefore it was reſolved, by the advice of the French ambaſſador and the reſt of his council, that the ſearch for arms ſhould be referred for two or three days; and, in that time, five of the conſpirators were apprehended. But there appearing every day new accomplices of the treaſon, the examination of it took up time, and his Majeſty being obliged, at that time, to ſend Monſieur de Roſen towards Inniſkilling, the ſearch of the arms was referred to lord Mount Caſhell, who having repreſented the diſorder it would cauſe, and the little probability there was of finding any arms by that means, and the duke of Tyrconnel being of the ſame opinion, his Majeſty let that deſign alone for this time; reſolving, however, to put it in execution upon the firſt favourable opportunity. 1689.

The camp deſigned near Dublin was marked out by his Majeſty, the wood and ſtraw for the barracks prepared; but the money falling ſhort, it was not found expedient to have ſo many raw ſoldiers, with officers equally unexperienced, drawn together, without either money or arms to give them; and whilſt arms were prepared, and ways contrived to find money, the news from the North quite broke the deſign of the camp, and other meaſures were taken; Monſ. de Roſen being ſent one way, Sutherland another, and three regiments ſtraight to Derry by the way of Charlemont.

As for the camp nigh Cork, it was not to be thought of, there being ſcarce troops left in Munſter for the garriſons, all the reſt having been ſent to Derry. At this time his Majeſty hearing that the rebels began to raiſe taxes in England, found it neceſſary, to put forth his Declaration of the 28th of June, by which he forbids the raiſing or paying

† This juſtifies the anſwer which James gave to D'Avaux's memorial. It may be ſeen among the papers of this year.

1689. thereof, as alſo the impriſoning any of his good ſubjects, declaring ſuch as ſhould be guilty to be liable to be proſecuted for falſe impriſonment, and ſued for five pound *per* hour, the penalty inflicted by the act, in ſuch caſes where any is reſtrained of his liberty againſt law.

The news from the camp before Derry gave, at this time, very good hopes of its being ſoon in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's forces. The ſhort account of the progreſs of that ſiege is this:

Siege of Londonderry. The great guns and mortars arrived not at the camp, till the thirtieth of May, and till then little was done againſt the town, except beating them back when they ventured to ſally, and firing with what guns we had upon them, which, however, did conſiderable execution.

As ſoon as the guns and mortars were arrived, and more forces come up, the ſiege was carried on more cloſely, and on the fourth of June, it being judged neceſſary to take from the enemy a wind-mill, which they had ſecured with ſeveral intrenchments, general Bouchan was commanded to attack it with two battalions of foot, which he did with much bravery; but the rebels having drawn out almoſt their whole garriſon for the defence of it, and ſome of the foot not going ſo heartily on as was expected, he was obliged to retire, having loſt ſeveral officers in the action, and colonel Dorrington and ſeveral others being wounded. Some Engliſh ſhips began now to appear in the loch near the town, and it was known for certain, that they expected more, on board of which Kirk was, with three regiments, to try to relieve the town. Upon which a boom was laid acroſs the river to prevent their coming up; and in the mean time the general endeavoured to carry on his works, ſo as to cut off from the rebels the ſprings from whence they had their freſh water.

The Engliſh, on the eight of June, ſent a ſmall frigate, the Grayhound, with two ketches, to endeavour to get ſome ſupply into the town; but the frigate was ſtranded near Killmore, and before ſhe could get off, had ſeveral ſhots in her from the guns the general had ſent for that purpoſe, which had certainly beat her to pieces, but that the gunners were none of the beſt.

On the 13th, the enemy's whole fleet appeared in the loch, and came to anchor near Killmore; but the general had ſo ſecured the river with

with booms, and ſo poſted the forces on each ſide with cannon, that they could not attempt coming up the river, without being certainly deſtroyed. 1689.

In this ſtate things continued; the fleet attempting nothing, and his Majeſty's forces carrying on their works againſt the town, as faſt as the ill weather, and the other inconveniencies, under which they laboured, would permit them: but the battalions growing very thin, as well by the ſoldiers deſerting as falling ſick, and the Engliſh being expected to land, Mr. de Roſen was ordered to march thither with what forces he had, which he did; and it being left in his choice to take the care of the ſiege upon him, he left it to Hamilton, poſting himſelf ſo as to hinder any deſcent from the fleet *.

The duke of Berwick was now ſent to Donnegall, where the rebels began to aſſemble, and he charged them with that courage and ſucceſs, that he entirely routed them, taking a great booty of cattle and ſheep, beſides fourſcore horſes and much proviſions.

Our works went ſtill but ſlowly on, until the latter end of the month; nor could we beat down the enemy's defences, for want of cannon, which we were forced to employ at the river ſide in caſe the fleet ſhould attempt any thing. But proviſions began now to grow ſo ſcarce in the town †, that on the 29th they talked of ſurrendering, and propoſed conditions;

* The mareſchal de Roſen arrived in the camp before Londonderry the 17th, he wrote to the King on the 20th and on the 23d. He gave him an account of ſome military operations, and informs him that he allows Hamilton ſtill to command the ſiege. It is not his fault, nor Hamilton's, that the town delays to ſurrender, "and as every minute of time is precious to us now, I wiſh we may not hereafter have reaſon to regret thoſe we loſe here, and that the ſuccours which we expect from your Majeſty, and which are abſolutely neceſſary for us, may not arrive too late." D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 16.

† Walker in a letter to Kirk, dated the 26th June, mentions the terms of capitulation, which Hamilton offered to the citizens. "If we would ſurrender the town, and lay down our arms, we ſhould have a free pardon; as many of us as had a mind to tranſport ourſelves ſhould have free liberty, and others might have convoys to their former habitations, and repriſals of their goods; all which we have abſolutely refuſed: but if we have not a ſpeedy ſupply, and that in a few days, not exceeding ſix, we muſt, we fear, accept of the worſe that now is offered." He then repreſents their diſtreſs, and the facility of ſending them a ſupply. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 20.

1689. conditions; but it was thought their aim was, thereby to gain time, till expecting relief from the fleet. The day before, the King's forces beat them from two retrenchments, they had made without the gate; but being there expoſed to the continual fire of the enemies from the wall, they quitted them, ſome officers being killed and ſome wounded on that occaſion, and particularly Monſ. d'Angleuſe.

Monſieur de Roſen, at this time, formed a project, which he had in part put in execution before he acquainted his Majeſty with it; which was to aſſemble all the people left in the country from Charlemont and a vaſt way round, men, women, and children, and drive them to the walls of the town, where they ſhould be left to ſtarve, except the town ſhould either

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Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 21.

A letter of the ſame date, ſigned by three citizens, was ſent to Kirk, incloſed in Walker's. They inform him, that they had fed for ſome time upon horſe fleſh, which began now to fail them. They complain of ſickneſs, mortality, and deſertion; and pray to be relieved by a ſupply of proviſions, and to have a governour if the ſiege is not raiſed.

Walker, Baker, and five of the citizens, wrote a letter of the ſame date, to the Engliſh fleet.—They mention the effect which the appearance of the fleet in the lake, and their delaying ſince that time to relieve the town, has had upon the enemy.—They are afraid of being undermined.—They have not proviſions, including horſe-fleſh, for eight days. In the name of 20,000 diſtreſſed proteſtants, ſhut up in the city, on account of their loyalty and perſeverance, they pray to be ſupplied with proviſions, eſpecially biſcuit, cheeſe, and butter, as they have no fire to dreſs meat. "We have ſallied out and engaged the enemy, three ſeveral times, and put them to a diſhonourable and ſhameful retreat, in which two French officers, Puſignian and Maumont, were killed, who were hugely lamented in their camp. Beſides, ſeveral Engliſh and Iriſh officers of conſiderable note, viz. Brigadier general Ramſay killed laſt engagement, colonel Nugent, colonel Farrel, captain Watſon, an Engliſh gentleman, taken priſoner, but ſince dead of his wounds; brigadier Talbot, formerly called Wicked Will, and nephew to Tyrconnel, taken, and dead and buried this day of his wounds. We were offered five hundred guineas for his ranſom, but in regard of your arrival would accept of no terms. We have now the lord viſcount Neterville, Sir Garret Aylmer, major Rowcommon, and a great many others of leſſer note, priſoners, taken firſt engagement: and at the laſt, we have captain Butler, ſon to the earl of Mount Garret; one of the great Mac Donnells, a captain, and captain Mac Donnagh, and many others too long to name.—We killed and wounded laſt engagement 800 of their men, many of whom were officers; colonel Dorrington, colonel Gordon, O Neile, lieutenant colonel Euſtace, captain Plunket, and many others, were carried off by their horſe.—We have got ſeven pair of colours from the enemy.—— If you do not ſend us relief, we muſt ſurrender the garriſon within ſix or ſeven days.—We underſtand that the boom is certainly broke, ſo that you may come up with eaſe."

ſurrender

ſurrender or relieve them. But his Majeſty being informed thereof was 1689.
ſenſible this action could not but be every way prejudicial to his ſervice, ſince moſt of theſe people living at home peaceably, and having either his particular protections, or relying on that general one of his declarations, promiſing ſafety to all that would return to their houſes and live quiet: this was inevitably to depopulate and ruin the country, and beſides would give his enemies occaſion ſo to repreſent ſuch a breach of faith in his other kingdoms, as to diſhearten even his beſt friends. His Majeſty therefore immediately diſpatched away couriers to all the places where Monſ. de Roſen had ſent orders to aſſemble theſe poor people, commanding governours to forbear from doing it at their utmoſt peril; and at the ſame time commanded Monſ. de Roſen to deſiſt from any ſuch attempt. He had, however, before his maſter's orders could reach him, aſſembled above four thouſand men, women and children, which he cauſed to be driven to the walls; but ſo little effect had this proceeding towards perſuading the town to ſurrender, that they fired upon them from the walls, which Monſ. de Roſen perceiving, threw them off and ſent them to their homes again. The enemy endeavoured to ſend away in this crowd many of their ſick and weak men; which would have been of great advantage to them in ſaving their proviſions*.

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* Mareſchal de Roſen, in a letter to King James, dated at the camp before Londonderry, 27th June 1689,—begins to diſcover the impatience which betrayed him into the barbarity of which James complains in this part of his Journal.

Tranſlation.

"SIRE,

"We have taken yeſterday one of two ſpies who came together from the fleet in order to enter into Derry. The ſpy who carried the ſecrets ſwam croſs the river, and got into the town. The ſpy who is our priſoner is a man of good ſenſe, and ſpeaks French perfectly well;—he is likewiſe of a good family, and poſſeſſes, it is ſaid, an income of 500 guineas a year in this country. I have charged the chevalier de Vaudrey to frighten and interrogate him ſtrictly. Your Majeſty may ſee his depoſition in the paper incloſed; it is probable he ſpeaks ſincerely, and therefore I doubt not but your Majeſty, upon reflection, will give your orders, and take the proper precautions for diverting this new ſtorm, which cannot be done but by ſending an immediate reinforcement to your army;—what makes this the more neceſſary is, that it diminiſhes daily for want of pay, and that the river has cut off a communication with the diviſion on the other ſide, which puts it out Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 17.

1689. In the mean time, the trenches were ſo filled with water by the flux of the ſea, and rain, that it was impoſſible to continue in them, nor could they

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of our power to ſuſtain the attack of the enemy when they attempt to force the paſſage. We have fiſhed this morning a drowned man, who floated on the river with bladders about his arms. When he was taken up, we diſcovered, that he had come out of Derry to ſwim to the fleet. We found in another bladder, faſtened to his neck, the three letters incloſed; by which your Majeſty may ſee in what ſtate the town is now, and of what conſequence it is to hinder the enemy from ſupplying it. I preſume in theſe circumſtances to take the liberty of repreſenting to your Majeſty, that you would have been maſter of the town long ago, if my advice had been followed; which was, not to grant protections, nor receive any perſon coming from them, by which means they would the ſooner conſume their proviſions, and be obliged to ſurrender themſelves with the halter about their necks."

Two days after the date of this letter, general Hamilton ſummoned the beſieged to ſurrender, and ſent them terms of capitulation. But the next day, before they could return an anſwer, mareſchal Roſen iſſued the barbarous order, which hath drawn ſo much odium on his maſter, and acquainted him with it, in the following letter, in which he endeavours to juſtify the meaſure from neceſſity.

Mareſchal de Roſen to King James.

Tranſlation.

" SIRE, Camp before Londonderry, 30th June, 1689.

D. N. vol. i. fol. 23. " My little hopes of ſucceſs in the ſiege of Derry, from the impoſſibility of continuing in the trenches, which are filled both by the tide and by the continual rains, which muſt entirely deſtroy your Majeſty's troops before this place, and my zeal and attachment for your Majeſty's ſervice, and for preſerving your army, have induced me to-day to determine to exterminate all the rebels throughout this country, as your Majeſty may ſee by the copy of the declaration which I have made to thoſe who defend the town. I cannot do any thing that will more effectually ſecure the poſſeſſion of this country, and prevent them from penetrating into the heart of the kingdom. Theſe rebels have carried their reſiſtance and obſtinacy ſo far, that they are totally unworthy of your Majeſty's clemency, and deſerve to be ſtarved to death. Beſides, when the country is plundered and burnt, the Engliſh troops who may make a deſcent, finding neither ſubſiſtence nor ſhelter, muſt periſh in a miſerable manner: and we ſhall be in a better condition to maintain our ſuperiority in the other parts of the kingdom. I am to begin inſtantly, Sire, to put my project in execution, and I ſhall continue the ſame plan, unleſs your Majeſty forbids me expreſsly.—In that caſe I humbly beſeech your Majeſty may be pleaſed to clear me of the conſequences, and to truſt the entire management of affairs to Mr. Hamilton, or to ſome other general officer whom your Majeſty may chooſe to employ."

they be drained without great loſs of time, the enemy firing continually from their works, from whence the King's forces could not beat them, for 1689.

The very day the mareſchal de Roſen wrote this letter to the King, he ſent his barbarous declaration to the beſieged *; and the next day he iſſued the following order to put his menaces in execution.

The order of the Mareſchal de Roſen to governours and commanders, to put his declaration in execution.—Camp before Londonderry, the 1ſt of July 1689.

Tranſlation.

" The rebels of Londonderry augmenting every day their obſtinacy, which can no longer be endured, I have reſolved to gather together all the rebels of this country, and to conduct them to camp, and afterwards drive them under the walls of the town that they may ſtarve. You are to give them no more ſubſiſtence than will be barely neceſſary to ſupport them this length from the places where they ſhall be taken. And as I have certain information that a conſiderable number of the rebels of Londonderry and of this diſtrict, eſpecially their wives and children, have retired to Belfaſt, and the neighbouring places; and as the hardineſs of their huſbands deſerves the ſevereſt chaſtiſements, I write this letter to acquaint you, that you are inſtantly to make an exact reſearch, in Belfaſt and its neighbourhood, after ſuch ſubjects as are rebellious to the will of the King, whether men, women, boys or girls, without exception, and whether they are protected or unprotected, and to arreſt them and collect them together, that they may be conducted by a detachment to this camp, and driven under the walls of Londonderry, where they ſhall be allowed to ſtarve in ſight of the rebels within the town, unleſs they chuſe to open their ports to them, which they ſhall be at liberty to do, if they are diſpoſed to pity them. Do not fail to exert yourſelf to the utmoſt in executing theſe orders punctually, and without delay, and at the riſk of being perſonally anſwerable to me for your diligence; and you are to be particularly careful, that none of the rebels, whether men or boys, women or girls, or infants, of whatever age, ſhall paſs the river and eſcape the way of Charlemont, to ſave themſelves from the wretchedneſs to which they are to be reduced. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 25.

" You are to intimate to the inhabitants of Port Patrick the orders you have received, and to declare to them, that they ſhall aſſuredly be treated with the ſame rigour unleſs they remain quiet. I recommend to you, to give the greateſt attention to the execution of theſe orders. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

The Mareſchal de ROSEN.

" I forgot to tell you that you muſt be more vigilant than ever during this commotion, leſt they ſhould attempt any thing againſt you."

* There is a copy of the original declaration among Mr. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 24. See a tranſlation of it in Ralph, vol. ii. p. 125. and in other writers.

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1689. for want of their battering pieces, which were employed at the chain laid acroſs the river. The town, however, was reduced to great extremities for

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The anſwer of the inhabitants of Londonderry to a paper they had received from lieutenant general Hamilton, date the 29th of June, and to the declaration of mareſchal de Roſen, dated the 30th of June, is in the following terms:

The anſwer of the governours, commanders, officers, and ſoldiers, in the city of Londonderry, the 2d of July 1689, *to a paper of his excellency lieutenant general Hamilton, dated the 29th of June laſt.*

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 26. marked on the back, Paper XVIII.

"That we having received and read the ſaid paper, and conſidering of it, with other offers made to us by the ſaid lieutenant general, in our council, and with others here, that we might the better give him a fitting anſwer; but before we could get the ſaid matter fully conſidered and brought about, which was much hindered by the death of one of our governours, by diſturbance given us from the camp, we had ſent us a paper, ſealed and ſigned by the mareſchal de Roſen, dated 1ſt inſtant, by which he declares, that in caſe we do not, betwixt that time and Monday following by ſix of the clock in the afternoon, agree to ſurrender the city unto the King, upon ſuch conditions as ſhould be granted us, by lieutenant general Hamilton, according to his Majeſty's inſtructions; that the ſaid marſhal would forthwith iſſue forth his order, from the barony of Innis Owen and the ſea coaſts round about, as far as Charlemont, for gathering together thoſe of our faction (as he calls them) whether protected or not, and cauſe them immediately to be brought to our walls, where we may receive them into the town, if we have any pity; otherwiſe we will be forced to ſee our friends and neareſt relations all ſtarved for want of food, he having reſolved not to leave one of them at home, nor any thing to maintain them on: and, that all hopes of ſuccours may be taken away, by landing of any troops in theſe ports from England, he further declares, that if we do not, by that time, ſubmit, he will forthwith cauſe all the ſaid country to be deſtroyed, by burning the houſes, mills, &c.; and carry all proviſions of the ſaid country to ſuch places as he ſhall think fit, and the reſt he will deſtroy. So that our relations, country people, men, women and children muſt ſtarve, though protected; with other cruel threatenings in the ſaid paper held forth: which paper of the ſaid mareſchal, we had openly read in our families. It gave great offence to the people here; and cauſed many of them believe, that no articles or capitulation, that ſhould be made with us, ſhould ever be performed or kept; when they find and believe, that the ſaid mareſchal hath, or pretends to have, a power of command, in the army, above the ſaid lieutenant general, and that he threatens to break the protections already given to the proteſtants, and uſe them in manner aforeſaid; and that, though we ſhould have ſufficient articles from the ſaid lieutenant general, to ſave our lives, religion, liberties, and eſtates, yet on landing of any army from England, to invade Ireland, our articles ſhould be broken, ourſelves impriſoned or driven from home, and our goods, chattels, and proviſions taken from us, and we forced to ſtarve. That, though we expect favour from his Majeſty and the ſaid lieutenant general,

for want of proviſions; for of thoſe who came out and mixt with the people that were driven to the walls by Monſ. de Roſen, ſeveral were known 1689.

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neral, and others with them; yet we expect no mercy, nor favour, or keeping of conditions with us, from the ſaid mareſchal or his countrymen with him; (if he and they ſhall have power, they having cruel deſigns) as their countrymen have, againſt the laws, the liberty, and the religion of all men of our church and perſuaſion.

"That, on viewing and conſidering the copy of the commiſſion, granted by the King to the ſaid lieutenant general, to treat with us, we find it bears date the firſt of May laſt; ſince which time, to wit, on the fourteenth of the ſaid month, there ſat a parliament in Dublin, by act whereof our lives and eſtates were forfeited; wherefore we conceive, that the ſaid commiſſion, granted to the ſaid lieutenant general, hath not ſufficient authority for him to treat with us, nor can we, by articles to be made with him, be ſafe. We, therefore, deſire the ſaid lieutenant general will (conſidering this matter is ſo dear and near to us, it being all the ſecurity we have for our lives, religion, liberty, and eſtates) not conſtrue this any delay in our treaty; but that he would be pleaſed to procure from his Majeſty a new fuller commiſſion to treat with us: and that his Majeſty may aſſure us, that we ſhall have performances of what articles we make with the ſaid lieutenant general; ſo that it may not be in the power of the ſaid mareſchal, or the ſaid French men with him, or any other, to break what articles ſhall be made for our advantage, or that we ſhall be oppreſſed by them.

GEO. WALKER.
JOHN MICHELBURNE."

Upon receiving this anſwer, the mareſchal de Roſen cauſed his orders to be put in execution. King James has been blamed for continuing him afterwards in employment, and for the *calmneſs* of his anſwer to the biſhop of Meath, who came to complain to him of Roſen's cruelty. But it appears from the following letter and order, that he wrote upon the firſt notice to prevent it.

King James to the Mareſchal de Roſen.

Tranſlation.

JAMES, R.

"Truſty and well-beloved. We have received your project, and we wiſhed we had ſeen it, before you had iſſued any orders to put it in execution. We are thoroughly perſuaded that you have ſeen none of the declarations, in which we have promiſed our protection, not only to thoſe who chuſe to ſubmit to us and live peaceably at home, but alſo to all thoſe who chuſe to return to their habitations, and behave as good ſubjects for the future; as we are convinced that in that caſe you would not have iſſued orders ſo contrary to our intentions and promiſes. It is poſitively our will, that you do not put your project Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 27.

1689. known by their wan and lean countenances, and nauſeous ſmell, that made every one think they had the plague, and others fell down dead on

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project in execution, as far as it regards the men, women, and children, of whom you ſpeak; but, on the contrary, that you ſend them back to their habitations without any injury to their perſons: but with regard to your project of pillaging and ravaging the neighbourhood of Londonderry, in caſe you are obliged to raiſe the ſiege, we approve of it as neceſſary to diſtreſs our enemies. We believe your preſence ſo neceſſary for the ſucceſs of our arms before Londonderry, that it is our pleaſure you remain there till further orders; in the mean time, you are to inform us continually of your ſituation, that we may be able to give our orders concerning what you ought to do. We pray God may take you, truſty and well-beloved, under his protection. Given at our court, at Dublin Caſtle, this third day of July 1689, and in the 5th year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,

MELFORT."

Circular letter from King James to ——— forbidding to put Roſen's proclamation in execution.

Ibid. and alſo D N. 4to. vol. xi. No. 9.

"Truſty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we are informed, that our field mareſchal general the marquis de Roſen, hath ſent orders to ſeveral places, requiring the relations of ſuch as are now in rebellion againſt us in Derry, of what ſex or age ſoever they be, to be delivered to him, and expoſed by him, as he hath projected and declared in the ſaid order: Our will and pleaſure is, that if any ſuch order hath been ſent to you from the ſaid mareſchal, you poſitively refuſe obedience thereto; and make it known to all our people, that ſuch orders have been given entirely without our knowledge, and are poſitively contrary to our inclinations, which have been always to reclaim even the worſt of our ſubjects by mercy, and inviolably preſerve the aſſurances we have given, either by our royal declarations in general, or by any particular protections to ſuch as live peaceably under our government. We do therefore reiterate our order to you, that you aſſure all our loving ſubjects of our real intentions in this matter; and you ſhall aſſure them that ſuch as live peaceably in their ſtations ſhall, without diſtinction, enjoy our protection; and ſo requiring your obedience to this our abſolute will and pleaſure, we bid you heartily farewel. Given at our court at Dublin Caſtle, this 3d day of June 1689, and in the 5th year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,

MELFORT."

Before Roſen received an anſwer to his laſt letter he wrote another to the King, from which it appears that the troops were but half armed, that they wanted neceſſaries of every kind, and that men and officers were ignorant of and inattentive to the ſervice.

Mareſchal

on the ſtrand, for theſe being weak and ſick people had been ſtarved in the town, where the ſtrongeſt fellows ſeized on the meal and other proviſions, and let the others ſtarve. 1689.

In

Mareſchal de Roſen to King James.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 17.

Tranſlation.

SIRE, Camp before Londonderry, 5th July 1689.

" I am grieved to ſee ſo little attention given to the execution of your Majeſty's orders, at a time, when matters are become troubleſome and embarraſſed. Kirk is always at his poſt, waiting the arrival of three regiments of cavalry and two of infantry, which are to join him under the command of Charles Count Schomberg. There is no doubt, but this expectation has kept him from making any attempt to throw proviſions into Derry, as he might eaſily have done by hazarding ſome veſſels for that end; yet your troops, which have been lately ſent, have arrived almoſt in the ſame condition with the former, having been obliged to take ſuch arms as were given them, the greateſt part of which are damaged and broken, and accordingly uſeleſs, as you have not in all your army a ſingle gun-ſmith to mend them.

The troops which are here with Hamilton, are in a ſtill worſe condition, and the regiments entirely loſt and ruined; the ſtrongeſt battalion having but two hundred men, and more than two thirds of them without ſwords, belts, or bandaliers. The cavalry and dragoons are not the better, that they are the more numerous, as the ſtrongeſt company has but twelve or fourteen troopers able to ſerve. The river which divides your army and prevents a communication, diminiſhes it conſiderably. The detachment under the duke of Berwick's command, being more than thirty miles from this place, weakens it entirely, as he cannot leave the poſt which he has been obliged to take, without allowing the Innſkilliners to poſſeſs it and to ſhut us up behind. All this, Sire, together with the embarraſſment of the artillery and carriages which are here, with very little means of conveying them in a country, where one is neceſſarily obliged to go by one road which is very bad, ſhould induce your Majeſty to adopt a meaſure, which is of the utmoſt conſequence to the good of your ſervice. It is for this reaſon, I humbly beſeech you to conſider this maturely, and to ſend me inſtantly your orders about what we ſhould do; as I had already the honour to aſk by my two laſt letters, to which I have yet received no anſwer.

I cannot comprehend how the regiment of Walter Butler could be ſent away from Dublin without ſwords and without powder and ball. I am ſtill more ſurpriſed, that Bagnel's regiment has been employed to eſcort the treaſure, without giving them a ſingle ſhot, although, as the officers told me, they frequently aſked, without being able to obtain any; yet, Sire, they both of them marched two days quite cloſe to the garriſon of Inniſkillin, in danger of falling a prey to them. The garriſon of Belturbat is in the ſame

1689. Affairs of Scotland.

In this ſtate matters were before Derry the 5th of July, and whilſt this was doing his Majeſty received frequent advices from Scotland, informing him of the poſture of affairs there. The clans in the Highlands were generally firm to his Majeſty's intereſt, and were in arms, and ready to receive his orders. The viſcount of Dundee had ſurpriſed one troop of the enemy at St. Johnſtown, ſeized their arms and horſes, and ſtripped the

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ſituation; having had, as Sutherland told me, but a little powder, and not a ſingle ball. My heart bleeds, Sire, when I reflect on the continuance of this negligence, ſince it appears to me, that no one is in any pain about the ruin of your affairs. I hope, that the return of this expreſs will bring me your Majeſty's ultimate orders; and I wiſh they may arrive in time enough for me to put them properly in execution; having no other object but to ſhew you my zeal and attachment for your ſervice; becauſe I am, with a very profound reſpect, ſubmiſſion and loyalty,

Sire,

Your Majeſty's, &c."

It appears from another letter from de Roſen of the ſame date, that he had by that time received from the King an anſwer to his letter of June 30th, and his Majeſty's order, forbidding him to put his project in execution. He preſumes to blame James for his clemency, and attempts to juſtify his own conduct.

Tranſlation.

SIRE,

I have received the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour to write to me the 3d inſtant, by which I ſee that your Majeſty is always full of benevolence towards the rebels of this kingdom: their own conviction of this encourages them in inſolence, to which they are carried every day, and in the hopes that your Majeſty will have compaſſion upon them in the diſtreſſes to which they may be reduced; yet the troops are ruined, and the rebels will receive relief, which will oblige your Majeſty to abandon every thing. I imagined that I might have induced them to ſurrender, by threatening them as I have done, but that has produced no effect. It is true, I have not put my project in execution, and that perhaps is the reaſon why we are not yet further advanced; for I have preſented before their gates but a ſmall number of their accomplices, to try if that would make any impreſſions on them; but they have had the cruelty to fire upon them, and to refuſe them every kind of aſſiſtance, for which reaſon I ſent them back to their habitations, after having made them comprehend the difference between your Majeſty's clemency and the cruel treatment of their own party.

I ſhall conform to the orders your Majeſty has done me the honour to ſend me, to ſtay in the army and to deſtroy the neighbourhood of Londonderry, in caſe Mr. Hamilton ſhall be obliged to raiſe the ſiege."

Roſen

the men: he marched from thence with a good body of men, and purſued Mackay 3 or 4 days; but not being able to overtake him, returned to the Highlands, and ſo diſmiſſed his men as to have them ready upon a very ſhort warning. 1689.

The chief of the family of the Mac Leans had a conſiderable body of men together, and had on two or three occaſions beat the enemy; however, Edinburgh Caſtle was ſurrendered by the duke of Gordon upon conditions, though it does not appear that he was reduced to any extremity, but might have held out much longer, having proviſions and every thing elſe neceſſary to have held out for four months *.

Roſen continued to repreſent to James, that the fleet of the enemy encreaſed, and his Majeſty's forces diminiſhed every day; he conveyed to him a letter from the governour of Charlemont, and recommended ſtrongly to take care of that place; in one of his letters dated the 8th of July, he complains to the King of the want of arms, and blames him again for his clemency.

"Upon the death of a captain of dragoons, in Sir —— Oneile's regiment, twenty-five dragoons of his company deſerted with their horſes, and thoſe who remained, refuſed to ſerve, alledging, that they were not engaged but to their captain, they were forced to caſt lots, and one of them was ſhot; but the regiment was obliged to borrow arms for that purpoſe from the lord Mayre's regiment. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 17.

"You ſee, Sire, the condition your troops are in. I leave your Majeſty to judge, if an honeſt man, who has a high ſenſe of honour, can continue to command them without great anxiety, when your enemies are particularly attentive to furniſh your rebellious ſubjects with excellent arms. I doubt not but we ſhall ſee them march againſt us ſoon, with protections in their pockets and arms in their hands, which happened frequently already and happens every day."

The mareſchal de Roſen appears to have been a diligent and active officer; but thoſe who ſerved under him were unacquainted with diſcipline, and either James himſelf was inattentive to the ſervice, or his orders were never properly executed. On the 10th of July, de Roſen writes to him from the camp before Derry, that he had received a convoy of 80 waggons, five of them were loaded with ſwords without belts, and the ſoldiers would be obliged to carry them conſtantly in their hands; the other waggons were loaded with powder, ball, &c. and 20,000l. in ſilver; this convoy was ſent from Dublin to Londonderry, eſcorted only by a quarter maſter and 12 troopers, and they lay three nights in ſight of Inniſkilling. Ibid.

* As the accounts which James received from Scotland, and to which frequent references are made in this Journal, are too long to be comprehended in notes, they are placed in a ſeries at the end of the papers of this year.

1689. The rebels in Derry having ſent a meſſenger to the fleet, he was found drowned with 2 letters about his neck, which were to have informed Kirk of the extremities the place was reduced to for want of proviſions, and to have begged for relief *.

The day before another meſſenger endeavouring to get into the city, was taken; he diſcovered ſeveral things relating to Scotland, and ſaid, a freſh ſuccour was expected for the town from England, and that the Henrietta yacht was gone to meet them †. The town continued every day

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* Theſe letters are mentioned by de Roſen to the King.

† De Roſen writes to James about this ſpy, in his letter of the 27th of June. "I have charged the chevalier de Vaudrey to frighten and interrogate him ſtrictly. Your Majeſty may ſee his depoſition, in the paper incloſed." This paper is among Mr. Nairne's Papers.

The depoſition of Mr. Cromy, a ſpy from the fleet to the city of Derry, taken the day before yeſterday, by the chevalier de Vaudrey.

"That he had left Scotland but ten days before, having joined the fleet ſince, at his arrival before Derry.

That he had left lord Dundee in a retreat, at a place called Bog of Geith, in a ſtrong country of the North, with ſix thouſand infantry and two hundred cavalry. That he had had a ſmall rencounter with Mackay, in which he received a check, being himſelf ſlightly wounded. That Mackay was ſtill not far from him, with three thouſand infantry. That indeed ſome Engliſh cavalry had marched to Scotland: But, that he did not believe they had joined Mackay.

That Blantyre's and Glencairn's regiments of infantry and my lord Eglington's regiment of cavalry, with a regiment of dragoons, had gone from Dumbarton to the ſhire of Argyle; Burgenny's regiment of infantry remaining at Glaſgow.

That there were two regiments on board the fleet; Kirke's and, as he believed, Cuningham's, commanded now by Stuart. That there were alſo great quantities of arms, ammunition and proviſions; the veſſels come from Scotland, having a great deal of meal; and thoſe from England, quantities of cheeſe, pork, and ſalt-beef.

That of the two thouſand men expected from England, there were two regiments of cavalry. That Schomberg was to have the chief command. That if two thouſand men only had been ſent to Scotland but two months ago, there would not remain now a ſingle enemy in that country. That the fleet conſiſts of the Dartmouth, the Deptford, the Swallow, and another frigate of fifty guns. The Greyhound, which had been a-ground near Culmore, had gone to refit.

That

day to make lights from the top of their ſteeple, which were duly an- 1689.
ſwered from the fleet, though they never endeavoured to ſend in any ſuccour.

The 2d of July, the chiefs of the town, ſent to lieutenant general Hamilton, to deſire him to renew the power he had to treat with them, and at his deſire his Majeſty ſent him a new commiſſion and full authority to treat †.

The

That the Henrietta yacht had ſailed from the lake, eight days before, and was to keep at ſea until ſhe diſcovered the Engliſh fleet. So that the return of the yacht to the lake will be a ſure ſign of the arrival of the fleet.

EDWARD VAUDREY."

The depoſition of Cromey's ſpy from the Engliſh fleet before Derry, 26 June, received (by James) 2 July, 1689.

† The inhabitants of Londonderry in their anſwer to general Hamilton, on the 2d of July, objected to the date and extent of the commiſſion, by which James had authoriſed him to treat with them, and deſired him to procure ampler powers, and his Majeſty's aſſurance for the performance of the articles to be ſtipulated between them, upon which James ſent the following commiſſion to general Hamilton.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 29.

His Majeſty's commiſſion, empowering lieutenant general Hamilton to treat with Derry, July 5th, 1689.

JAMES R.

James the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. To our truſty and well-beloved Richard Hamilton, lieutenant general of our armies, greeting; Whereas we have, through the whole courſe of our reign, endeavoured to reduce our ſubjects to their duty, by clemency rather than force; we are, at this time, reſolved to give an additional inſtance thereof, in regard of our ſubjects of the proteſtant religion, now in arms and in rebellion againſt us; we do therefore authoriſe and impower you to treat, with our ſaid ſubjects now in arms againſt us, for the rendering up of our city of Derry into our hands, or that of Inniſkilling, or any other town or caſtle, in this our kingdom now in their poſſeſſion, upon ſuch terms, as you ſhall think fit for our ſervice, which ſhall be ratified by us without exception, whatever they may be, notwithſtanding of any fault or treaſon committed, by any of the ſaid perſons or their adherents; and notwithſtanding of any law or act of parliament made

1689. The 10th of July, the Scotch officers went on board with a regiment of Iriſh, in the 3 frigates, commanded by Monſieur du Queſne, at Carrickfergus, and the ſame day, meeting with two Scotch privateers, belonging to Galloway, one of 14 and the other of 20 guns, with betwixt 80 and 100 men on board each, the fight continued about an hour very obſtinate, and ſome of our Scotch officers were killed; but the two captains of the privateers, Hamilton and Brown, being killed, Monſieur de Quiſne became maſter of them, and putting ſome of his equipage on board, ſent them to Dublin and purſued his courſe for Scotland, where he ſafely landed the forces he had on board; which ſuccour, however

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made or to be made. For all which, we hereby promiſe to protect and free them, in all times, after the concluding of ſuch terms betwixt you and them, as you ſhall think fit for our ſervice to grant. Given at our court at Dublin Caſtle, 5 July, 1689, and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,
MELFORT."

Along with this commiſſion James ſent the following inſtructions to Hamilton.

Ibid. "*A letter of inſtruction to lieutenant general Hamilton, from the King, July 5th,* 1689."

JAMES R.

"Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well; you are immediately upon receipt of this our inſtructions, and the power we have granted to you by our commiſſion of the ſame date, to inform the rebels, in our city of Londonderry, of the power we have ſent you. You ſhall let them know, that, if they do not now yield to ſuch propoſitions as you ſhall offer to them, we will hereafter exclude them from ever partaking of our mercy. You are to endeavour to give them as little as poſſible can be. But, rather than not get the town delivered to us, you ſhall give them their lives, fortunes, our royal pardon for all that is paſt, and protections, as others our ſubjects have, in time to come; and that none ſhall dare to trouble or moleſt them, in their houſes, eſtates, perſons, religions or profeſſions whatever, they delivering the city into our poſſeſſion; or if they include thoſe of Inniſkillin, that that place, or any other treated for, be in the ſame manner delivered to us. You are to ſend an immediate account of what anſwer they give you; and ſo, from time to time, till the affair ſhall be concluded. Given at our court, at Dublin Caſtle, the fifth day of July, 1689; and in the fifth year of our reign.

By his Majeſty's command,
MELFORT."

Ibid. No. 30. The citizens of Londonderry, having probably ſeen Hamilton's new commiſſion, ſent him, on the eleventh of July, the terms on which they propoſed to capitulate.

ſmall,

small, will encourage my lord Dundee till more can be ſent. The French officer who commanded the two prizes, made another in his way to Dublin; which was a ſmall bark employed to carry letters from Schomberg to Kirk and ſeveral others; by which was diſcovered the prince of Orange's deſign to ſend hither 12,000 men, commanded by count Solmes. But effectual order will be taken, that this deſcent ſhall not find us unprovided; for Derry is vigorouſly attacked, and Kirk ſeeing that he could not get any ſuccour into the place, has landed in a little iſland about three miles off, where he is intrenched, in expectation of ſuccours from England. In the mean time, the rebels at Inniſkillin are ſtraitened on all ſides, and the duke of Berwick, in a little rencounter he had lately with them, has cut two companies of foot in pieces, and taken ſeveral priſoners *. 1689.

The 18th the King prorogued the parliament.

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* The following letters relate to the operations of this period.

Derry, 15th July.—General Hamilton gives the earl of Melfort an account, "That a Whitehaven man had two of the prince of Orange's packets on board, directed, as he was informed, to Kirke: that colonel Maxwell had writ to him of a great power embarked at Liverpool and Cheſter." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 38.

July 16th.—"That the ſhips that were in the loch were all gone, and four of thoſe of Inch alſo: but that the men that were put aſhore ſtill remained there."

July 17th.—Hamilton wrote to the King, "That the whole fleet, which was thought to have been ſailed towards Scotland or England, was at anchor beyond Inniſhaven point: that the duke of Berwick having had notice, that about four hundred of the enemy were at Ramullin, was deſigned to march thither, in the beginning of the night, and to fall on them by break of day; his grace's camp being then within ten miles of Ramullin: that twenty of Clancarty's men, and the major, had attempted to lodge themſelves in a houſe, within twenty yards of our advance; but in vain, the major having been wounded in the arm, and about twelve of the ſoldiers killed or wounded."

James, by this time, had particular intelligence of the preparations made in England for a deſcent in ſome part of Ireland. He informs de Roſen, in a letter, dated at Dublin, the 17th of July, that veſſels for tranſporting cavalry were ready at Whitehaven, Cheſter, and Liverpool; that ladders and other implements for a ſiege were put on board ſhips in London; and that the count de Solmes was to command the expedition. He therefore thought it was neceſſary to execute the deſign againſt Inniſkillin without delay, which he imagined might have been done before, if Roſen had recalled the duke of Berwick. He deſires Roſen to preſs the ſiege of Derry, and to inform him in what time he thought it could be taken.

A Journal

1689. July. *A Journal of what paſſed in Ireland, from the 19th of July to the 10th of Auguſt, O. S. 1689, intituled, "Journal of what's paſt in Ireland ſince my lord Tyrconnel's departure †."*

THE 19th of July, Mr. Maſſé, ingenier general, was killed by a cannon ſhot, in a battery he had himſelf ordered *.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 39. The 22d, lieut. general Hamilton having received his Majeſty's orders for preſſing the ſiege of Derry, held thereupon a council of war, where the opinions of all the general officers did unanimouſly conclude, that it was impoſſible to take the town, but by famine; which opinions

† This journal likewiſe is in Nairne's hand. It was ſent by Melfort to lord Walgrave to France. He mentions it in a letter, dated the very day on which the journal ends. See the Stuart Papers for this year.

* The following extracts contain the intelligence which James received concerning the tranſactions of this period.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 38. July 19, 1689.—General Hamilton writes to the duke of Tyrconnel, "That the two battering pieces had been a bringing the two laſt nights from the chain: that, perhaps, they might ruin the defences of the town: that the enemy within were above three thouſand ſtrong, all good firemen; and that all the King's battalions there exceeded not the number of five thouſand. That, if the duke of Berwick ſucceeded, as he had hopes he would, he doubted not but, being joined together, they would be able to deal with the ſuccour that threatened out of England."

On the ſame day, Hamilton writes to the King, "That Mr. Maſſé was killed; one captain Bourke had his left hand ſhot off, and wounded by ſplinters through the ſhoulders; a gunner and two ſoldiers hurt; all by one ſhot: that colonel Wachope had eſcaped narrowly: that, within a moment thereafter, two ſoldiers had been killed by a ſecond ſhot; whereof the wind had ſo burned major Geoghogan's face, that he was in danger of loſing his left eye."

On the 20th, he writes to his Majeſty, "That, when the trench was opened, they had fourteen battalions, conſiſting, at moſt, in ſix thouſand men: that the beſieged were then, by what they could learn, five thouſand ſtrong: that, as the town's forces were diminiſhed by ſickneſs and mortality, ſo his Majeſty's forces were grown weaker, by the ſame reaſons. Beſides, by men killed, wounded, and deſertions, that his Majeſty's forces now about Derry, did not, by a great deal, amount to the number of five thouſand men: that the moſt part of the fleet was betwixt Ramullan and the iſle of Inch: that their deſign was to raiſe as many men as they could, and to join with the Inniſkillin people: that the mareſhal kept his bed, and was much out of humour; and was reſolved to meddle with nothing: that, if ſpecial care was not taken, they would ſhortly want proviſion for their men; every thing being extremely bare about Derry."

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were ſigned by the reſpective officers *, and ſent to the King; upon which, his Majeſty, by advice of his council, did ſend new orders to the 1689. July.

* *The depoſition of the general officers, anent the ſiege of Derry, July 20th, received 22d,* 1689.

" The chevalier de Carny is of opinion, that the place cannot be taken by force, with ſo ſmall a number of troops and cannon as are before it; becauſe they are entirely diminiſhed by ſickneſs; and becauſe, he believes, the beſieged are, at leaſt, two thouſand. Signed, Charles Carny." Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 36.

" My opinion is, ſince our army is reduced by ſickneſs and fatigues and deſertion, not to the number of three thouſand men able for ſervice; judge that number's not in a condition to force the town in a certain time; but believe, that theſe of the town are far inferior to our number. Signed by John Wauchop."

By what I have obſerved, ſince the trenches were opened, I am of opinion it will be impoſſible for us, in the condition we are in, to force the town that way; and that the neceſſities of the beſieged will ſooner reduce them than we can, by beginning another attack. Signed by Dom. Sheldon."

" My opinion is, that we cannot force the town ſpeedily, by reaſon of the want of cannon; and that the infantry is fallen very weak, by ſickneſs and deſertion; but to keep the blockade as long as his Majeſty's ſervice will permit. Signed, Tho. Buchan."

" My opinion, on the preſent ſituation of affairs, is, that, conſidering the forces which are before Derry, and thoſe which are in the place, it is impoſſible to take it by force at all; much leſs to take it in a limited time. It might be reduced by famine, if we had time and a ſufficient number of troops to hinder the ſhips from throwing in proviſions; and at the ſame time to hinder, by a body of troops on the river Fin, the junction of the forces which Kirke hath landed in the iſle of Inch, with thoſe who have joined the rebels of Inniſkillin, to whom it will be neceſſary to oppoſe the body of troops at Trelick; and all theſe projects will be ineffectual, if care is not taken that proviſions ſhall not fail. Signed, Girardin."

" It is my opinion, that it is impoſſible to take the town of Derry by ſtorm, with the little number of foot that is here, or without a conſiderable number of battering guns, much leſs to gueſs when it ſhall be taken: and I do certainly believe, that unleſs they want proviſions, they will never ſurrender. Berwick."

" As I have not changed the opinion of which I have always been, it is not neceſſary now to commit it to writing. The moſt eſſential thing to be done is, to hinder the junction of the Inniſkilliners with the troops from the ſhips which are in the iſle of Inch and at Ramullin; where they aſſemble as many as they can of the country people. Their fleet, which left Loch Foyle, being now between Ramullin and Inch, the corps which the duke of Berwick commands for that purpoſe, cannot be more advantageouſly poſted than towards Caſtle Fin, where he may have the beſt informations of the motions of the enemy,

1689. July. the marſhal de Roſen and Hamilton, commanding them to quit the ſiege, and only to continue the blockade, as long as they ſhould think it fit for his ſervice, or that they ſaw any appearance of the town's ſurrendering by

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and take the moſt proper meaſures to oppoſe them. Care ſhould be taken that the troops ſhall not want proviſions, a thing that is moſt to be dreaded, and the danger of abandoning Belturbat entirely, in caſe (Anthony) Hamilton's corps advances towards Trelick, muſt be conſidered. Richard Hamilton."

Upon receiving theſe opinions of his general officers, James ſent the following order to general Hamilton.

King James's order to lieutenant general Hamilton, to turn the ſiege of Londonderry into a blockade.

D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 37. "Truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we underſtand, by your letters of the 20th inſtant, that it is the opinion of all the general officers, that it is impoſſible to take the town of Derry, but by famine, we have thought fit not to wait major Nugent's return, but to ſend you our orders concerning the ſame. Seeing that Derry cannot be taken by force, with ſuch a ſmall number of men as it is beſieged by, our will and pleaſure is, that ſo ſoon as you receive this, you prepare for raiſing the ſiege, and then actually raiſe it, unleſs you be of opinion, that, in continuing the blockade, the town will be forced to ſurrender for want of proviſion, which, in all appearance, muſt happen very ſhortly; ſince, by their laſt propoſals, they offered to ſurrender the twenty-ſixth of this month; which, if you believe to be ſo, you are to continue the blockade, ſo long as you ſhall think is for the good of our ſervice.

You are, before your departure from before Derry, to cauſe blow up the fort of Colmore, that it may not ſtand in our way another time.

You will ſee what our intentions are, by a duplicate of our letter to the marquis de Roſen, which we have ordered to be ſent to you.

Seeing that engineers, in appearance, will be but of ſmall uſe to you now, you are to order the engineer Burton to go to Charlemont; and to take an exact plan of that place and adjacent grounds, which, with all convenient ſpeed, he is to bring to us, that we may give our farther orders thereupon.

We doubt not, but you will do what may be beſt for our ſervice in all things; and ſo we bid you heartily farewel.

Given at our court at Dublin caſtle, the twenty-ſecond of July, in the year 1689, and in the fifth of our reign."

The King's letter to De Roſen, of which he incloſed a copy to Hamilton, contains further inſtructions to diſtreſs the enemy, by laying waſte the country about Derry and Iniſhowen, in caſe he ſhould be obliged to abandon it; and to reinforce the duke of Berwick, that he might attack the Inniſkilliners, according to the plan which James had already formed.

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famine, leaving that to their prudence; but ordering, in the mean time, to deſtroy the country, to blow up the fort of Colmore, and diſpoſe all things for retiring, in the manner that might be moſt prejudicial to the enemy. 1689. July.

The 25th, the duke of Berwick was to march towards the Inniſkillin rebels; where, in all probability, he was to fall on them ſucceſsfully: and, as the deſign was laid to join with Sarsfield, he might have certainly done good ſervice, if he had not been countermanded by monſieur de Roſen; who, altering his mind, did not think fit to have the duke's party ſo far from him. In the mean time, the blockade continuing, Derry was certainly ſtarving, and the moſt part of the inhabitants reduced to eat ſtarch. Seven ſhips appeared, as reſolved to enter in to ſuccour the town; upon which, the guns that were brought to batter the town, were ſent back to the chain, to defend the paſſage *.

* On the twenty-fifth of July, general Hamilton writes to the King, "That the mareſchal de Roſen would neither meddle with the blockade or raiſing the ſiege; ſaying, he always declared againſt the beſieging of the town, and that his advice had been ſlighted: that, in a ſally the beſieged made that morning, nine of theirs were left behind, beſides near thirty killed; their pockets found with ſtarch in them, as a ſign of their great wants; and that a dying man of their number declared, that he had fed on nothing elſe for five days: that they expected proviſion every moment: that ſeven ſhips were come into the loch, whereof three near Colmore are reſolved to ſink or get to the town by the firſt fair wind: that the mareſchal de Roſen was reſolved to march to Charlemont: and, in his way, to ruin all the country behind him, and to make an attempt on Donnegal, Balliſhannon, and Inniſkillin, which he would do, by reinforcing the duke of Berwick's party: that his Majeſty will find, that a recruit of officers will be as uſeful as that of ſoldiers: that, when the ſally was made, at eight that morning, Fitzgerald and Dick Butler's regiments were in the trenches: that Fitzgerald's regiment was beat out: that Butler's kept their poſt, until the lieutenant general's brother came up, with what men he could get ready; and ſo beat back the enemy: that the town's men cannot ſtand before the King's men in the field."

On the ſame day, he writes to the earl of Melfort, "That the mareſchal de Roſen had altered his mind of condeſcending to the duke of Berwick's marching againſt the rebels of Inniſkillin; not thinking it ſafe to have the duke ſo far from him: that recruits of officers, as well as ſoldiers, were of great importance: that there was not one captain in the battalion of guards, being all ſick; as well as lieutenant colonel Burke's: that moſt part of the beſieged were reduced to eat ſtarch: that ſeven ſhips, come to the loch, were reſolved to venture in; but that the wind was contrary: and that the guns were ſent back to the chain."

1689. July. The 28th, a ſpy out of Derry gave account the rebels had killed all their dogs, horſes, and cows; and that it was the laſt proviſion they expected; and all their hopes were in the four ſhips that were before Colmore. The ſerjeants and ſoldiers of Derry ſent out a ſigned paper to major general Buchan, offering to ſurrender the town to lieutenant general Hamilton, the morrow after, if they could but obtain ſome favourable conditions for themſelves. But the morrow after, being the 29th, the wind became fair for the ſhips; whereof two ventured up to the chain, broke through it, and ſuccoured the town with proviſions, which put an end to all hopes of taking it any more by famine*. So, conſidering the threatened invaſion from England, the neceſſity of reſting and recruiting the troops, and drawing a conſiderable body near Dublin, for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon, from that day forth, the reſolution of raiſing the blockade was fully determined, and all preparations made for the ſame; the cannon, ammunition, and the ſick ſent away; parties ſent to deſtroy the country, and officers to recruit their regiments. And whilſt all this was doing at Derry, my lord Mount-Caſhell, who had been ſent down to Inniſkillin the 20th, having aſſembled his troops at Belturbat, to the number of 3600 men, the 27th; the 30th he made an attempt upon Crumm caſtle. The party commanded, did immediately poſſeſs themſelves of the firſt intrenchments; but the ſoldiers, contrary to the general's expreſs commands not to go farther, were ſo animated with their firſt good ſucceſs, that they went imprudently on to the very caſtle walls, and expoſed themſelves; ſo that ſeveral were killed, and a great many wounded. Mount-Caſhell, hearing that there were 4000 men come out of Inniſkillin, of deſign to relieve Crumm, retired himſelf to Newton, two miles from thence, to put himſelf in a condition, either to receive the enemy, if they came, or to renew, vigorouſly, the attack of the caſtle. But the morrow after, being the 31ſt of July, as O'Brian's regiment of dragoons was marching in the morning to Liſneſkeny, they diſcovered a party of the enemy,

* The 30th of July, major general Buchan writes: "There are two ſhips got into the town; the ſmalleſt of which is loaden with meal from Scotland; the bigger, with biſcuit, cheeſe, pork, and peaſe. The captain of the firſt that came was ſhot dead, his lieutenant wounded, and five of his men killed, and ſeveral wounded. I think I can do the King more ſervice in Scotland than here."

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who immediately retired, as ſoon as they were puſhed, till they came to a place where two foot companies and five troops of horſe were drawn up, which put the dragoons into ſuch a conſternation, that, notwithſtanding all major general Hamilton could ſay or do, to give them good example, they all ran away moſt baſely: lord Mount-Caſhell marching up with the horſe put a ſtop to the purſuit. This, with the report that the whole force of the rebels were coming to fall upon Mount-Caſhell, obliged him to retire towards Belturbat to be upon his guard; but he was prevented by the rebels, who following the good fortune they had in the morning, came up to him at Newton, where he did all a brave man could do, but was ſo ill ſeconded by the ſoldiers, all wearied and diſcouraged by the morning's defeat, and even by moſt of the officers, who fled with the horſe and dragoons, without ſo much as waiting the firſt fire, that the whole army was routed, and ſome of the officers that did their duty killed, among whom was Sir Stephen Martin; others wounded, amongſt whom was the lord Abercorn; and others very narrowly eſcaped with the loſs of their horſes and all their baggage; amongſt whom were as volunteers my lord Drummond and Mr. Ployden, who behaved themſelves moſt bravely; and my lord Mount-Caſhell himſelf, who was wounded and taken priſoner, forſaken by all his regiment, which was with the moſt part of the foot cut off while they were flying. 1689. July.

A council of war was held to judge of the officers and others behaviour in this engagement and puniſh ſuch as miſcarried. In the mean time, his Majeſty was giving out commiſſions for levying of new forces, and making all preparations for the defence of the kingdom in caſe of invaſion. A camp is ordered and actually begun hard by Dublin; all the general officers are arrived from Derry; diſaffected perſons are ſeized every where up and down the country, and nothing is neglected for the ſecurity of his Majeſty's perſon and the defence of this kingdom againſt the invaſion it is daily threatened with, and by reaſon whereof, and of the late misfortune happened to my lord Mount-Caſhell, the ſuccours from France are here ſo impatiently waited for, and ſo abſolutely neceſſary.

The news from Scotland bear, that my lord Dundee has defeated Mackay and 3000 men, and taken Inverneſs *.

* The following journal was printed at Dublin, on a looſe ſheet of paper, in the autumn of 1689. As it is a continuation of the detail given in the preceding journals, and

1690. 1690. EXTRACT I.

Macpherſon's Extracts.

The reaſons which induced the King to hazard a battle, upon ſuch inequality, was, that if he did it not there, he muſt loſe all without a ſtroke;

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and founded on the ſame authority, the editor has choſen to throw it here into a note, notwithſtanding his reſolution to reject throughout every thing that ever paſſed before through the preſs. He apprehends that this journal is not much, if at all known, as he has not met with it in any printed collection whatſoever.

" *A journal of the moſt remarkable occurrences that happened between his Majeſty's army, and the forces under the command of Mareſchal de Schomberg, in Ireland, from the 12th of Auguſt to the 23d of October, 1689. Faithfully collected, by James Nihell, Eſq; under-ſecretary to the right honourable the earl of Melfort, his Majeſty's prime ſecretary of ſtate.*

On the 12th of Auguſt, 1689, a numerous fleet appeared off the coaſt of Donaghadie, in the county of Downe; out of which 200 men made, that night, a deſcent on the land, and intrenched themſelves.

On the 13th, Mareſchal de Schomberg, who commanded the forces on board, debarking his men, horſes, and train of artillery, ſet foot on ſhore without oppoſition.

On the 14th, he ordered the 200 men that firſt landed, to march to Belfaſt; and the next day he followed in perſon with the groſs of the army, and refreſhed himſelf there till the 19th.

On the 19th, he inveſts Carrigfergus; and having ſummoned the garriſon to ſurrender in vain, though with offers of fair and honourable conditions, he drew out his lines, and the next day, played upon the town with four batteries of cannon and three mortar-pieces, beſides all the guns of the navy, to which the place ſtood expoſed, within diſtance, while he made his approaches by land, where he found the works or walls moſt acceſſible. Yet, though he with bombs (of which he threw a thouſand) had laid all the buildings in aſhes; and, though the garriſon could not reaſonably hope for any ſuccour, they kept it nine days, and were even then reduced to one barrel of powder, made ſoldier-like terms, marching out with their arms, colours flying, ball in mouth, and other ceremonies of war, to be attended by convoy, until they were within three miles of the Newry. Yet the articles (though ſigned by Schomberg himſelf) were nevertheleſs barbarouſly violated by the ſoldiers; who, without regard to age, ſex, or quality, diſarmed and ſtript the towns people, forcing even women to run the gauntlet ſtark naked.

On the 26th of Auguſt, the King came from Dublin to Tredath, attended with 200 of his guards and gentlemen volunteers on horſeback, and found there no more than ſeven regiments of foot and ſome few troops of horſe, a ſtrong party of the cavalry being commanded out as far as the Newry, under the duke of Berwick.

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ſtroke; and be obliged to quit Dublin and all Munſter, and retire behind the Shannon, and ſo be reduced to the province of Connaught, where, 1690.

The 6th of September, his Grace, to hinder the enemy's advancement upon him and render his march to the Newry incommodious and difficult, broke up all the cauſeways and other defiles through which he muſt paſs; and to make all ſecure, burnt even the town, and retired to Dundalk, where he found Monſieur d'Eſco, with two companies of foot and a troop of horſe ſent out from the army to bring up his rear; for their forces united were very inſufficient to make head againſt the enemy, who then preſſed their march. So they all faced about and drew off together.

The King, now in Tredath, was informed, by ſome Iriſh and one French deſerter, that Schomberg's troops were very much diſeaſed and already in want of proviſions.

The 13th, all his Majeſty's forces were come down to the camp near Tredath.

On the 14th, the King marched the army from Tredath to Athardie, about eight Iriſh miles, and there met with intelligence, that about twelve ſail of the enemy's fleet were the day before up with the Skerries and fired many guns, which drew the militia and ſuch numbers down to the ſhore, that they durſt not venture upon it, but bore away large to the ſouthward, where they ply'd too and again, betwixt Hoath and Bullock, with a deſign, as it is thought, to animate the malignant party (if any ſuch were in Dublin) to riſe. But matters were ſo well ſecured there, by the conduct and vigilance of colonel Symon Lutterell, the governor, that, diſappointed of all expectations, they vainly ſtood off to ſea and were ſoon out of ſight.

On the 16th, his Majeſty, on the firſt appearance of day, marched the horſe and dragoons from Athardie to Allardſton, near Affyn-Bridge, about three miles ſhort of Dundalk, of which he poſſeſſed himſelf about twelve. By midnight following, his foot guards came up to him; and the body of infantry by noon next day. Having fortified the bridge, he placed the guards on the further ſide of the river, and ſent parties out to diſcover the enemy. Towards the evening ſix troops of the cavalry made up to a ſmall advanced party of 50 horſe and ſome few volunteers that attended his Majeſty's army, who, nevertheleſs, receiving the enemy's fire, immediately charged and put them to flight.

On the 18th, the whole camp was formed with as much regularity and advantage as the ground would admit of. The King, in his perſon, having traverſed it all over after viewing the entrenchments and poſture of the enemy.

On the 19th, ſeveral perſons were taken, and ſome deſerters came with intelligence, that Schomberg had ſet all hands to work to ſecure himſelf, by fortifying Dundalk, and ſeemed rather to prepare againſt a ſiege than a battle.

On the 20th, the King drew out his army; and, marching in the head of the firſt and ſecond line within leſs than cannon-ſhot of the enemy, he immediately put them in order of battle (according to a method agreed on) with wonderful expedition and ſilence. The lines extended themſelves from South-eaſt to North-weſt, along a ridge of hillocks

1690. where, having no magazines, he could not ſubſiſt very long, being the worſt corn country in all Ireland; beſides his men ſeemed deſirous to fight,

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that front the town. The ſecond line ſhewed itſelf between the intervals of the firſt. In this poſture, they ſtood for three hours. The ſoldiers, tranſported with courage by the preſence and great example of their King at the head of them, could not forbear, by ſhouting and other demonſtrations of joy, to dare and challenge the invaders; who, nevertheleſs, could not be provoked nor invited by any means out of their fortifications: and, therefore, the King, diſappointed in his hopes of deciding the war by a battle, commanded his troops, juſt under the Mareſchal's view, to march eaſily back to their camp again: His Majeſty himſelf remaining in the rear of all his army, until he ſaw the laſt ſoldier drawn off. Seven priſoners were that night brought in by a detached party of dragoons from a village called Haggardſtoun, on the ſea-ſide. The captains O'Neal and Murphy likewiſe with 50 foot ſurprizing a party of 80 dragoons behind a mountain that covered the enemy, killed two on the place (among whom ſome French Hugonots refuſed quarter), took ſix priſoners, the reſt eſcaping by flight.

On the 21ſt, the King gave orders for the fortifying Athardie with ditches, ramparts, and other neceſſary works. A retrenchment was likewiſe caſt up before the left wing of the firſt line.

On the 24th, the King viewed the country on all ſides, reſolving, when he found it neceſſary or convenient to diſlodge from the ground he then ſtood incamped on, and to pitch his tents on the edges of ſmall hillocks that ariſe between the rivers of Mapaſtoun and Athardie, and therefore gave general orders for preſerving the forrage in all parts within command of his army. [Theſe are the operations of the 29th day in the manuſcript of the journal.]

On the 26th, a commanded party of horſe dragoons with 35 companies of grenadeers, ſet fire to all the forrage and corn on the other ſide of the Lurgan river, for three miles along the ſea coaſt, and under the enemy's noſe, who, nevertheleſs, made a faint ſally, but were eaſily forced back to their trenches again.

On the 28th, towards the evening, the diſcharge of the enemy's artillery three times, purſued with as many vollies of ſmall ſhot and huzzas, amuſed the King's camp for ſome while, until diſabuſed next day by a deſerter, who ſaid, all that noiſe was the celebration of a great victory obtained by thoſe of Inniſkillin againſt the King's party at Sligo; but this mighty action, upon better intelligence, proved only a ſkirmiſh between a ſmall band of that county militia and a troop of rebels, wherein three of the royaliſts fell, and that number twice told of the enemy.

On the 30th, an enſign from Mac Carty More's regiment returned to his Majeſty's camp with advice, that 3 ſhips, wherein were embarked colonel Villiers' troop of horſe and men, were newly caſt away: that 500 French officers and ſoldiers, ſuſpected to be Catholicks and well-wiſhers to his Majeſty's cauſe were ſent a ſhip-board, their place of confinement: that ſeven Frenchmen and a captain were hanged upon ſuſpicion of affecting the King's party: that fourſcore a day at the leaſt were ſent from the enemy's camp

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fight, and being new-raiſed would have been diſheartened ſtill to retire before the enemy, and ſee all the country taken from them without one blow 1690.

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to the hoſpital; and that all their horſes were turned out to graſs for want of hay and other neceſſary forage.

On the 31ſt, two regiments of foot were commanded to Sligo, and the parts on all ſides adjacent to it, to preſerve the inhabitants under his Majeſty's obedience, and check the excurſions from Inniſkillin.

On the 2d of October, a party of 150 foot were detached, under the command of lieutenant colonel Stapylton and captain Hugh Macnamara, to relieve and bring off the 500 French that Schomberg had cauſed to be ſtript and carried by water to Carlingford, ſuſpecting they had a deſign of changing their party. The march was difficult and hazardous, for they could not avoid the Engliſh camp but by a detour of at leaſt 30 miles, and that through almoſt impaſſable mountains; nevertheleſs they marched cheerfully over them to a vale within ſix miles of Carlingford, where making a halt, to fix their arms and cover their priming againſt a ſhower of rain that hung over their heads, a party of the enemy came upon them; and being demanded, whom they were for, they anſwered, they were for King William; ſo are we, ſaid Stapylton, with purpoſe of taking his opportunity of ſurpriſing them: but the zealous ſoldiers, ignorant of his meaning, declared loudly, they were for King James, and made good their words with a volley. Fourteen they killed on the ſpot, ſeized all their arms, and made eight priſoners, without receiving a wound. [*The MS. copy of the Journal concludes here.*]

On the 5th of October, forage becoming now ſcarce, the King thought fit to return to Athardie; and on the 6th, very betimes in the morning, the army was in a readineſs to march. But the ſmoke of the ſoldiers huts, ſet on fire by command, made their firſt ſetting out a little incommodious and difficult, but that was ſoon over, for when they ſaw clear, they eaſily fell into their ranks and marched in great order; the right wing of the horſe and dragoons, with two brigades of foot, the cannon, and all the King's equipage, by Mapaſtoun Bridge; the left wing, with the reſerve of the foot, and all the baggage of the army, by the road that led to the Bridge of Tallanſtown; and that afternoon the foot encamped in two lines near Athardie, having the river and a long moraſs before them. The horſe and dragoons, for convenience of forage and ſhelter, were ſent to three villages lying on the right of the infantry; and the brigade of foot, that made the *corps de reſerve*, to another village beyond them. But the next day, his Majeſty viſiting that part of the army, thought the *corps de reſerve* (as indeed it was) too far advanced, and therefore gave orders that they ſhould return to the village where the duke of Tyrconnel's regiment lay; and ſent the lord Dongan's dragoons, with three other battalions of foot from the camp, to reinforce that poſt. He then ordered a breaſtwork to be made at the end of a narrow cauſeway that paſſes through the bog, and a guard of 60 foot to defend it. Colonel Purcell's and Sir James Cotter's dragoons were poſted on the left at Dowdſtoun and Peppardſtoun, to ſecure the two bridges. The earl of Abercorn's regiment of horſe ſtood

1690. blow for it, and by conſequence be apt to diſperſe and give all for loſt, they would have reproached the King for diſtruſting their courage; and they would have aſſured him of wonders had he but tried them. Theſe and other reaſons determined the King to hazard a battle, and ſo prepared for it the beſt he could; though the ford at Old-bridge was not to be maintained.

June 30th. The enemy appeared on the other ſide the river, over-againſt the King's army, where the river was fordable almoſt every where. The King made ſome of his cannon advance; which ſo galled the right wing, that they retired out of ſight, behind the eminence. It was there the prince of Orange was touched, on the ſhoulder, by one of the firſt two ſhots, which fetched off the ſkin, but did no further prejudice.

July 1ſt. The enemy were heard to beat the generale before day. As ſoon as the ſun was up, their right wing marched toward Slane. The King ordered his left to march likewiſe; and ſent off his baggage toward Dublin, with all the cannon but ſix. Sir Neal O'Neal's dragoons did their part well. They diſputed the paſſage almoſt an hour, till their cannon came up; and then retired in good order. The enemy paſſed. They ſtretched their line to the right, as if they deſigned to take the flank, or to get between us and Dublin, which M. de Lauſun ſeeing, marched with the left to keep up with them, and obſerve their motions. The King went to the right, to haſten up the troops to follow de Lau-

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encamped at a ſmall village between the two lines. But the horſes of that and colonel John Parker's regiment being very much haraſſed, and no danger appearing from the enemy, his Majeſty thought fit to ſend them to their winter quarters.

The King having reaſon to believe that mareſchal Schomberg would not eaſily quit Dundalk, called a council of war, and propoſed the fortifying of Athardie, to hinder his advance, and to facilitate the carrying on of the war earlier in the ſpring. Some of the chief officers were of opinion againſt it; yet the duke of Tyrconnel, who chiefly ſeconded the King's reſolution of marching from Tredath with his army, in order to engage the enemy, to which (under God) we owe all the ſucceſs we have met with, joining in opinion with his Majeſty, the work was ſet on foot, and that place made ſo ſtrong a frontier before the King left it, that though Schomberg ſtayed for almoſt ten days after at Dundalk, where he loſt by diſtemper above 10,000 men, yet made no attempt upon the party left at Athardie under the command of major general Boiſelot, but was glad to make a ſafe retreat with the ſurviving part of his army, leaving many ſick behind, and a number of dead bodies unburied.

ſun,

ſun, believing the main body of the enemy was following their right, 1690.
which had paſſed the Boyne at Slane. He found the duke of Tyrconnel, with the horſe and dragoons of the right and the two firſt brigades of the firſt line, drawn up before Old-bridge; from which poſt he did not think fit to draw them, the cannon and baggage being not far enough advanced on their way to Dublin. The reſt of the foot, however, marched, by their flank, after de Lauſun. The King himſelf took the reſerve, conſiſting of Purcell and Brown's foot, with which he marched till he came up with the rear of the foot, that followed de Lauſun. He found de Lauſun and the enemy's right drawn up in battle order within half cannon ſhot, facing each other. The King did not think fit to charge juſt then, being in expectation of the troops he left at Old-bridge. But while he was diſcourſing this matter with de Lauſun, an aid-de-camp came to give the King an account that the enemy had forced the paſs at Old-bridge, and that the right wing was beaten. The King, whiſpering in Lauſun's ear, told him, there was now nothing to be done, but to charge the enemy, forthwith, before his troops knew what had happened on the right, and, by that means, to try if they could recover the day. He placed M. Haguette at the head of the French foot. He ordered the dragoons to light, and placed them in the intervals between, and ordered Lauſun to lead on. But as they were beginning to move, Sarſefield and Maxwell, who had been to view the ground between the two armies, ſaid, it was impoſſible for the horſe to charge the enemy by reaſon of two double ditches with high banks, and a little brook betwixt them, that run along the ſmall valley which divided the armies, and at the ſame time, the enemy's dragoons got a horſe-back, and their whole began to march, by their flank, to the right, and we ſoon loſt ſight of their van, by a village that interpoſed; only by a duſt that roſe behind it, they ſeemed to endeavour to gain the Dublin road; upon which the King thought fit to march alſo by the left to the Dublin road too, to paſs the ſmall brook at Duleek which was impracticable higher above, by reaſon of a bog. The King was no ſooner on his march, but the right wing's being beat was no longer a myſtery; for ſeveral of the ſcattered and wounded horſemen got in amongſt them, before they reached Duleek. Whereupon M. de Lauſun adviſed the King, to take his own regiment of horſe, which had the van of that wing, and ſome dragoons,

1690. and to make the beſt of his way to Dublin; for fear the enemy, who were ſo ſtrong in horſe and dragoons, ſhould make detachments and get thither before him, which he was confident they would endeavour to do. But that, if his Majeſty arrived there firſt, he might, with the troops he had with him and the garriſon he found there, prevent their poſſeſſing themſelves of the town, till M. Lauſun could make the retreat, which he prayed him to leave to his conduct; and adviſed him not to remain in Dublin neither; but to go with all expedition for France, to prevent his falling into the enemy's hands; which would be not only his, but the prince his ſon's utter ruin. That as long as there was life, there was hope; and that if he was once in France again, his cauſe was not ſo deſperate, they being in all probability maſters at ſea. That he would give one of his hands that he could have the honour to accompany him. But he muſt make his retreat in the beſt manner he could; or die with the French, if they were beaten. The King demurred. But he at length yielded to de Lauſun's advice. The whole army of the Engliſh had now paſſed the river. Thoſe who were not beaten were forced to retreat; and, by conſequence, it was neceſſary for him to do ſo too.

The ſeven battalions of foot behind the eminence advanced againſt the enemy at Old-bridge to within a pike's length of the Engliſh. But upon being flanked by the enemy's horſe, they fled. Duke of Berwick wounded, and left among the enemy. He got off by the help of a trooper. Schomberg ſaid to have been killed, by an exempt of the guards, Sir Charles Take or O'Tool. It was a great over-ſight in the enemy, their army being ſo numerous, that, ſo ſoon as they had beat the right wing of the King's army at Old-bridge, they did not march after them; for had they done ſo, they might have got to Duleek before the King, who was with the left, and ſo have cut off his retreat to Dublin, and routed the whole army. But the king had no ſooner paſſed the defile with the van of his left, and was marching towards Dublin, but Tyrconnel joined Lauſun, as he was paſſing; at which time the enemy appeared and offered to attack their rear. But they turned upon them, with ſome horſe and the French foot, and made ſo good a countenance, that they ſuffered them to paſs quietly over the brook, and bring five of the ſix pieces of cannon which attended the left wing; the other being bogged was loſt. From whence they made their retreat to the

Neale,

Neale, another great defile, in good order; the enemy waiting ſtill on them, without preſſing them. When night came, they followed no more. However, that panic fear, which had ſeized the Iriſh, purſued them ſtill; for as ſoon as it began to be dark, the greateſt part of the troops diſperſed, many of them having thrown down their arms and deſerted before. But the French retired in good order. 1690.

The King having yielded to M. de Lauſun's advice, got to Dublin that night, where he met with major Wilſon with letters from the queen, and an account of the prince of Waldeck's being entirely routed at Flerus. This good news encouraged his deſign of going for France. But before he would reſolve upon it, he ſpoke ſingly with thoſe of his privy council he truſted moſt; as the two chancellors, the duke of Powis, ſecretary Neagle, marquis of Albeville, the lord chief baron, and others, who were unanimous in their opinion he ſhould loſe no time. They believed the enemy would be at Dublin next morning. About midnight the duke of Berwick ſent an aid-de-camp to acquaint the King, that he had rallied about 7000 foot at Braſſil, and deſired him to ſend ſome horſe and dragoons. They, however, diſperſed before day-light. The duke of Tyrconnel ſent his chaplain to requeſt the King to leave Dublin, and ſail for France. The King ordered Simon Lutterel to march to Leſlip, with all the forces in town, except two troops of the King's own regiment of horſe, which he kept to attend him, to join M. de Lauſun. He reſolved to go to France, to do ſomething there more effectual, than he could do with ſuch a diſheartened body of men as he had in Ireland. The French general officers, when he was mounting his horſe, arrived from M. de Lauſun. They requeſted him to be gone. They told him, that even the French troops were diſperſed to find proviſions. That nothing could be done. That the enemy were faſt approaching to Dublin. The King ſet out about five in the morning; he went leiſurely to Bray, ten miles from Dublin. He left there his two troops of horſe, till twelve o'clock, to defend the bridge, as long as they could, ſhould any party of the enemy purſue. He took his journey through the hills of Wicklow, and from them purſued his way to Duncannon. Having baited his horſes, at Mr. Hacket's houſe near Areto, he was overtaken as he left it by the French general officers, who requeſted him to make more haſte, as they aſſured him, otherwiſe, that the enemy would overtake him.

1690. him. The King ſaid he could not believe that any of the enemy had ſo far advanced. They were poſitive, and the King mended his pace. He left la Rue and a brigadier of the guards at a bridge, when it grew dark, in order to ſtop the enemy in caſe they advanced. They ſtaid half an hour. They heard of no enemy. The King travelled all night, and arrived at Duncannon at ſun-riſe. They found there the Lauſun, a Malouin of 28 guns, newly come with goods for Ireland. They prevailed with the captain to get under ſail, and to fall down with the tide. He went round in her to Kinſale; where he found M. Forar a chef d'Eſcadre, with a ſquadron of ſeven ſmall French ſhips, laden with corn and wine, together with M. du Queſne with three frigates.

The Queen had obtained theſe ſhips to attend the King's orders in Ireland *. She had ſo great an intereſt with M. Seignelay, the French miniſter

* The following letter, from King James the Second's Queen to the count de Tourville, commander of the French fleet, will throw light on this paſſage.

Tranſlation.

St. Germains, 20th July, 1690.

Mr. Aſtle's Papers.

" It is with great pleaſure I learnt, from the major general of the fleet, all the particulars of your late ſea engagement. I waited for the end of it, in order to expreſs to you my joy compleatly, and to join my rejoicings with your own, which I do very heartily; aſſuring you at the ſame time, that the glory you derive from this great ſucceſs, gives me a very particular pleaſure, which you would have no difficulty in believing, if you was as thoroughly perſuaded of my eſteem and friendſhip as you have reaſon to be. For a long time before, I did not know what joy was; but I own, that this victory has given me a great deal, on account of the intereſts of your maſter, as well as of my own. After what you have lately done, I conſider the King as maſter of the ſea, and in a condition to re-eſtabliſh the king my huſband in his kingdoms, and to free himſelf thereby, from a great part of his enemies. If we are lucky enough to return ſoon to our own country, I ſhall always conſider that you was the firſt to open the way to it, for it was effectually ſhut againſt us, before the ſucceſs of this engagement, to which your good conduct has contributed ſo much. But, if I do not deceive myſelf, it appears to me now to be completely open, providing the King could gain ſome little time in Ireland, which I hope he will. Yet I tremble with fear, leſt the prince of Orange, who ſees clearly that it is his intereſt to hinder him, ſhould puſh the King, and oblige him to give battle. But whatever may happen in that reſpect, it is abſolutely neceſſary for you to have large veſſels, as well as frigates, in St. George's Channel. The King is ſo thoroughly perſuaded of this, that he was pleaſed to tell me, the other day, that he had already given orders, that, as ſoon as the ſhips could be repaired after the fight, a ſquadron of them ſhould

miniſter for the marine, that he became extremely zealous for the King's ſervice. It was he that procured the fitting out of a fleet able to diſpute the dominion of the ſeas. This ſmall ſquadron came opportunely for the King's ſafety. Had the King been able to have waved that deciſive ſtroke at the Boyne a few weeks, he might have ſeen the French fleet maſters of St. George's Channel, and in a condition either to have tranſported him and his army to England, or of hindering any ſuccours from coming to the prince of Orange, which was what M. Seignelay deſigned. But the King's life was a chain of misfortunes and diſappointments; ſo that what advantages the French got were no ways beneficial to him. His misfortunes were doubly ſuch, by leſſening his credit and intereſt with his friends as much as it did with his enemies. He wrote to Tyrconnel, that he was going to France. He ſaid he hoped to ſend more ſuccours, and, in the mean time, left them 50,000 piſtoles; which was all the money he had. He arrived at Breſt, on the 20th of July, N. S. He wrote to the Queen. He informed her of his misfortunes. He ſaid, he was ſenſible that he would be blamed for hazarding a battle. But that he had no other poſt ſo advantageous to defend, unleſs he would abandon all without a ſtroke, and ſuffer himſelf to be at laſt driven into the ſea. But as the unfortunate are cenſured always more ways than one, ſome blamed him for hazarding too much, and others for his quitting Ireland ſo ſoon. That counſel was, no doubt, too precipitate; and it is wonderful, why Tyrconnel preſſed it with ſo much earneſtneſs; unleſs it 1690.

ſhould be ſent to the channel. This being the caſe, I cannot hinder myſelf from entreating you earneſtly, to haſten, as much as you can, the execution of this order; otherwiſe, neither Ireland nor the perſon of the King, my huſband, can be ſafe.

" We ſee, by letters from England, that that wretched country is in the greateſt conſternation. Time ſhould not be given them to reſume courage; and I am perſuaded, that, if the king was now among them, he would prevail. But I hope that will be the caſe very ſoon: for his Majeſty is full of goodneſs towards us, and appears to me to have a great deſire to render us happy. I think he will ſucceed. For it is an action worthy of him; and I am perſuaded, that God deſtines the glory of it for him. Next to him, you have the greateſt ſhare of it; and I ſhall be happy to owe to you, rather than to any other, ſuch an obligation, as I ſhall never forget, and as will induce me always to look for methods of teſtifying to you my gratitude.

MARIA, R."

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1690. was from the ſolicitations of the Queen, who, in a letter of June 27th to him, entreated him, in the moſt vehement terms, to ſave the King's perſon, at any rate. He, however, ought not to have adviſed ſuch diſheartening councils, as to make the King abandon a cauſe that had ſtill ſo much hopes of life. It did him great detriment. It was not likely that either his own people or the King of France would eagerly maintain a cauſe, which he himſelf had deſerted. But it may be ſaid, alſo, that it was the unanimous advice of the council, the generals, and all perſons about him; there was too an univerſal panic, as appears from the circumſtance, that even the French officers, men of ſervice, ſaw viſions of troops, when none certainly could be within twenty miles. This is the only excuſe for the wrong reſolution of the King. He had alſo formed a ſcheme in his own mind, which he found, upon his arrival, had been actually laid by the court of France. The French, the King knew, were maſters at ſea, ever ſince the battle of Bantry Bay. They were alſo, ſince the victory at Flerus, confeſſedly maſters at land. The King imagined the ſooner he got into France, that he would the ſooner convince his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that the only way to break the league was, to land him with a ſuitable body of troops, in England. He hoped alſo to ſend a ſquadron to St. George's Channel to prevent the prince of Orange's return, and to land ſome Iriſh troops in Scotland. This was the chief cauſe of his flight. The news of the victory off Beachy-head met him at Breſt; and he applauded himſelf exceedingly in that reſolution. The King knew of the deſign of fighting the combined fleets. He knew, that M. Seignelay deſigned at the ſame time to ſend 25 light frigates to St. George's Channel, and to burn all the ſhips on both ſides, but ſuch as were neceſſary to bring off the King and ſome troops; and, by that means, to have kept the Prince of Orange in Ireland. All this well-laid ſcheme he knew; and it was the main inducement to his retreat. But the buſineſs was over before his arrival, as was ſaid; and neither he nor the French themſelves reaped any advantage. The ſickneſs of Seignelay hindered him from going on board as he intended; which forced him to give that commiſſion to the chevalier de Tourville. His negligence in not deſtroying the combined fleets was vehemently reſented by Seignelay. Tourville aſcribed his want of ſucceſs to the Engliſh having taken up the buoys. Seignelay ſaid, in a paſſion,

paſſion, that it proceeded from his cowardice. Tourville took fire. 1690.
Seignelay explained himſelf, by ſaying, that he meant only with regard to his conduct; for that there were many (of which number he took him to be) *qui eſtoient poltrons de teſte, quoyqu'ils ne l'eſtoient point du coeur.*

The day after the King's arrival at St. Germains, the King of France came to ſee him, and promiſed him all imaginable kindneſs and ſupport. But when he laid open his project, he received it coldly, and ſaid, he could do nothing in it till he heard from Ireland. The King told him, that there was no occaſion to hear from Ireland, to convince him that England was naked. But his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was diſſatisfied with the King's late conduct, either of himſelf or the inſinuations of his miniſter. He was averſe to another expedition, which might, he thought, be as haſtily relinquiſhed. He pretended an indiſpoſition, and would not ſee the King, till in fact it was too late to do any thing. When the King obſerved this cauſe of delay, his patience never in his life underwent ſuch another trial. The defection of his ſubjects, the loſs of the battle, the deſertion of his favourites, had never thrown him into ſuch deſpair, as this not ſuffering him to open his heart to the prince, who was his only friend and ſupport in the world. But he was deſtined to be a victim to patience by Providence; which his friends, as well as his enemies, exerciſed by turns. He even preſſed to be permitted to go on board the fleet. This was denied, as nothing, they ſaid, could be done, without land-forces. The threatened junction of the elector of Brandenburgh with the prince of Waldeck was the excuſe. But this was a poor pretence, when the prince of Orange, with 40,000 men, could be kept from acting, by the other expedient.

The retreat of the prince of Orange from Limeric was ſhameful; a place which ſcarce deſerved the name of a fortreſs. Tyrconnel came immediately to France, to ſolicit ſuccours. The French and de Lauſun, being wearied of Ireland, wiſhed Limeric had been taken. Boiſleau, during the aſſault, ordered ſeveral battalions away from the breach. But he was diſobeyed, and the place ſaved. There were factions between the French and the Iriſh, and between the Iriſh and themſelves; when the enemy gave them reſpite, their whole buſineſs was to fight among themſelves. A faction was formed againſt Tyrconnel, and they pre-

1690. pared to ſend perſons, as they afterwards did, to complain of his conduct. Tyrconnel took the opportunity of coming away with de Lauſun. The King, in the mean time, repreſented to the court of France, how great a pity it was, not to ſupport the ſucceſsful valour of the Iriſh. The biſhop of Cork, colonel Simon and H. Lutterel, and colonel Nic. Purcel, came to complain of Tyrconnel to St. Germains. Tyrconnel endeavoured to croſs-bite them, and to induce the King to ſeize them, and keep them in France. The King, prepoſſeſſed againſt them, refuſed to ſee the deputies.

The earl of Anandale, lord Roſs, and Sir James Montgomery correſpond with the King. As intereſt was the prime motive to their return to their duty, the firſt made terms for themſelves. The King knew it, but he reſolved to encourage repentance. He appointed Anandale commiſſioner, Montgomery ſecretary of ſtate. When the parliament met, they purſued their point with earneſtneſs. The duke of Queenſberry, marquis of Athol, and earl of Argyle, concurred with them. But the Preſbyterians, whom they formerly governed, began to abandon theſe undertakers. They, diſcovering that they could not carry their point, were convinced, that they could change ſides more eaſily than governments. They, therefore, made their peace, by diſcovering all they knew; and even ſuffered the very papers and commiſſions, which came from the King, to fall into Melvin the commiſſioner's hands. They, however, refuſed to be witneſſes. Buchan was ſoon after unſucceſsful at Cromdale. He was ſurpriſed in the night. The King's friends began to liſten to the offers of the prince of Orange, who was extremely anxious to leave all quiet, before he paſſed into Ireland. He offered 5000 l. and ſeveral other advantages to the earl of Breadalbin. Breadalbin went to meet the prince of Orange at Cheſter. But he was gone before he arrived: ſo nothing was then done. The King's friends ſolicited then a ſupply, and propoſed the King's landing in Scotland, rather than in England. The King ſent ſome preſent relief to the Highlanders, by a ſhip from Nantes. The Queen had, before his arrival in France, ordered 5000 l. to be paid them from England. She had alſo ordered 10,000 l. to follow it.

Mr. de Seignelay, the ſecretary for the marine, continued ſtill zealous for the King. He reſolved to go again on board the fleet, to ſee, in perſon,

perſon, his own ſchemes executed. But croſſes and diſappointments purſued the King, through all the labyrinths of his life. That able miniſter ſoon after died; and his deſigns, juſt on the point of being executed, fell with his life. Ireland, as well as Scotland, was anxious to have ſupplies. The enemy had made attempts to croſs the Shannon. The duke of Berwick ſent out parties, which prevented them; and endeavoured to do what he could to moleſt them in his turn. 1690.

1691.

Tyrconnel returned from France, and arrived at Limeric in January, 1691. He found the troops there in a miſerable condition. The King's taſk, with regard to Ireland, was difficult. The court of France was divided into factions. Lord Mountcaſhel, who had a great and beneficial command in France oppoſed Tyrconnel, and obſtructed his meaſures. The King ordered Tyrconnel not to uſe people roughly, but to gain them by gentleneſs; which he promiſed to do, though he owned it was not agreeable to his temper. The King was in pain for the duke of Berwick. He had ſent the commiſſioners againſt Tyrconnel to France, and he was a kind of hoſtage for them. He ordered, therefore, the duke of Berwick to leave Ireland, upon Tyrconnel's return. Notwithſtanding the miſeries of the Iriſh army, the Engliſh deſerted to them in great numbers. Tyrconnel ſaid, that had he a piſtole a piece to give to the ſoldiers, and ſubſiſtence afterwards, he could aſſure himſelf of one third of the prince of Orange's troops. Monſieur Louvois, a haughty and a hardened miniſter, did little in aſſiſting the King, or in removing the miſeries of Ireland. He writ to Tyrconnel, that he was ſurpriſed at his complaining of the ſupplies; much more, that he would trouble him with complaints againſt Mountcaſhel. His ſon, who ſucceeded him, inherited his father's harſh and imperious ſpirit. 1691. Macpherſon's Extracts.

It was now the beginning of May. No news in Ireland of the fleet. The troops forced to eat horſe-fleſh. The king ſent them 10,000 piſtoles out of his own ſcanty allowance. He was, in the mean time, preſſed and teazed by all his friends. They quarrelled among themſelves. They perplexed him with complaints. He gave all that he could; but that all was but little, and inadequate. The attempts made in England, for

1691. the King's reſtoration, prove unſucceſsful. His friends, however, increaſe. They wiſhed to reſtore him, without the aſſiſtance of France. But that was impracticable. They were afraid of a conqueſt. They ſent, therefore, lord Preſton, Aſhton, and Eliot with propoſals. They permitted him to live a catholic in devotion, but to reign as a proteſtant in government: that the utmoſt that could be expected for Papiſts, was a legal liberty of conſcience: that the power muſt be placed in the hands of proteſtants, who were two hundred to one: that the King of France ſhould engage his word to aſſiſt him only as a friend. They were taken in a ſhip, which they hired. They were tried. Preſton and Aſhton were condemned.

But, notwithſtanding this diſcovery, others were not diſcouraged from owning their inclination to return to their duty. To the King's great ſurprize, my lord Churchill and my lord Godolphin themſelves were of the number. It was ſuppoſed, that the intentions of theſe men were to ſave themſelves, in caſe of a reſtoration, againſt the King's reſentment. The ſucceſs of France, and the averſion of the Engliſh to the prince of Orange, made a reſtoration appear an event not far diſtant. Their ſeeming repentance, eſpecially that of Churchill, had all the appearance of ſincerity. Lord Godolphin had, in conſequence of a promiſe to the prince of Orange, as he ſaid, accepted again of an office. When Buckley waited upon him, he inquired kindly concerning the court of St. Germains, but with a ſeeming deſpondency. Buckley aſked him what he would do to ſerve the cauſe. He roſe ſuddenly from his chair, and ſaid he would quit his office. This was a coy beginning. Buckley went to Halifax. He received him with open arms. He promiſed to do every thing that lay in his power to ſerve the King. Halifax was never to be ſatisfied, if controuled in any thing. This had alienated him formerly from the King. The prince of Orange finding his politicks, though nice and ſubtle in ſpeculation, yet ſeldom good in practice; they two did not hit it long. This free aſſurance of Halifax encouraged others. Godolphin was particularly encouraged, and made open aſſurances to the King. He promiſed to reſign. But it went againſt his conſcience to betray his truſt from any man. It had been happy, had he been always ſo ſcrupulous. Mr. Buckley one day met Godolphin and Churchill in the Park. They ſeemed mighty glad to ſee him. He invited both

to

to dine at his lodgings. They came. They received him ſo frankly, 1691.
and they made ſuch advances, that he propoſed to try them. But lord Churchill was ſo forward in the matter, that he prevented him, by ſending, ſoon after, for colonel Sackville. The colonel waited upon him, though with reluctancy. He was highly ſurprized to find Churchill the greateſt penitent imaginable. He begged him to aſſure the King of his ſincere repentance, and to intercede for mercy; that he was ready to redeem his apoſtacy with the hazard of his utter ruin, his crimes appearing ſo horrid to him: that he could neither ſleep nor eat, in continual anguiſh, and a great deal to that purpoſe. They parted. Colonel Sackville acquainted his friends. They gave him (Churchill) all the encouragement imaginable; conceiving that a perſon of ſo great credit in the army, and of ſuch a conſiderable poſt in the council, would be of mighty conſequence to the King's affairs. But they reſolved, at the ſame time, to ſearch him to the quick; and try whether, by informing them readily what he knew, they might depend upon his ſincerity. He gave them, without heſitation, both an account of all the forces, preparations and deſigns, both in England, Scotland, and Ireland. To which laſt kingdom, he ſaid, the prince of Orange intended to go himſelf, if the French preſſed too hard on the confederates in the Low Country, that very campaign. He laid open that prince's deſigns both by ſea and land; which concurring with what the King had, from good hands, was a great argument of Churchill's ſincerity. He brought daily intelligence of incidents in the ſecretary's office, in relation to the Jacobites, by which they avoided many inconveniencies and troubles. He deſired inſtructions without being admitted into the King's ſecrets; owning, that the villanies which he had committed, did but too juſtly debar him from expecting any confidence. He doubted not, he ſaid, but he could bring over many great men to the King's party; and deſired to know, whether he ſhould endeavour that, in reference to my lord Danby, who, he ſaid, was the main ſtay to the preſent government; or join with the party in parliament, who were contriving his ruin. He proffered to bring over, if required, the troops in Flanders. But he rather propoſed to act in concert with many who were, the next ſeſſion, to endeavour to get all foreigners ſent out of the kingdom. He adviſed the King not to bring with him too great a force:

1691. a force: that a French power was too terrifying to the people: that 20,000 men would be ſufficient.

Churchill deſired the King to enjoin lord Godolphin not to lay down his place in the Treaſury; as he muſt be made ſerviceable in that poſt. He ſaid, for himſelf, it would be impoſſible for him to be at reſt till he had, in ſome meaſure, made an atonement, by endeavouring, though at the utmoſt peril of his life, to reſtore his injured prince and beloved maſter. His comportment upon the whole ſeemed candid, and his penitence ſincere. The King was always ready to forget the greateſt injuries, upon the leaſt ſhew of amendment. He confirmed what he had ſaid in perſon, by a letter, Jan. 20th, 169$\frac{0}{1}$; and in May 30th, 1691, he aſſured the King, that upon the leaſt command, he would abandon wife, children, and country, to regain and preſerve his eſteem. He, however, declined to bring over the troops in Flanders. The King wrote to him, April 20, 1691. He wrote him in the moſt good-natured manner in the world. The Queen inſerted a few words with her own hand, to teſtify her being reconciled to him. He ordered Godolphin to keep his employments, to be more ſerviceable; he having forgot his former ſcruples about betraying his truſt. Lord Dartmouth propoſed to come over himſelf, provided he could have the command of a ſquadron of French men of war. But the court of France were not for truſting him; beſides, he was ſoon after ſent to the Tower.

The army in Ireland took the field. The French were ſlow in coming; but they at length arrived. Athlone made a good defence; yet was at laſt ſurprized. Tyrconnel leaving the army, retreated to Limerick. Animoſities, as is uſual in misfortunes, increaſed. The army, from 17,000, was reduced to 11,000. St. Ruth, being piqued at the diſgrace at Athlone, reſolved to wait for the enemy at Aghrim. He encamped himſelf, on a riſing ground, in two lines. Two paſſes were before him; one at the old caſtle of Aghrim, on the left of the foot; the other 300 yards advanced from the right. On Sunday, July 12, the enemy advanced to the bog ſide, while their horſe took a great round to flank the right. They had poſitive orders from Ginkle, not to come to a deciſive action. But being once engaged, the affair was brought to a point. The Iriſh behaved with great ſpirit, to ſecure their liberties, as an oppreſſed people. They convinced the Engliſh they had to do with

with men, no leſs reſolute than themſelves. Never aſſault was made with greater fury, nor ſuſtained with greater obſtinacy. The Iriſh foot repulſed the enemy ſeveral times, particularly in the center. They even looked upon the victory as certain. St. Ruth was in a tranſport of joy, to ſee the foot, of whom he had a mean opinion, behave themſelves ſo well. Fearing that the enemy ſhould outflank his troops with their left, he ordered the ſecond line of his left to march to the right. His orders were ill executed. The officer who commanded, ſuppoſing the bog in the front would prevent the enemy from advancing, ordered a battalion of the firſt line to file off alſo. Thoſe who ſtood in awe of that battalion, took courage when it was gone. They paſſed the bog on hurdles. They formed themſelves on the Iriſh ſide of the bog. St. Ruth advanced at the head of the cavalry. He would ſoon have diſperſed them; as they were yet but a forming. He was unfortunately killed by a cannon-ſhot. Endeavours were uſed, in vain, to conceal his death. The life-guard ſquadron near him ſtopping, the reſt did the ſame. The enemy profited by the accident. They advanced. A panic had ſeized the Iriſh. They fled, and left a compleat victory to the enemy. Night coming on, prevented a purſuit. The Iriſh, however, loſt 4000 men. The loſs of the Engliſh was not much inferior. Had they purſued their victory, and marched to Limerick, they would have finiſhed the war at one blow. 1691.

Tyrconnel reſumed his authority on St. Ruth's death. He propoſed to defend Limerick. The enemy appeared before it, on the 25th of Auguſt. He ſent an expreſs to St. Germains. The King was, beyond meaſure, afflicted. He laid the caſe before the French court. Some ſuccours were prepared. Some money was ordered. Colonel Lutterel treats with the enemy about the ſurrender of Limerick. Mighty inclinations were raiſed in the army to ſubmit. Tyrconnel, though not apprized of the treachery, was ſenſible of the evil. One Balderic O'Donnel was long engaged in hidden and treaſonable practices. It appeared afterwards, that there was a deſign of putting the kingdom into the hands of the ancient Iriſh, independent of, and on an equal foot with England. This it was that had rendered O'Donnel ſo popular, and raiſed him ſuch a mighty crowd of followers, with which he lived, in a manner, at diſcretion, while the war laſted; and he then made his peace with

1691. with the enemy, without the King's privity or conſent. Lord Lucan, though he oppoſed Tyrconnel, oppoſed alſo the treaſonable practices, with regard to the independence of Ireland. Lutterel's ſecret correſpondence was diſcovered by his means. Lutterel was ſeized. He was tried; but he had too many friends to be condemned. He was ſentenced only to remain in priſon during the King's pleaſure. The fire was rather ſmothered than extinguiſhed by this act of juſtice. Lucan's credit declined, when he ſided with Tyrconnel. The latter, ſtruck with a fit of an apoplexy, died in two days, when he was on the point of reconciling the Iriſh to themſelves. The enemy, by Clifford's neglect, paſſed the river. The town was forced into terms. The Iriſh, however, had the courage to inſiſt upon, and dexterity to obtain extraordinary articles. Thirty thouſand men, firſt and laſt, were permitted to paſs into France. Thus was Irelend, after three years obſtinate reſiſtance, reduced by the power and riches of England. But though the King loſt the country, he preſerved the hearts of a majority of the people.

In Scotland, the Highlanders were forced to lay down their arms, the King not being able to ſupport them with money. They ſent the earl of Dumfermling to the King. But before he received their information, he was ſenſible of their condition. Though his abilities and intereſt were exhauſted by Ireland, he contrived to ſend ſome ſmall relief to Scotland, in a ſhip from Nantes. He was too tender of their lives to propoſe to them any deſperate action; and he, therefore, would not pretend to do more than he was really able. He gave them a true ſtate of his affairs. He recommended to them a ſhew of ſubmiſſion to the rebels, to preſerve their own quiet; being perfectly aſſured of their hearts at all times. He ſent money to be diſtributed among their own proteſtant clergy. They accordingly made their ſubmiſſion. But, contrary to all faith, the prince of Orange, by an order which Nero himſelf would have a horror of, ordered the ſoldiers to maſſacre the Glenco-men in cold blood. It was hard to imagine, that the prince of Orange could apprehend danger from ſuch a handful of men. But he either thought that ſeverity neceſſary to make an example of, or he had a particular pique againſt that clan. Either of theſe reaſons, according to his morality, was ſufficient to do an inhuman thing. To obſtruct his ambition, or to give him a perſonal offence, expoſed men equally to his revenge. Yet this

this was the pretended aſſertion of the lives and liberties of the Engliſh nation, to whom all oaths of duty and religion were made a ſacrifice of, rather than he ſhould not reign over it. The Baſs was the only foot of land, if it may be ſo called, that the King now remained in poſſeſſion of, of all his dominions. 1691.

The war being ended in Scotland and Ireland, the King ſettled himſelf and his way of living ſuitable to his penſion.

1692. EXTRACT I.

Many begin to be diſſatisfied with the prince of Orange's government. The violent current which had borne down every thing before it, abated. The hearts of many remained true, though their hands were tyed. Every day cleared up more and more the dark and hidden contrivances, which had produced the Revolution. The number of the King's friends increaſed daily. They propoſed ſchemes for his reſtoration. The correſpondence with Churchill was kept up. Though his pretenſions were liable to ſuſpicion, from his former conduct, his profeſſions had the appearance of ſincerity. There was ſome cauſe to believe him; as both he and his miſtreſs, the princeſs of Denmark, were out of favour with the prince of Orange. Neither of them reaped any advantage from their paſt infidelity, but the infamy of having committed ſuch great crimes. The moſt intereſted may be credited, when they can reaſonably hope to mend their fortune, and better their condition, by returning to their duty. 1692. Macpherſon's Extracts.

The princeſs of Denmark herſelf could not then be preſumed to diſſemble. She wrote to the King a moſt penitential and dutiful letter. This was a more than ordinary mark of the ſincerity of Churchill, as he had ſuch power with her. The King received not her letter till he was at La Hogue. Her letter was this:

"I have been very deſirous of ſome ſafe opportunity to make you a ſincere and humble offer of my duty and ſubmiſſion to you; and to beg you will be aſſured, that I am both truly concerned for the misfortune of your condition, and ſenſible, as I ought to be, of my own unhappineſs, as to what you may think I have contributed to it. If wiſhes could recal what is paſt, I had long ſince redeemed my fault. I am

1692. ſenſible it would have been a great relief to me, if I could have found means, to have acquainted you earlier with my repenting thoughts. But I hope they may find the advantage by coming late of being leſs ſuſpected of inſincerity, than perhaps they would have been, at any time before. It will be a great addition to the eaſe I propoſe to my own mind, by this plain confeſſion, if I am ſo happy as to find it brings any real ſatisfaction to yours; and that you are as indulgent and eaſy to receive my humble ſubmiſſions as I am truly deſirous to make them, in a free, diſintereſted acknowledgment of my fault, for no other end, but to deſerve and receive your pardon.

"I had a great mind to beg of you to make one compliment for me. But fearing that the expreſſions which would be propereſt for me to make uſe of, might perhaps he the leaſt convenient for a letter, I muſt content myſelf at preſent with hoping that the bearer will be able to ſupply it for me. December 1ſt, 1691."

Lloyd brought the above letter. Admiral Ruſſel, who had the command of the Engliſh fleet, ſtill pretended to be in the King's intereſt. He was diſſatisfied with the King's declaration. There was a neceſſity of doing all that was poſſible to content a perſon, who held the crown of England ſo far in his hands. Lloyd was Ruſſel's particular friend. Ruſſel had ſeveral conferences before he came away with the princeſs of Denmark. He expreſſed his earneſt deſire to ſerve the King. He ſaid the people were inclined enough to his ſide again, if the King would take a right line to continue them ſo. He adviſed him, if he wiſhed to reign as a catholic King over a proteſtant people, he muſt forget the paſt and grant a general pardon: and that, as for him, he made no ſtipulations for himſelf; ſaying, it was the public good and no private advantage made him enter into this affair. He told him, therefore, that if he met the French fleet, he would fight it, were even the King himſelf on board. But that the method he propoſed to ſerve the King, was by going out of the way with the Engliſh fleet. This was an odd way to reſtore the King by fighting him. He, however, meant nothing but advantage to himſelf; as the preparations of the French made a reſtoration probable. He was determined to raiſe his fortune, which ever way the ballance inclined. Had the French paſſed, by accident, or prevailed, by force,

force, he would have made a merit of ſerving the King;—and ſhould the contrary happen, he could eaſily keep his credit with the preſent government. But the King was forced to ſeem well contented, with what thoſe men were pleaſed to promiſe. The deſign was ſo well laid, that had not fortune croſſed him, (as it ever did,) ſo many different ways, there was no reaſon to apprehend a miſcarriage. 1692.

The King arrived at Caen, in Normandy, on the 24th of April, N. S. Tourville had orders to ſeek out the Engliſh fleet, then ſuppoſed to be alone. The tranſports in coming round from Havre, were miſerably battered in a ſtorm. He came into the preſence of the enemy. Piqued at De Seignelay's reflections on his conduct off Beachy-head, he thought fit to obſerve his orders to the letter. He maintained the fight with equality enough, till about four in the afternoon. There was ſome doubt of Carter. But his deſigns remained a ſecret, by his being killed at the beginning of the action. It was even in doubt, by what hand he died. The French ſuffered little. The calm ceaſed. The unſeaſonable behaviour of Tourville brought on a ſecond engagement. He was aſhamed of ſhewing his ſtern to an enemy. He truſted too much to the Royal Sun, a mighty ſhip of 120 guns. He could never diſengage himſelf after. He was forced to the ſcurvy alternative of either running aſhore or of being taken. When even they ran into La Hogue, they might be ſaved had they followed the King's advice; who recommended to man the ſhips with the land troops, to keep off the Engliſh frigates and boats. The admiral was obſtinate. Yet his men abandoned the ſhips, upon the firſt approach of the Engliſh; though only in ſhaloops. The King was beyond meaſure afflicted. But he reſolved to continue his endeavours for his reſtoration. He now began to wean himſelf from the world and all thoughts of preſent happineſs. He ſaw that Providence deſigned to lead him, through the paths of affliction, to his grave. He, however, continued his correſpondence with England, particularly with Churchill and Ruſſel. Middleton, on whoſe management the King chiefly relied, to try to give ſtrength and ſtability to theſe ſcattered reeds, began to treat with his friends again. Shrewſbury, Danby, Godolphin, Ruſſel, and others, ſeemed deſirous that the King ſhould be reſtored; and ſo were many, from the diſmal proſpect of continual wars, till things ſhould return to their old channel.

1692.

Carte's Extracts.

EXTRACT II.

Soon after the French fleet was beat by Ruſſel, captain Lloyd came to the King at La Hogue; having been diſpatched by ſome of the King's friends in England, with a meſſage of great conſequence, two months before, but could find no means of getting over. The French fleet being beat, nothing could be then done. The correſpondence, however, was kept up; though Lloyd, being ſeen accidentally by ſome of his acquaintances at La Hogue, durſt not return to England. The King, therefore, came to St. Germains, and ſent Mr. Carryl to England, about Auguſt; who did not return till January, 1693. He brought the King eight propoſals, which, if he agreed to, they would reſtore him immediately; and, upon notice of his conſent, would ſend lord Middleton to him, fully inſtructed. The King, by the King of France's advice, agreed to them; and, on the twelfth of July, wrote ſo to lord Middleton.

1693.

1693. EXTRACT I.

On the fifteenth of June, Mr. ——, who had been very well with Sunderland and Tyrconnel, told the King, by their intrigues, ſoon after he came to the crown, that they with lord Dover and father Petre, had agreed, that Petre ſhould be a biſhop, then a cardinal, Sunderland treaſurer, Tyrconnel lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and then get Sunderland 5000 *l.* a year of land inheritance in Ireland, or 50,000 *l.* in money out of the kingdom: H. Jermyn to be made a lord, a captain of the guards, and other good employments.

Mr. —— was ſent by Tyrconnel to expoſtulate with Sunderland, on delay of what was promiſed by him; and he threatened, if it was not done ſoon, to inform the King of all.

EXTRACT II.

Macpherſon's Extracts.

The earl of Middleton returns from England. The lord Churchill wrote to the King, Auguſt 23, 1693. "If there be any thing," ſays he,

he, "propoſed, you may think a little hard, you will pleaſe not to ſhew yourſelf much offended with it; and what you cannot comply with, let it appear it is from the impracticableneſs of it; for ſhould you poſitively refuſe to agree to what is propoſed, you will loſe ſome of the ableſt of your council, which may endanger the loſing all." He would not have taken this liberty, he ſaid, if he was not reſolved to go on in any meaſures that ſhould be taken. The King perceived the fewer friends he had left, the harder it was to content them, ſome one or other always objecting to parts of declarations, written at their own deſire. Nevertheleſs, had the French court been zealous, there never was a time more fit to terrify the Engliſh into their duty. 1693.

1694. EXTRACT I.

On the eighth of June, Dr. Taylor, newly come from England, told the King, that he had ſeen the biſhops of Norwich, Bath, Ely, and Peterborough, the marquis of Worceſter, Ayleſbury, lord Fanſhaw, Clarendon, who, with true church of England men, deſired the King to make no further engagements with the republican party, &c. 1694. Carte's Extracts.

EXTRACT II.

The King ſends again to admiral Ruſſel. Hearing that he was reſtored to the command of the fleet, he (the King) was reſolved not to let ſlip the leaſt glimmering of hopes. He ſent Lloyd privately to him, in the beginning of March, to try, as he was in the ſame power, whether he was in the ſame mind. He declared that he had the ſame goodwill. But he refuſed to go out of the way. The lord Churchill wrote to the King in the preceding December. He adviſed him to bring with him 25,000 men and arms for 7,000 men. He wrote alſo a letter dated Feb. 28th, 1691. He told him, that lord Shrewſbury was ſo preſſed to receive his former office of ſecretary, that he was afraid he could not reſiſt. But though he altered his condition, he aſſured him that he would not alter his inclinations. Yet Churchill himſelf was the adviſer of Shrewſbury, hoping he would do himſelf the ſame good turn. He told the King, that he himſelf was ſolicited to come into office; but that he would do nothing without the King's conſent. On May the 4th, the lord Churchill gave notice to the King of the deſign upon Breſt. Macpherſon's Extracts.

The

1694. The princeſs of Orange dies December 28, O. S. The King made no efforts upon her death. Her proximity of blood was the prince of Orange's chief ſupport. He hoped the government might ſhake and unhinge itſelf. The princeſs of Denmark, notwithſtanding her profeſſions and late repentance, appeared to be more ſatisfied with the prince of Orange, though he had uſed her ill and uſurped upon her right, than that her father, who had always cheriſhed her beyond expreſſion, ſhould be reſtored. So that all that the King got was an additional affliction to thoſe he had already undergone, by ſeeing his child he loved ſo tenderly perſevere, to her death, in ſuch a ſignal ſtate of diſobedience and diſloyalty; and to hear her extolled, for a crime as for the higheſt virtue, by the mercenary flatterers of the times; even archbiſhop Tenniſon reckoned, among her virtues, her contradictions; and that ſhe had got the better of her duty to a parent, in conſideration of her religion and her country. But his own children had loſt all bowels of compaſſion and duty for the King. The King was much afflicted at her manner of dying.

1695.

1695. Macpherſon's Extracts. The King applies himſelf wholly to devotion, and makes a journey to La Trappe *.

Fatherly

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 7.

* "What here follows," ſays Nairne in an advertiſement concerning James's papers, "is a collection of ſeveral pious meditations of our Holy King, left writ in his own hand on looſe papers, which, after his death, have been put together, and are now preſerved with that care which ſuch precious remains deſerve. The greater part of them ſeem deſigned only for his own private uſe, to imprint, more deeply in his memory, thoſe great truths of Chriſtianity, which had ſo fully poſſeſſed him: for though they are writ upon ſeveral ſubjects, all tending to policy and religion; yet none of them had any titles put to them, to diſtinguiſh the matters treated in each of them. But, for the eaſe and benefit of the reader, titles are now put to them, ſuitable to the matter they contain. Some three or four of them the reader will find occaſionally inſerted in the relation of his life, which are not, therefore, here inſerted."

"It was the conſtant practice of this King, ever ſince he firſt appeared in the world, to write ſhort notes, from time to time, of all that was remarkable in the affairs wherein he had any ſhare. All theſe memoirs of paſſages, which occurred before his laſt eſcape out of England, have been happily preſerved, though they were writ on ſeveral looſe papers;

Fatherly advice to N. N. 1695.

James II.'s advice to his ſon, the duke of Berwick. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 7 and 8.

I own to you, it is no eaſy matter for a young unexperienced man that has courage and ambition, and is in the vigour of his youth, to live in the world and not to be led away by its deceitful pleaſures and promiſes of imaginary happineſs, eſpecially ſince there are ſo few of thoſe, whoſe company he frequents, who live like good chriſtians; and, when they find a young man who has good and virtuous inclinations, they endeavour to inſpire him with lewd and atheiſtical principles, and to draw him into thoſe vices to which they themſelves are moſt inclined: and, if it happens, that the young man has a friend or relation, who gives him good advice and would hinder him from running headlong into theſe dangerous and pernicious courſes, he is turned into ridicule, by theſe miniſters of iniquity. If the adviſer is a little advanced in years, they laugh at him, and call him a bigot, or they repreſent him as a man who has ſome prejudice againſt them, and who, when he was young, ſatiated himſelf with thoſe very pleaſures, which he now condemns in others.

This is the doctrine commonly preached to a young man by his companions, when he firſt comes into the world. They make it a point of honour to him to damn himſelf, ſaying that it will be time enough for him to be converted when he grows old; and that none, but ſuch as are

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pers; and they may poſſibly ſerve hereafter, as materials for making a complete and authentic hiſtory of his whole life; they being ſafely kept, by his Majeſty's order, in the library of the Scotch college at Paris. But theſe writ by him ſince the Revolution, are of a quite different nature from the former. In the firſt, he ſets down what paſſed abroad in the world and in the public affairs wherein he was concerned; in theſe, he deſcribes what paſſed within his own ſoul, filled with the ſentiments of repentance and devotion. It may be truly ſaid, that his own picture is to be ſeen in them, drawn to the life, as he was in his latter days: for he practiſed himſelf all that he hath here writ; and his outward actions, no leſs than the thoughts and affections of his mind, were all conformable to the rules and actions he here ſets down."

There are but few of theſe pieces found, among Mr. Nairne's manuſcripts. Some of them are in Engliſh, in Nairne's hand, and ſome in French in an unknown hand, and others in Nairne's, interlined with corrections in James's own hand. A few only of ſuch, as are thus authenticated, are inſerted here, as a ſpecimen. N. N. is his ſon, the duke of Berwick. Both the Engliſh and French copies of his father's advices to him are in Nairne's hand; but the corrections interlined, in the French copy, are in James's own hand.

1695. weak, ſtupid, and hypochondrical, deprive themſelves of the pleaſures of this world, or trouble themſelves with frequenting churches, hearing ſermons, or reading good books.

It is by theſe arguments ſuggeſted by the devil and by ill example, that young men like you are daily perverted. Do not, therefore, allow yourſelf to be deceived by ſuch diſcourſes; but let ſound reaſon and the maxims of religion guide you. You have been in many dangers. You have often looked death in the face, and have ſeen many fall near you, where you have been preſerved. Conſider how much reaſon there is to fear, that the greateſt number of theſe have been thrown headlong into hell, to endure an eternity of torments; and conſider, at the ſame time, how unprepared you was to die at that time, what would have been your fate, if you had been carried off in ſuch a ſtate, and how much you owe to the bounty of the Almighty, who did not allow you to be of the number of theſe unhappy perſons.

I know you may anſwer, and others may ſuggeſt to you, that I did not follow myſelf, when I was of your age nor for many years after, the good advice which I now give to you. I own, with confuſion, that this is but too true. That I was led aſtray by the vanities and ſinful pleaſures of this world; and that I did not give myſelf time to conſider what was the duty of a Chriſtian. This, I ſay, I own, to my confuſion; and, when I reflect on it now, I tremble at the remembrance of the danger, in which I was then: for if God had not mercifully touched my heart, by extraordinary ways; and, by the rebellion of my ſubjects, made me ſenſible how greatly I had myſelf rebelled againſt him; in all probability, I would have been eternally loſt. But you ought to conſider, that this was a miracle of the providence and goodneſs of God towards me; and, you know, that God does not always work miracles, and what happened to me is too ſingular an inſtance to ſerve as an example to you. Take, therefore, the warning which I give you, not to follow my example in ſinning, but in repenting. I give you this advice, as a father, who is indeed under obligations to promote the temporal intereſts of his children; but under ſtill greater to contribute to their eternal welfare."

That

That all Chriſtians are bound to aim at perfection *.

1695. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 50.

Although I am a great admirer of La Trappe † and of the holy and exemplary lives of the monks in that convent, and am overjoyed, when I hear that any has left the world to retire thither; and, though I have great reaſon to praiſe the Divine Goodneſs, for having put it into my thoughts to viſit that holy place, as I have derived ſo great advantages from it; yet I cannot be ſo partial as to think, that a man cannot work out his ſalvation in the world, without retiring to La Trappe or ſome other ſtrict order; ſeeing that men of all ranks and conditions in life have been great ſaints and may be ſo ſtill, providing they endeavour to improve their talents, and to make a right uſe of the grace of God, which will never be wanting to thoſe who ſincerely aſk it: for, our obligations to live in the world and to diſcharge the duties of the ſtation to which God has called us, do by no means hinder us from leading a Chriſtian life.

We are all of us, as well as the monks of La Trappe, obliged to take up our croſs and follow our Saviour; and, although the duty of our ſtation does not permit us to practiſe ſo auſtere a ſilence as they do, yet we are not leſs obliged than they are, to govern our tongues in ſuch a manner as not to offend our neighbour. Likewiſe, although we have not made vows to govern our eyes in the ſame manner as they have, we are as much obliged as they are, to ſet a watch on our eyes, ſo as that we may avoid to look on the dangerous objects which have cauſed the ruin of ſo many ſouls; and, though we are not under an obligation to practiſe ſo much abſtinence, nor to apply to manual labour as they do, yet we

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 7. and D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 50.

* Both the Engliſh and French copies of this paper are in Nairne's hand; but the half of the Engliſh copy is wanting; and there are ſome corrections in James's own hand, in the French copy, which is now tranſlated.

† James's frequent pilgrimages to La Trappe are often mentioned in lord Middleton and ſecretary Caryll's letters. He kept up a conſtant correſpondence with the famous Monſieur de Rancè, who was then abbot, and had introduced a ſtill more auſtere diſcipline, among an order of Monks, who were already ſubjected to more ſtrict and rigid rules than any of the other orders. His letters are probably preſerved in the Scotch college, at Paris. Nairne, after marking, in the order of time, the dates of as many of the abbot's letters as were preſerved in his time, adds, "there are ſix letters from the King to the abbot, before the date of the abbot's firſt letter to the King; ſo that the anſwers of theſe letters are wanting, beſides letters that are wanting afterwards." The abbot's firſt letter to him is dated, the 18th of July, 1692; and James's laſt letter to him is dated, the 20th of September, 1700: "The abbot's letters, in all twenty-two, and there are thirty-eight

D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 128, 129. D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. and 32.

1695. we are obliged to obſerve temperance and ſobriety in our eating, and not to allow ourſelves to go to any exceſs in that way; and, if we cannot work with our hands, we ought always to avoid idleneſs, to apply, with attention, to our own buſineſs, and to aſſiſt our neighbour as much as we can. Laſtly, we ſhould have the ſame Chriſtian ſpirit with the monks of La Trappe, and allow ourſelves to be guided by the ſame maxims; and each, in his ſtation and manner, ſhould endeavour to work out his own ſalvation, with the ſame care, and the ſame fear and trembling as they do. They are men like us, and we are under the ſame obligations with them. Jeſus Chriſt died for us all; and we are all equally obliged to follow his ſteps and to obey his precepts; to be humble and patient, and always to remember, that, without theſe two Chriſtian virtues, we cannot hope to perſevere in our duty, nor to hinder our abandoning ourſelves to the falſe and deceitful maxims of the world, to which we will be eaſily enticed, by the falſe example of thoſe who follow them, and who, for the moſt part, diſcover their fallacy and deceitfulneſs but too late.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 7.

" *His Majeſty's thankſgiving to God, for the particular benefits beſtowed upon him**."

I ought daily to praiſe God, for the mercies he has ſhewn towards me, during the whole courſe of my life; and in particular,

For my making my eſcape out of the hands of thoſe rebels, who, ſome months after, murdered the King, my father.

For his protecting me, in all the battles, ſieges, and fights I have been in, both at land and at ſea; and for delivering me from many other dangers I have been expoſed to, on both theſe elements.

For giving me a healthful body and patience of mind to endure many and great injuries; and for preſerving me hitherto from the ſnares and plots of my enemies.

And, above all, I ought to praiſe Almighty God, for his opening my eyes and making me a true convert to his holy church;

And for his having touched my heart, with a true ſenſe of my paſt ſins; humbly praying him, at the ſame time, to continue his grace to

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eight of the King's to the abbot; ſo, if the abbot has but anſwered all his Majeſty's letters, as probably he has, there are ſixteen of the abbot's letters wanting."

* This paper is only in Engliſh and in Nairne's hand; but the words are evidently James's.

me, and every day to increaſe in me a greater abhorrence of them; ſo that I may not fall into any of them again: and humbly acknowledging, that I have juſtly deſerved, for my manifold and great ſins, all the afflictions and mortifications he has been pleaſed to lay on me. 1695.

Praying him alſo, that if, at any time hereafter, it ſhall be his holy will to lay any further puniſhments upon me, he will give me patience to bear them, and an entire reſignation to all his decrees concerning me; and finally ſuch a proportion of his holy ſpirit, as to keep me from falling into thoſe ſins which are more incident to my age and condition, that ſo, at laſt, I may obtain eternal life.

Another.

I thank thee, O God, for all the favours which thou haſt done me; and particularly, for having ſaved me from the hands of the rebellious parricides, who put to death the King, my father. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 50.

For having protected me, in all the combats, ſieges, and battles, in which I have been, by ſea and by land; and for having delivered me from ſo many other dangers, to which I have been expoſed.

For having re-eſtabliſhed the King, my brother, in his kingdoms, and for having recovered me from the ſmall-pox, which, ſome years before, had carried off ſome of the royal family.

For having given me ſuch good health and patience to ſuffer ſo many injuries, and for having preſerved me till now from all the ſnares of my enemies.

For having touched my heart, with a true ſenſe of my paſt ſins and a regret for them: a favour, which I beſeech God to continue to me; and to augment in me, day by day, a deteſtation of my faults.

And above all, I thank God, for having opened my eyes and converted me to the true church.

I humbly acknowledge, that I have juſtly deſerved all the afflictions and mortifications, which it hath pleaſed God to ſend upon me; and that I would deſerve ſtill greater, conſidering the magnitude and multitude of my ſins. For which reaſon, when it ſhall pleaſe God to inflict upon me other puniſhments for my ſins than thoſe which I have already ſuffered, I moſt humbly beſeech him to grant me patience to ſupport them; and an

1696. entire reſignation to his will, in all things: and, laſtly, I aſk of him a ſufficient portion of his holy ſpirit, to preſerve me from all the ſins to which perſons of my age and condition are liable, ſo as that I may obtain eternal life.

1696. EXTRACT I.

Carte's Extracts. On the propoſal, for a deſcent with ten or twelve thouſand men, the duke of Berwick was ſent to England to perſuade the King's friends to riſe firſt; only fourteen thouſand troops, then in England. They could not aſſemble or riſe, till his landing, elſe the Engliſh fleet would interpoſe; but would, the moment the King was aſhore, in their ſeveral counties. Mr. Powel was ſent over, in January or February, to perſuade the King to come with that force and to give reaſons for it. All things were ready at the end of February. On the twenty-fifth, the King of France ſent to the King to go to Calais, where the King arrived on the ſecond of March. A propoſal had been made, at the end of 1693, for ſeizing and bringing off the prince of Orange; but the King rejected it. It was afterwards propoſed by others; and again rejected. In the year 1695, one Clinch propoſed it, and deſired a warrant to impower him. The King rejected it, and charged him not to meddle in it, or ſpeak more about it. Yet, when he came to England, he did to his own club, and to Porter and Parkins. Charnock doubted of Clinch *.

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Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. * Clinch, it would appear, was too precipitate. Lord Middleton writes to him, on the 30th April, 1695.—"Laſt night, I received yours of the eleventh inſtant. I confeſs, I was ſurprized to find, that you reckon ſtill on a thing, which was laid aſide, for the preſent, when you was here; otherwiſe, you would have deſired to carry with you, what you now ſo earneſtly preſs for. You may remember, that the proteſting of the bill was judged to be a total diſappointment, for this ſeaſon; becauſe the market would be over, before the neceſſary commodities could be provided, without which, we ſhall not find our account. Mr. Benſon [Fr. King] is gone to a farm of his, above fifty miles off, to ſee what condition his cattle are in; and is not to return, in three weeks, which would occaſion a delay in this matter, were there no other cauſe to be aſſigned for it. This is too plain to want a proof. However, you may be aſſured, that no endeavours ſhall be wanting, in providing what is neceſſary for the firſt market."

Ibid. On the firſt of May, Middleton writes in the ſame ſtrain to his correſpondent Syſon, either of Clinch or ſome other perſon, who was ſuſpected, about this time.—"Mr. Harriſon

1696.

EXTRACT II.

The King is preſſed again to make another attempt. He was prevailed upon, by conceiving the kingdom to be much better diſpoſed, and the conjuncture more favourable. Before the King entered upon his expedition, he found great difficulties about wording his declaration, for the Calais expedition. Melfort had been diſmiſſed at the ſolicitations of his friends in England. Middleton, who ſucceeded him, was of opinion, that the King ought to adhere to his laſt declaration. The King left St. Germains, February 28th. The troops intended for the invaſion began to draw near Dunkirk and Calais. He was haſtened off too ſoon, by Macpherſon's Extracts.

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riſon [K. James] bid me tell you, in anſwer to the laſt paragraph of yours, dated the twentieth of March, that he had an ironmonger here, whom you might employ, as occaſion ſerved. But, notwithſtanding, if you had a mind to be rid of a couple of that trade, he approved of the propoſal; and, in that caſe, they may be ſent hither to receive further directions."

On the twenty-ſeventh of May, Middleton writes to Mr. Chapman.—"I received the favour of yours of the eighteenth of April, with the incloſed for Mr. Artley [K. James], as likewiſe that of the twenty-fourth, which came together. I ſhould be ſorry that our banker [Fr. King] wanted will or power. Many rich men have no money at home. At ſome times, unforeſeen accidents may contribute to that, as in this caſe; but, therefore, you ought not to deſpair of payment. I have endeavoured to make this truth appear as plain to you and your partners, as was poſſible; and I am ſorry to find, that you will not believe it. I am ſure you cannot reproach me, that I ever went about to impoſe on you." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

On the 27th of May, 1695, he writes to his correſpondent Syſon. "I return you moſt humble thanks, for the favour of yours of the 24th of April. The contents of it were very ſeaſonable to comfort us. I wiſh I could do you the like ſervice. But things are here, in the poſture they were, which I need not repeat; and Mr. Harriſon [K. James] being to write to you, this trouble will be but ſhort. Clinch is juſt come: but we have not had time yet to enquire concerning the condition of the factory. I am very deſirous to know what credit he has on the exchange; and where he is judged to be moſt uſeful." Ibid.

Upon the 21ſt of July, his lordſhip writes to Chapman.—"I cannot obſerve that men's malice has taken place againſt Clinch, though I am a living witneſs of their honeſt endeavours that way. There is nothing ſo plain to me, as that an election cannot be carried, but by gaining of votes. It is the only way friends can employ themſelves in; and, when any freeholder ſignifies his promiſe, he ſhall not fail of an ample return from the gentleman himſelf."

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1696. the court of France. The alarm was taken, before things were ripe; and the intended expedition fell to the ground. Beſides the misfortunes common to this expedition with the reſt of the King's attempts, it brought obloquy upon him, by its being thought that he was privy to, or approved of, the deſign on the perſon of the prince of Orange. Certain gentlemen, thinking to do the King good ſervice by it, combined among themſelves. Their firſt project was to ſurprize and ſeize the prince of Orange, and carry him into France. But finding that impracticable, if they ſcrupled his life, they were by degrees drawn into a reſolution of attacking him as he came from Hampton Court, or from hunting; and if they found no poſſibility of carrying him off alive, to make no difficulty of killing him. There is no occaſion to argue upon this point, the King was neither privy to this deſign, nor did he commiſſion the perſons; though he ſuffered moſt undeſervedly, both in his reputation and intereſt: for thoſe unfortunate gentlemen, by miſtaking meſſages on the one hand, and their too forward zeal on the other, the moſt of them loſt their own lives, and furniſhed an opportunity to the King's enemies of renewing their calumnies againſt him, and fix the people and parliament, who otherwiſe began to waver, in the prince of Orange's intereſt more than ever. Croſby, it is more than probable, was employed by the prince of Orange, to perſuade the King to the meaſure. His earneſtneſs in this, both in words and by his letter, requeſting permiſſion from England, made the King ſuſpect him; and all the anſwer he made was, that he thought him mad.

The commiſſion the King gave to Sir George Berkley and others was in order to a general inſurrection of the Jacobites; which he underſtood they were to make as ſoon as he appeared on the French coaſt, with ſuch a force as was agreed upon. The court of France was of the ſame opinion, and ordered their troops not to put to ſea till they heard of it. The King's friends on the other hand, meant that the King ſhould land firſt. The matter was like to come to nothing, when they waited thus for one another. The prince of Orange's affairs had not now a favourable aſpect. The new-called parliament were reſty and refractory. Sunderland, who had adviſed the diſſolution of his old parliament, began now to be ſuſpected by him. The King's party, called Jacobites by way of diſtinction, thought it proper to blow the coals, as much as poſſible.

poſſible. They preſſed hard for men and ſhips, for the beginning of the ſpring. They now aſked but 10 or 12 thouſand men. Some of them even wrote to the King, that they were perſuaded, that could the King but once come to London, or ſome other conſiderable town, without any force, that the greateſt part of the nation would riſe and reſtore him. The King communicated this news to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty; and he was, at laſt, encouraged to give the men; together with things neceſſary for a deſcent for the beginning of February. He ſtill preſſed, that the King's friends ſhould riſe firſt. 1696.

The duke of Berwick was accordingly ſent to England to head them. Many officers went to England and Scotland; particularly many gentlemen, who were wearied to ſerve as common men. The King's friends declared it impoſſible to riſe till the King ſhould land; but that as ſoon as he ſhould come, they ſhould all run to their arms. Their reply was ſo reaſonable, that it could not be anſwered. A miſtake in diſcourſe with Mr. Powel, who had come to St. Germains, with an account of the ſtate of England, was the thing that prevailed with the King to move them to it. Mr. Powel ſpoke with ſo much zeal, that the King thought, that the Jacobites propoſed to riſe, when they ſhould hear of his deſign to paſs into England; and, before Mr. Powel had put his requeſt into writing, the King fortuned to meet with the moſt Chriſtian King, and told him, his friends in England were ready to riſe whenever he required them. The King perceived, when Mr. Powel committed his meſſage to writing, that he had been miſtaken. But for fear of alarming the French miniſters, he did not think it proper to ſtop their preparations, by unſaying what he had ſaid. The moſt Chriſtian King's orders were ſo well obeyed, by Mr. Ponchartrain of the marine, and Barbeſieux of the land department, that things were ready, at the time appointed, which was the end of February.

Though things were carried on with all imaginable ſecrecy, it could not be poſſible to aſſemble 3 or 400 ſail of great and ſmall veſſels, from different ports, without making ſome noiſe. The Dutch believed, that the French had a deſign on Zealand, and ſent thither troops. No deſign was ſuſpected to be laid againſt England, till it was heard the King had gone for Calais, which the moſt Chriſtian King thought fit he ſhould do, as the tranſports were to rendezvous there on the 25th of February.

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1696. He ſent Pontchartrain to the King, on that day, and, as the ſecret could be kept no longer, he ſaid, he adviſed him, if he thought fit, to go down to the ſea-ſide; but not to let the men embark till he heard of the propoſed inſurrection in England. The moſt Chriſtian King propoſed to come the next day, to St. Germains, to ſettle the laſt meaſures with the King. He came accordingly. He repeated what his miniſter had ſaid; and ſtill taking it for granted, that the riſing would begin before the King could reach Calais, he preſſed, for that very reaſon, his ſetting out immediately. But though the King had no great mind to go, till he had a return from the duke of Berwick, who had not been gone a fortnight; yet, for certain reaſons, he thought fit not to mention it; and acquieſced in going in two days. He arrived at Calais, on the 2d of March.

The King met at St. Dennis a ſervant, from the duke of Berwick, with a letter to Middleton. The duke himſelf, having his chaiſe broke, remained at Clermont, till it ſhould be mended. The King underſtood from ſome hints, in the letter, that he had not ſucceeded. He acquainted the moſt Chriſtian King of his doubts. But he reſolved to proceed. He came to Clermont. He knew then the whole matter. He ordered Berwick to proceed to Calais. It was a great misfortune, that the moſt Chriſtian King had not a right notion of the matter from the beginning, and that the King durſt not diſabuſe him, for fear his miniſters, who were ever averſe to ſuch expeditions, ſhould quaſh all, without ſo much as a trial. He ſtill hoped, that ſomething might happen, upon which he could found a requeſt to let the troops ſail. He no ſooner arrived at Calais, but according to his uſual fortune, he found his expectations at an end. Several gentlemen had been ſeized for an attempt on the prince of Orange's perſon. England was in a ferment. There could be no expectations that the Jacobites ſhould riſe. It was a more than uſual trouble to the King to ſee his project broke, his hopes blaſted, his friends ruined, by their purſuing methods contrary to his judgment, and without his conſent. Thoſe who were executed declared, indeed, at their deaths, that the King was no ways privy to the deſign upon the prince of Orange's perſon. The propoſal had been frequently made, for ſeveral years, but he always rejected it with vehemence.

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The prince of Orange had a perſonal pique againſt Sir John Fenwick, for ſome reflecting expreſſions, when he ſerved in Holland; and, according to his wonted clemency, he was reſolved to move heaven and earth to have his life. He could not get two witneſſes, as the laws of treaſon require; and he, therefore, cauſed a bill of attainder to be brought againſt him, in the houſe of commons. Thus exerting the utmoſt extent of the legiſlative power to take away irregularly one man's life, which could not be of ſuch mighty conſequence to the public quiet. Sir John Fenwick's accuſation of lord Godolphin, lord Churchill, and admiral Ruſſel, and ſeveral others, did great prejudice to the King's affairs. This, inſtead of appeaſing, heightened the prince of Orange's rage againſt him; and added the weight of theſe powerful men to the heavy hand of their maſter. Though Sir John was not believed, it convinced many, that their ſecrets were not ſo well kept, as they could wiſh; and they afterwards gave this, as a reaſon for diſcontinuing their correſpondence. It was doubtful, whether this was a diſadvantage, in reſpect of ſuch men. It was a check, however, upon better men. The execution of his friends was more affecting to him, than his own miſfortunes. 1696.

He, however, had ſtill ſome glimmering views toward a reſtoration. The prince of Orange's ill ſtate of health made people believe he could not live long. He was become ſo dropſical, that it became manifeſt he could be of no long continuance. Had he died, the King would return into England and throw himſelf on the good-nature of the Engliſh, though three men ſhould not follow him. It could not enter into his breaſt, that the people of England could offer indignities to a heart that loved them ſo tenderly. But if it was God's will, that he ſhould conſummate his ſufferings, without any mixture of proſperity, and end his days in baniſhment, in which ſo great a part of his life had been ſpent, he reſigned himſelf to the will of providence. But the ill health of the prince of Orange raiſed a new obſtacle. The princeſs of Denmark, though ſhe had all along kept up a fair correſpondence with the King, full of aſſurances of duty and repentance, began now to be allured, with the hopes of the crown. She wrote to the King to know, whether he would pleaſe to permit her to accept the crown, ſhould the prince of Orange die, and it be offered to her, according to the act of ſettle-

1696, ment made in the convention. She accompanied this requeſt, with a ſeeming ſenſe of her duty, and a readineſs to make reſtitution, when opportunity ſhould ſerve; and that ſhould ſhe refuſe it, conſidering the preſent diſpoſition of the kingdom, it would only remove the King the further from the hopes of recovering his right, by putting the government into worſe hands, out of which he would not ſo eaſily retrieve it. But this was no way ſuiting to the King's temper. He was not for permitting ill, that good might come of it. He could ſuffer injuſtice with patience; but he could never be brought to countenance it; beſides he knew, that of all reſtitutions, none is harder to make than that of a crown. The King excuſed himſelf to his daughter; and his reſolution of putting himſelf in the hands of his ſubjects, put an end to the propoſal.

But theſe were views at a diſtance. The King turned his thoughts to reap a Chriſtian fruit, from the ſeeds of affliction. But while he was turning his thoughts on a heavenly crown, an earthly one was offered to him; not indeed that which was his due, and which for that reaſon alone he deſired, but that of Poland. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſent M. de Pomponne to the King; that the abbe Polignac, his ambaſſador in Poland, wrote, that the people of that country had thoughts of him in the election they were to make of a new King. That ſome particular diets had already named them. The King's friends were ſanguine for it. But he made no other reply, than that he ſhould ever retain a grateful remembrance of the eſteem and kindneſs thoſe perſons had ſhewn him. That, however, he could not accept it if offered; much leſs would he uſe any endeavours to obtain it. That it would amount to an abdication indeed of what was really his due; and therefore was reſolved to remain as he was, though he had leſs hopes of being reſtored than ever, rather than do the leaſt act to prejudice his family. That there could not be a greater inſtance, that it was the public good and the intereſt of the prince his ſon, and not a thirſt after rule and dominion, that made the King never lay aſide the endeavours of regaining his right.

The King received intelligence of a treaty of peace being on foot prejudicial to his intereſt. He wrote thus, upon the occaſion, to the abbe la Trappe: "Though his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has the ſame affection and conſideration for me he ever had; yet he may, perhaps, think his condition

condition ſuch as to oblige him to make a certain ſtep, for the good and peace of his kingdom; which, I am confident, he will have a great reluctancy to, on my account; and, therefore, I believe it will give him full as much or more trouble, than it will to me, who have been inured to contradictions all my life*." The King was not miſtaken. The winter paſſed in preparations for war; but a ſecret negociation was carried on in the mean time. 1696.

1697. EXTRACT I.

Plenipotentaries ſent, in March, to Ryſwick, a houſe belonging to the prince of Orange. The King had no more doubt, that a peace would be made excluſive of his intereſt. He was much ſurpriſed, conſidering the character of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the ſucceſs of France. He never thought, that he would have been thus deſerted. In December 1696, the King ſent an agent to Vienna. But the Emperor was deaf to his reaſons. 1697. Macpherſon's Extracts.

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* Nairne, making a liſt of Monſieur de Rancè the famous abbot of La Trappe's letters to James, according to their dates, marked the ſubject of a letter that prince received from the abbot this year, "Anſwer to difficulties, 4th October 1696." There muſt have been ſomething remarkable in theſe difficulties, and in the anſwer, as Nairne does not mention the ſubject of any other letter, and we have probably theſe very difficulties in the following paper, in Nairne's hand, entitled, "Queſtions propoſed by his Majeſty to his confeſſor." Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 50.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. xi. fol. No. 7.

Qu. 1. Whether, conſidering the life I have led, and that my age, as well as the ſtation I am in, does hinder me from uſing thoſe penances and mortifications, which would be requiſite to ſhew the abhorrence and deteſtation I have of my paſt offences againſt ſo good and gracious a God, I ought not to be content, as a greater penance than can be inflicted on me in this world, not to make uſe of the uſual prayers of the church, to endeavour, by them, to ſhorten my time of being in purgatory? And whether, what I have deſigned for that uſe may not be better employed in charities and praying for all the faithful departed?

2. Whether it is not more meritorious and better to lay aſide, whilſt one is alive, for ſuch charities and other pious uſes, as one deſigns, than to leave the burden on one's heirs and ſucceſſors? And whether it be not deceiving one's ſelf to expect any merit for ſuch gifts, as one leaves to be paid by his heirs, after his deceaſe, ſince it is a burden upon them, and that one does not feel the inconveniency of it one's ſelf?

1697.

EXTRACT II.

Though * no one could blame the King's conduct, in this total diſclaiming all treaties and accommodations, when he found the confederate princes no ways diſpoſed to do him juſtice; yet there was one article privately ſtipulated, which, had not the King too haſtily rejected, might have rendered his poſterity eaſy, and his people happy. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had underhand prevailed with the prince of Orange to conſent that the prince of Wales ſhould ſucceed to the throne of England after his death. That mercenary prince, it ſeems, had no great regard to the pretended ends of his coming, nor to the acts of parliament, which excluded the prince of Wales, and all of that perſuaſion, from the ſucceſſion. He had, under the notion of preſerving the church of England, uſurped the kingdom; and, now, (that the work was done) thoſe pangs of conſcience were vaniſhed, and he was very eaſy on that head, and ready to leave the church to Providence for the future, not caring under whoſe government it fell afterwards, ſo he was ſecure of the throne for his life. For this reaſon, he ſhewed no great averſeneſs to the prince of Wales's having the preference to thoſe who were named by the pretended act of ſettlement. How he would have brought about in parliament this matter, does not appear; becauſe it never came to a trial. But when this ſeeming advantage to the family was propoſed to the King, he could not ſupport the thoughts, he ſaid, of making his own child an accomplice to his unjuſt dethronement; ſo immediately he told his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, (who had firſt made the overture to him) that though he could ſuffer with Chriſtian patience the prince of Orange's uſurpation upon *him*, he could never conſent that his own ſon ſhould do it too. This was a point too nice to be preſſed, in caſe of the leaſt reluctancy; ſo nothing more was ſaid upon it. But had the King taken leiſure to weigh more maturely the matter, he might have found means, perhaps, of reconciling that apparent incongruity, and for the ſake of his ſon and poſterity have overlooked the injuſtice done to himſelf. But

* This is a continuation of the Life of James, written by another hand. But as it was done under his own inſpection, and corrected by himſelf, it poſſeſſes as much authority, as if written by him in his own hand.

the King was better at ſuffering injuries, than at conniving at them; and the leaſt ſhadow of an injuſtice was enough to damp, in his acceptation, the beſt laid project in the world. 1697.

The King arrived at Fountainbleau, the very day the news of the peace of Ryſwick came. The King having long foreſeen the blow, was the leſs ſurpriſed; and ſo far from burſting out into expoſtulations and complaints, that, forgetting himſelf, he ſeemed only to compaſſionate his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, as if he had been the great and only ſufferer in the point.

The bill of baniſhment was a new ſource of trouble and expence to the King.

EXTRACT III.

When the news of the concluſion of the treaty arrived, the King was at Fountainbleau. He arrived there the very day of its coming. The prince of Orange, ſoon after the peace, ſent his great favourite, Bentinck, in quality of ambaſſador, to Paris; and preſſed for the King's removal from St. Germains. In the firſt conference, between that miniſter and the mareſchal de Boufflers, he inſiſted on the ſame thing. But he was cut ſhort, by the moſt Chriſtian King; who ſaid, that if the prince of Orange ſtood upon that article, he would baniſh all thoughts of treating with him. This diſcouraged not the prince of Orange. He ſtill inſiſted upon that point. But the moſt Chriſtian King was immoveable. The conditions of removal were the payment of the Queen's jointure. The moſt Chriſtian King choſe rather to leave that money in his hands, than exaſperate him by demanding it, according to agreement. Bentinck ſaid, that Boufflers promiſed, ſecretly, to remove the King. Boufflers denied the fact. But the moſt Chriſtian King was not diſpoſed to argue matters with the prince of Orange.

1698.

The prince of Orange ill-treated by his parliament. They tore his laurels from his brows, and placed them on their own. They made him account, like a ſteward, for all the money they put in his hands. They gave him no ſettled revenue; but from year to year. They forced him 1698.

to

1698. to ſend away his Dutch troops; though he truckled ſo far, as to ſend a letter, by way of petition, to the houſe of commons. They were deaf to his intreaties, and deſpiſed his ſervile ſuit, as much as they laughed at the underhand threats of his creatures. They juſtly put him in mind of his origin, and the hands that made him; and gave him to underſtand, that they called him to be their ſervant, and not to domineer over them: and that, in caſe they diſcovered the leaſt bad aſpect towards their liberties and properties, they knew how to make a ſacrifice of their own workmanſhip to a freſh eſtabliſhment, if their rights ſeemed to require it. This was a mighty humiliation to that prince, whoſe aims and conduct ſmelt ſo rank of conqueſt, that pamphlets, which ſeemed to ſupport that notion, had not only been common, but allowed of by his authority. The treatment which doctor Burnet's treatiſe on that ſubject met with, checked others; and tended to teach the prince of Orange, that as he owed his creation to the parliament, ſo he muſt alſo derive from them his ſubſiſtence. But the King looked upon him, more as the inſtrument of God's juſtice againſt himſelf, than as his enemy. He never ſaid any [p. 660.] harſh things of him himſelf, nor would he permit it in others; nor could any make their court worſe, than by reflecting, in his preſence, upon his worſt enemies. He even never failed to pray for them. [p. 670.]

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1688.

THOUGH the Memoirs of James the Second throw the neweſt and beſt light on the tranſactions of the important year 1688, ſome other original papers concerning that period, equally unknown to the public, have fallen into the hands of the Editor from various quarters. They are printed, in the order of their dates, with ſuch remarks as are neceſſary to make them underſtood. Though the papers publiſhed under this year are not, perhaps, of ſuch conſequence as thoſe that follow them, they contain ſome anecdotes that ought not to be concealed from the world. Thoſe who know beſt the hiſtory of this country will reliſh them the moſt. 1688.

Skelton, Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of France, to the Earl of Sunderland.*

My Lord, Paris, $\frac{16}{26}$ June, 1688.

ON Thorſday morning, about ſix of the clock, the courrier which came to the cardinal nuncio, brought me the happy news of the birth of a prince; for which greateſt of bleſſings, Heaven be praiſed! June. Mr. Aſtle's Collection, vol. ii. fol.

* Sir Bevill Skelton had been envoy from England to the States of Holland in the year 1685. His vigilance in that office, prevailed with James to ſend him, in the ſame capacity, to Paris. His attachment to his maſter induced him, without any inſtructions from his court, to procure, that the count D'Avaux ſhould preſent a threatening memorial to the States, upon the armament preparing in their ports, in the month of Auguſt in the preſent year. James, offended at his officiouſneſs, recalled him from France, and committed him to the Tower. But he was ſoon after ſet at liberty, and made governor of the fortreſs in which he had been confined.

I imme-

1688. June. I immediately thereupon went to Verſailles, where monſieur de Barillon's courrier had brought the news at twelve the night before. I found ſoe generall a joy in all people there, as I never yet ſaw upon any occation. His moſt Xtian Majeſty, at coming from councill to go to maſſe, called me to him, and, with a ſatisfaction in his face not to be expreſt, told me, that next to the King my maſter, noe man had a greater joy than he, for the news of a prince being born; and, ſays he, I am the more pleaſed, that Barillon writes 'tis a ſtrong and healthful child. And the dukes de la Tremuville and Rochfaucau, with monſieur de Croiſſy, whoe were at his waking, at which time the news was brought him by the latter, told me, they never ſaw any man ſoe joyfull.

His moſt Xtian Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to take notice to me of the impriſonment of the biſhops; which, till then, I was ignorant of. He very much applauds the King's reſolution in that affair; and ſaid, he was ready to give his Majeſty all manner of aſſiſtance that was in his power; which he ſpoke in ſuch a cordial manner, that the ſincerity thereof is not to be doubted. Madame la Dauphine is indiſpoſed, and in bed; yet ſent for me, and ſaid, though ſhe ſaw no man, yet ſhe could not forbear rejoicing with me, upon account of the great news, and expreſt great joy: and the little duke of Burgundy, whilſt I was talking to madame la mareſchalle de la Motte, of his own accord, told me, that he would that night, for joy, order threeſcore fuſees to be fired. Madame la mareſchalle intends, in October next, to give me ſomething to ſend to the Queen, to be hung about the prince's neck, which prevents the inconveniencys that commonly attend the breeding of teeth. The ſame has been uſed to theſe three yong princes, with good ſucceſſe. We had noe letters yeſterday from England; ſoe that I know not as yet, in what manner to make publick rejoycings, and muſt wayte your lordſhip's directions about it; which, I hope, will come this day, ſomething extraordinary being expected upon this occation. In the meane time, I have adventured to give orders for the preparing fire-works. The cheapeſt, together with the modell of ſuch as are propper, will amount to above 200 piſtolls; the device of which I will ſend your lordſhip. Count Gramont beginns his journey to England on Monday. Many perſons of quality intend to accompagny him.

Orders

Orders are already ſent down to the intendent to confiſcate the eſtates of the Spaniſh ſubjects, in the French territorys in Flanders, which amount to two millions, yearly revenue. 1688. June.

A very odd medall is come from Holland hither. I doubt not but your lordſhip has ſeen it. The impudence of it is matter enough for diſcourſe at this court.

The ten ſhips that are commanded back from mareſchal d'Etrée, cannot be at Breſt in three weeks yet, at ſooneſt. The elections of the biſhops of Munſter and Paderborne is deferred till the 25th of the next. It is believed, monſieur Plettenberg will carry it for Munſter. He will have the intereſt of this court on his ſide, being thought a man for their purpoſe; and the elector of Brandenbourg, whoe has a conſiderable intereſt there, and oppoſes the biſhop of Breſlaw's election, will make it the more eaſy for this gentleman.—There is a report here, that the depoſed ſultan and his ſon are both ſtrangled.

I was miſinformed in marquis de Preulis's will; he having left his whole eſtate, as madame d'Iſenguier told me herſelf, to mademoiſelle d'Humiers; and not ſoe much as a legacy to his or her relations.

The encloſed is to give cover to a letter of the cardinal nuncio's to his Majeſty. Upon which occation I have preſumed to expreſs my joy alſo. I am, my Lord, &c.

B. SKELTON.

Monſieur made all the ladys at St. Clou drink the prince of Wales's health on Thurſday laſt.

The following letter having been written by a lawyer, contains the beſt ſtate of the arguments uſed at the trial of the ſeven biſhops. No apology is neceſſary for inſerting here a paper, which throws a new light on ſo important a caſe.

1688. June. *Mr. Robert Price*, to the Duke of Beaufort.——An Account of the Trial of the ſeven Biſhops.*

SIR, Lincoln's Inn, June 30th, 1688.

Nairne's Papers, A. L. fol.

YEſterday, being St. Peter's day, the ſeven biſhops were brought to their trial, upon the information of publiſhing a libel, about their refuſal to read, or to cauſe to be read, the King's declaration. Their trial held from nine in the morning till near ſeven in the evening. The King's evidence, to the number of twelve, laboured to prove the biſhops hands to the petition; which was done obſcurely. Lord Sunderland was ſent for, to prove the publication of the libel. His evidence was, that, at the requeſt of the biſhops, he brought them to the King, to whom they delivered a paper; but could not ſay that it was the ſame for which the information was there exhibited. The council for the biſhops inſiſted upon their not proving, that the biſhops wrote theſe hands; next, that not publiſhing was proved; and if ſo, that it was no libel. There Pollexfen and Mr. Finch took no ſmall pains to inveigh againſt the King's diſpenſing power. Serjeant Pemberton ſaid, that what the biſhops did, was that which became them as peers; and, if the diſpenſing power was againſt law, how came they to be criminals, for not doing that which was againſt law? and ſaid farther, that he could ſhew ſeveral judgments in parliament, and in caſes in law, where the diſpenſing power was denied. The council for the King waved the point, though Mr. Solicitor was fiercely earneſt againſt the biſhops, and took the management upon himſelf; Mr. Attorney's province being to put in a ſmoothe queſtion now and then. Mr. juſtice Powel declared himſelf very freely, that he could not find the petition to be a libel; for then it muſt be falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious. Falſe it was not; becauſe he took the law to be, that the King had not a diſpenſing power; for, if he had, moſt part of the ſtatute-books might be diſpenſed with, and

* Price was afterwards one of the barons of the Exchequer. He rendered himſelf remarkable, by a ſpirited ſpeech in the houſe of commons, in the year 1696, againſt ſome grants of the demeſnes of the prince of Wales, made by King William, to his favourite, the earl of Portland. Many of his original letters to the duke of Beaufort are in the bands of the Editor.

there

there would be no need of parliaments. Scandalous or malicious it was not; becauſe drawn with all privacy, and preſented with all humility. Mr. juſtice Holloway had a mind to ſay ſomewhat to the purpoſe; but did declare againſt the diſpenſing power. The chief juſtice doubted, as to the proof of the publiſhing; but took the petition to be a libel. Juſtice Allybon believed throughout, and doubted nothing. The jury withdrew. The hall being full, and the Palace-yard, they made three huzzas that were heard at the Temple. The jury ſtaid till nine this morning, Arnold a brewer till then diſſenting, when they brought in the biſhops Not guilty; which was followed by ſo many ſhouts in the hall, that it was with much difficulty they could be quieted. This is the reſult of the long expected cauſe. The court of King's Bench was yeſterday and to-day very full of the nobility and gentry of the beſt quality. I doubt this day's work will give juſtice Powel a remove; and, it is thought, Holloway alſo; there being candidates enough for the vacancies. Mr. ſerjeant Lehunt had his train carried through Weſtminſter-hall, which is not uſual; but whether ominous of promotion, I know not. It is, however, a plain demonſtration of his trainbearer's ignorance. 1688, June.

The Biſhop of Winchester to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Farnham-caſtle, Aug. 22d, 1688.

YEſterday, the King having appointed to hunt near this place, I went out in my coach to wayt on him, at the place where he had ordered his horſes to meet him, when (the weather proving very wet) he made a ſhort ſtay, and returned towards Windſor. He diſcourſed with me very kindly, without any the leaſt reflection; and, at parting, promiſed to take a repaſt with me in his way when he went to Portſmouth; which, how ſuddenly it may be I cannot tell: but I ſhall take the firſt opportunity perſonally to pay my duty to you. Auguſt. Tanner's Collection, Oxon. vol. xxviii.

I am your Grace's
In all obedience,
P. WINCHESTER.

1688. September. Carte's Memorandum Book, in green parchment, p. 6.

"*Anecdote about the intelligence given by Lewis the 14th, to King James the 2d, of the Dutch armament, and their deſign of invading England, with another of inveſting Maeſtricht with 30,000 men, and enjoining ſecrecy.—But he diſcovered it to lord Sunderland, who told it to the Dutch.*"

March 5th, 1733. THE duke of Chandos ſaid, that Lewis the 14th, King of France, having certain intelligence of the deſign of the Dutch armament, wrote a letter with his own hand to King James the 2d; and told him, it was deſigned againſt England; offering, at the ſame time, to prevent the invaſion, to inveſt Maeſtricht with 30,000 men, and enjoining him ſecrecy in the affair. King James wrote him word, in anſwer, that the King of France was miſtaken; for he was ſure the Dutch armament was intended to aſſiſt the Hugonots of France. Lewis the 14th wrote back, in his own hand, that he was but too ſure of his intelligence; and repeated his offer, in preſſing terms, of inveſting Maeſtricht. But King James could not be perſuaded of it; and, by the return of this 2d expreſs, the King of France had intelligence, that the Dutch had thrown 6000 men into Maeſtricht. Seeing his ſecret diſcovered, he expoſtulated with King James about it; aſſuring him, that he had ſpoke of it to no body but Louvois; and if that miniſter had blabbed the ſecret, he would diſgrace him immediately, and puniſh him ſeverely; but deſired King James to deal truly, and tell him, upon honour, whether he had imparted it to any body. Upon which, he owned, that he had ſpoke of it to lord Sunderland; but to no body elſe. The King of France ſaw, thereby, who had betrayed the ſecret.

October. ONE White, an Iriſh papiſt, who had obtained from the emperor the title of marquis of Albeville, was James's envoy at the Hague, in the year 1688. He had been placed in that ſtation by Sunderland, on account of his profligacy, as a fit perſon to be tampered with by the prince of Orange. Albeville made the moſt of his ſituation. He had, at once, a penſion from the prince, and another from the French King. He betrayed James to the prince of Orange, and the prince of Orange to Lewis the Fourteenth. Had he been honeſt, he was a man of no abilities;

Mem. d'Avaux.

abilities; and his looſe and contradictory accounts of the preparations in Holland might have proceeded from his weakneſs, had they not even been the reſult of his knavery. The following are extracts from his letters upon that occaſion. 1688. October.

Albeville's letter from the Hague, Oct. 7th, to the King.——An account of the Dutch armament.

"HERBERT went yeſterday to the fleet, with ſome Engliſh volunteers, to embark and ſail, with moſt of the men of war, towards England, and fight the Engliſh fleet; and to be maſters of the ſea before they land. The men of war ſailed yeſterday from the Texel to join the fleet. The prince of Orange's baggage was put on board; he not to go on board till the middle of next month. Their fleet are more numerous than the Engliſh; and they are confident of beating it, unleſs it retires to Chatham. They propoſe to land at Ramſgate and Margate, where they have already magazines of proviſions." Extracts from Mr. Pepys's MSS. in Carte's Memorandum book, marked vol. xi. Quarto.

Mr. Pepys, in anſwer, ſays, the King had, many days before, ſuggeſted, that he apprehended they might not land in thoſe parts; but elſewhere, in Kent, to make themſelves maſters of Chatham, and the ſhips there. Removing, ſhifting, or miſplacing the buoys at the mouth of the river, as far as the Staveing, may be of uſe. *Qu.* About hawling the ſhips at Chatham to the off-ſide of the river, by which they would be under ſecurity of the paſs at Rocheſter-bridge?

Albeville to the King and Lord Sunderland, Oct. 30th.——Intelligence of the embarkation continued.

ALL his expreſſes, ſent by divers ways, were detained on the frontiers, the public boats ſtopped, and all paſſages whatever by ſea or land, by a very ſtrict order from the prince of Orange, who ſailed yeſterday. Extracts from Mr. Pepys's MSS. in Carte's Memorandum Book, marked vol. xi. 4to.

Burnet is embarked. Stuart, Ferguſon, and Wildman are embarked, with lord Macclesfield. All the rebels of the old and new ſtamp go along.

The princeſs will not be ſeen, till ſhe hears out of England from the prince of Orange. Fagel aſſures, that they have a paper ſigned by five hundred

1688. October. hundred and ſeventy of the chiefeſt biſhops, nobility, and gentry of England, deſiring the prince's coming over, and, that they would take other meaſures if he did not. Lord Lorn, the earl of Argyle's eldeſt ſon, arrived here lately and is embarked.

If men come in apace, as they doubt not but they will, it is reſolved to form two armies, one the prince's and the other Schomberg's. They make no queſtion, but all Scotland will declare preſently. It is certain that the Spaniſh envoy had prayers ſaid in his chapel for the ſucceſs of the prince's deſign. If your Majeſty take notice of it, they will fly in my face. The prince of Orange twice refuſed me audience before his departure, whereof all the Hague took notice. So unſatisfied he ſeemed to be with your Majeſty's late proclamation, that he begins his expedition with affronting your Majeſty. If her royal highneſs was to be ſeen, I doubt whether ſhe would ſee me, ſince the prince would not. She would not ſee me when I brought the laſt letters to her, but ſent to me to ſend them to her. There is not in hell a wickeder crew of men, than moſt of the Engliſh and Scots that go over.

This incloſed memorial, which I ſent ſome days paſt to lord Middleton, by being ſent by my expreſs, I believe is detained, was penned by Burnet. The devils in hell could not invent more for the ſuppoſition of the prince of Wales than he does. By what he ſays of Witneſſes, your Majeſty may judge what he aimed at.

Albeville to Lord Sunderland, 31ſt October.

THE Dutch fleet of fifty-two men of war, four hundred ſail in all, ſailed yeſterday, about two or three o'clock in the afternoon, from the flatts near the Brill, with the wind S. W. and by S. By the time they had been two or three hours at ſea, the wind became more weſterly, and has blown all night and morning hard at Weſt, which may probably have done them ſome damage.

The prince of Orange went to ſea, on board a ſhip of thirty-two guns, and Mareſchal Schomberg with him. Admiral Battinent and vice admiral Allemonde are with the fleet, and command two capital men of war. They pretend to land in Scotland; but Burlington-bay is the more probable

bable place. If the wind comes ſoutherly again, they go to the North; if it is North or N. E. they will be for the Weſt of England. They ſay they are equally provided for both. Above twenty Engliſh pilots are with them; and they give ſixty pounds to a maſter pilot of Hull, when they get to ſhore. One man of war was ſtranded and another diſabled, in going out from the coaſts of Holland. 1688. October.

The ſtate of the manner of reſtoring Magdalene College, at Oxford, has been much miſrepreſented by party writers. The following account of that affair was written by one of the expelled fellows. As he was not from intereſt partial to James, credit may be given to whatever he advances in favour of that prince. The original is well known and depoſited in the univerſity at Oxford.

Caſe of Magdalene College.

The King ſent for the biſhop of Wincheſter, viſitor of Magdalene College, and ordered him to ſettle the ſociety regularly and ſtatutably. This the biſhop, upon my meeting with him, acquainted me with, and ordered me to meet him at Whitehall next morning, which I did accordingly, juſt coming with ſome other biſhops from the King. He took me down with him from the room adjoining to my lord Sunderland's office; hoping to have had the warrant under the King's hand and ſeal ready. After about an hour's attendance, Mr. Bridgeman came to the office, and told him, that he ſhould certainly have it in the afternoon. The biſhop then deſired me to go with him to the Cockpit, where he was going to wait upon the princeſs Anne; telling me by the way, that he would not ſtir from court till he had obtained the warrant. Upon his going into the princeſs's chamber, he bid me come to him at his lodgings in Old Palace-Yard, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and bring doctor Younger along with me. We both came and he ſhewed us the King's order, which was very full; but of which I thought it no way becoming to deſire him to give me leave to take a copy. I aſked him, when his lordſhip would reſtore us. He ſaid, that he would not pitch at that time upon a certain day; that he would make haſte to Farnham, and that we ſhould hear thence; but adviſing me, that I would go down, in the mean while, to ſecure the college plate and gold in the Tower, the Regiſters, and the like, leſt they might be embazzeled and taken away. I told him, that in the circumſtances

Carte's Extracts from Dr Smith's looſe papers, marked No. 12. Oct. 12.

1688. October. ſtances I was then in, being actually diſpoſſeſſed of my fellowſhip, I could not, but under his lordſhip's authority, ratified by his Epiſcopal ſeal. Beſides, upon leaving the college, I had made a vow to God, that I would not enter in again, but when I was reſtored. Why, ſays he, this is in order to your reſtoration. So the diſcourſe fell; and he went ſoon after, I think the next day, for I did not ſee him afterwards, to Farnham.

A letter from the biſhop of Wincheſter, viſitor of Magdalene College, throws further light on a ſubject, for which James has been, without reaſon, much blamed. But though that prince was guilty of an act of folly, in depriving the fellows, he appears to have known nothing of the delay in their being reſtored.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Tanner's collection in the Bodleian library, Oxon. I Intended to morrow to ſet forward for Oxon, and ordered ſeveral of the fellows of Magdalene to meet me there, on Tueſday and Wedneſday at the fartheſt; though I have not ſeen or heard of the preſident. But, about two of the clock, I received the incloſed order, which ſtops my journey for the preſent; and I ſhall accordingly iſſue forth my citation. All people's mouths are now full of praiſes for our order, to whom they ſay, they ſhall ever owe the preſervation of our religion. I beg the favour of your Grace's commands, which ſhall always be obeyed, by

Farnham Caſtle, Oct. 14, 1688. Your Grace's obedient ſon and ſervant, P. WINCHESTER."

The truth of the following anecdote is eſtabliſhed by collateral evidence. The delay in reſtoring the fellows, however, has been invariably brought as an irrefragable proof of James's deſign of retracting his conceſſions, upon hearing that the prince of Orange had been brought back by a ſtorm. This ſtorm certainly happened not till a day or two after Sunderland wrote the official letter, which brought the biſhop of Wincheſter ſo precipitately to London. Though the folly of James merits no favour, his misfortunes ought to command juſtice.

An

An anecdote concerning the ſame ſubject, from Mr. G. Clark, at Oxford. 1688. October.

"He (Mr. G. Clark) ſhewed me too Mr. Finch, warden of Allſouls's letter to him of the twenty-firſt of October, 1688, giving an account of a meſſenger coming to biſhop Mew, at nine the night before, after the biſhop was in bed, with an order from Sunderland to the biſhop to be at the council on the twenty-ſecond, at ten in the morning *. Upon which the biſhop ſet out on the twenty-firſt, without reſtoring the fellows of Magdalene College, though he was come down on purpoſe for it. No cauſe was mentioned in the order; but it was a general one to all the council, to be preſent at the enrolling the depoſitions of the birth of the prince of Wales. The meſſenger had gone to Farnham and thence followed the biſhop to Oxford. The King, when he ſaw the biſhop at London, aſked him if he had reſtored the fellows; and finding he had not, was very angry and ſent him down to do it on the twenty-fifth. The prince of Orange's fleet was drove back by a ſtorm, on the twenty-firſt of October, O. S. He came that evening into Helveotſluys, with eighty tranſports; and ſent orders next day to Admiral Herbert, to ſend the tranſports with the cavalry to him, and told him his reſolution to ſail the firſt fair wind. I read ſeveral of the prince's letters and lord admiral Herbert's letters proving this fact. So King James could have no notice of it to recall, as is pretended, the order he had given biſhop Mew to reſtore the fellows.

T. CARTE."

Carte's memorandum book, marked vol. xi. p. 133.

Another anecdote concerning the ſame ſubject, from Dr. Smith's manuſcripts.

The A. B. of Canterbury and ſeveral biſhops addreſſed the King; and, among other advices, recommended reſtoring the preſident and fellows of Magdalene College.

Carte's Extracts from Dr. Smith's manuſcripts, Oxon. Looſe papers, No. 12. Oct. 3.

* The following is probably a copy of the circular letters which Sunderland wrote to the biſhops at this time.

"*The earl of Sunderland to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.*

My Lord, Whitehall, 20th of October, 1688.

The King commands me to acquaint your Grace, that he deſires you and ſuch others of my lords the biſhops as are in town, ſhould attend him upon Monday next, at ten in the morning.

I am, &c.

SUNDERLAND P."

Tanner's collection, vol. xxviii. Oxon.

1688. October. On the twelfth, the King ſent for the biſhop of Winton, the viſitor, and ordered him to ſettle the ſociety regularly.

Oct. 16th. Citation put on the college gate, ordering the preſident, fellows, and all perſons concerned to meet the viſitor on November the ſecond. This was needleſs. The archbiſhop of Canterbury and other biſhops, uneaſy at the delay, ſignifying it to Winton, he came to Oxford on the twentieth of October. The fellows, expecting to be reſtored, had been ſome time waiting him. The King knew nothing of the delay; and, being minded to have a great aſſembly of lords, biſhops, &c. on the twenty-ſecond of October, to ſatisfy them about the prince of Wales's legitimacy, Winton was ſent for among others. An expreſs was ſent to Farnham, which followed the biſhop to Oxford and delivered to him the letter. The biſhop not knowing the meaning of it, and receiving the King's letter on Saturday night, ſet out next morning without reſtoring the fellows, who had deſired him to do it that morning before he went, it not requiring above an hour's time; and on his refuſal, they uſed rude expreſſions and behaviour, which put him in a paſſion and he bid his coachman drive away. The biſhop was ſent down on Wedneſday, and on the twenty-fifth, reſettled the college*.

The

* Prefixed to this extract there is an account of the beginning of this affair.

Carte's Extracts from Dr. Smith's MSS. Oxon. Looſe papers, No. 12.

Doctor Thomas Smith's account of the proceedings at Magdalene College.

On the twenty-ſixth of March, Eaſter-eve, at ten at night, doctor Younger came to doctor Smith, with accounts of an expreſs from lady Shattleworth of her father, doctor Clarke's death, at his houſe in Lancaſhire, recommending to him to apply to the chancellor for recommendations to the preſidentſhip, declining it himſelf.

On Sunday, the tenth of April, in the afternoon, Francis Bagſhaw, fellow of Magdalene college, by order of the vice-preſident and fellows, came to the doctor's lodgings with a petition to the King: "We have been credibly informed, that Mr. Anthony Farmer, who was never of our foundation, has obtained your Majeſty's recommendation to be preſident of this your Majeſty's college, in the room of Dr. H. Clarke, lately deceaſed. We do therefore, with all ſubmiſſion, as becomes your moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, moſt humbly repreſent to your ſacred Majeſty, that the ſaid Mr. Anthony Farmer is a perſon, in ſeveral reſpects, uncapable of that character, according to our founder's ſtatutes; and do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, as your Majeſty ſhall judge fitteſt in your princely wiſdom, either to leave us to the diſcharge of our duty and conſciences, according to your Majeſty's late moſt gracious declaration and our founder's ſtatute;

The prince of Orange ſet forth in his declaration, that he had been invited over "by divers lords both ſpiritual and temporal." James deſired 1688. October.

ſtatute; or to recommend ſuch a perſon as may be moſt ſerviceable to your Majeſty and this your Majeſty's college; and your Majeſty's petitioners ſhall ever pray."

This petition had no date, but was written and ſubſcribed the day before; Mr. Bagſhaw and the ſervant ſent up with him, having rode a great part of the night to reach London the next day in good time.

Dr. Smith ſigned it, and adviſed to preſent it to the King that evening as he went or came from the cabinet council. On which he produced an order from the vice-preſident and fellows, for delivering it to the earl of Sunderland, the lord preſident, with a letter from the biſhop of Winton to him, at which Smith expreſſed an hearty ſorrow. They went immediately to lord Sunderland's lodgings, who had juſt dined. They were admitted. They told him their buſineſs, and gave him the petition and viſitor's letter. As they were to wait on him again, he appointed Tueſday morning. Sir Theodore de Vaux told him next day, that no petition had been preſented to the King or mentioned in council the night before, which made him fear Sunderland had ſuppreſſed the petition.

Tueſday morning, April the twelfth, Smith and Bagſhaw went to lord Sunderland's lodgings, and Smith ſending in their names, word was brought them, that they muſt come the next day. They accordingly did ſo, in the morning. Sunderland, ſaid "Sir, I have delivered biſhop Winton's letter and your petition to the King. The King has ſent his letter to the college, and he expects to be obeyed; adding, he had nothing more to ſay." Smith adviſed Bagſhaw to ſet out that afternoon and carry back the anſwer to the college. He promiſed. But Smith having heard, the fellows had reſolved to proceed to election, on Friday the fifteenth, he went himſelf next day, Thurſday the fourteenth, in a flying coach to Oxford, where he arrived at nine. Bagſhaw either came not or was concealed till next morning. Smith propoſed to addreſs the King again. The vice-preſident agreed to it and the next two ſeniors, Fairfax and Pudſey; but all the reſt rejected it, and went to a preſent election. They choſe Doctor Hough. Dr. Clarke had been recommended by Charles the Second. Mr. Charnock, and Mr. R. had been ſo choſen a little before. Smith would have gone away, but was not ſuffered. Charnock and Thompſon went away. Hough and Meynard were returned by all the fellows, only two to thirteen. Hough was choſen. Meynard was ſent with Hough to the biſhop of Winton to be admitted and ſworn, which was done immediately. Petition to the duke of Ormonde to deſire his intereſt in favour of the election. His name was publiſhed, though he did not ſubſcribe it.

Smith had named two others better qualified. Hough's ſubmiſſion was ſigned by all the fellows except doctor Fairfax and doctor Smith, who had no occaſion, and owned by all the college except the under porter. Obadiah Walker and others were now upbraided for not daring to ſtand out. This made them evacuate their ſubmiſſion by an equivocal interpretation. The King talking with Dr. and the vice-chancellor, complained that the

1689. October. deſired the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, and other prelates then in London, to publiſh a denial of this declaration. They had all ſeveral objections againſt a publick diſavowal, and it has been hitherto a queſtion, whether they were at any pains to vindicate themſelves to him in private. But it appears from the following papers, that even the biſhop of London, though one of the nine perſons who ſigned the invitation to the prince of Orange, did not ſcruple to deny this, in the ſtrongeſt manner to the King.

The Biſhop of London to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury,—wants to know why the Biſhops are ſummoned to attend the King.

Original. Tanner's collection, vol. xxviii. Oxon.

" My Lord, Fulham, October 31, 1688.

I Returned home ſo late this evening that I could not hope of waiting upon the King this afternoon according to his commands. But, underſtanding that the reſt of your lordſhips were likewiſe ſent for, I beg to know, only by word of mouth, what the matter is, that I may attend accordingly. My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt dutiful ſervant,

H. LONDON."

Original.

Lord Middleton to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.—Summons to attend the King.

" My Lord, Whitehall, November 1ſt, 1688.

THE King commands me to acquaint your Grace, that he deſires to ſpeak with you at ten, to morrow morning; and that your Grace would bring with you ſuch others of my lords, the biſhops, as are in town. I am, My Lord,

Your Grace's moſt humble ſervant,

MIDDLETON."

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fellows had not petitioned him before the election; and the vice chancellor ſaying they had petitioned, " yes," ſaid the King, " after the election." The viſitor inquired of doctor Smith about the exact time.

Great collections were made for the expelled fellows. The princeſs of Orange ſent two hundred pounds from Holland.

Biſhop Parker dying, doctor Giffard, titular biſhop of Madura, was made preſident.

The Biſhop of London to ——*The Biſhops deny to the King that they invited over the Prince of Orange, as he aſſerted in his declaration.*

1688. November. Original. Tanner's collection, vol. xxviii. Oxon.

" My Lord, November, 1688.

HAVING ſome neceſſary buſineſs in Eſſex which calls me away to-morrow for two or three days, I thought it my duty to give you this account.

When I waited upon the King, by his command, on Wedneſday morning, the firſt of November, he told me that he had ſent for me, when he had nothing but the declaration of the ſtates of Holland. But that the declaration of the prince of Orange was now come to his hands, out of which he read to me that ſhort paragraph, of the lords temporal and ſpiritual inviting his highneſs over; upon which I told him, I was confident the reſt of the biſhops would as readily anſwer in the negative as myſelf; and his Majeſty was pleaſed then to ſay, he did believe us all innocent. Next he told me, he thought it requiſite we ſhould make ſome public declaration of our innocence in this matter, and likewiſe an abhorrence. I then deſired to ſee the declaration. But he refuſed. I told this matter ought to be conſidered. " Every one," ſays he, " is to anſwer for himſelf. But I will ſend for my lord of Canterbury, who ſhall call you together."

On Friday, the ſecond of November, I waited upon the King with my lord of Canterbury and others; when his Majeſty told him of the prince's declaration, and made the lord Preſton read it. Then he put the queſtion round, which was anſwered in the negative. The King deſired ſome ſuch denial ſhould be publiſhed, ſaying it would be for his ſervice. But he would not allow time to ſend for the biſhops at a diſtance. So his Grace told him, he would ſend for thoſe in and about town to conſult about it. Upon which, the King repeated twice, that we ſhould add our diſlike; which would be very much for his ſervice."

Reaſons

1688. November. Original. Ibid.

Reaſons why the Biſhops refuſed to vindicate themſelves in a public manner.

"FIRST, We humbly beſeech your Majeſty to receive what we offer in a favourable ſenſe, ſince we have done nothing that can juſtly deſerve miſconſtruction.

Secondly, We humbly conceive, that a general clauſe in a declaration not avowed nor publiſhed, is not a ſufficient ground for a man or number of men to vindicate themſelves, as if they were concerned in it. And further, if this declaration ſhould be owned and publiſhed by the prince of Orange, we beg leave to offer it, as our opinion to your Majeſty, that it would be a new thing and no good precedent, to put it in the power of a foreign and general accuſation to bring your Majeſty's ſubjects in particular, to a vindication of themſelves, as if they were regularly accuſed and legally tried, for a criminal correſpondence.

Thirdly, If your Majeſty ſhould think fit to make it puniſhable to read or communicate the declaration; then, by making ſuch an addreſs as is required, we ſhould do an act grounded upon a thing which muſt not be produced; and conſequently we ſhall not be at liberty to allege the reaſon of our doing it, which muſt unavoidably expoſe us, not only to cenſure, but ſuſpicion.

Fourthly, As we have in all times adhered to our duty and allegiance, we are the leſs willing to do any thing now, which may diſtinguiſh us as men marked with a particular character of ſuſpicion, ſince we think our loyalty leſs blemiſhed by not being called in queſtion, than it would be by the cleareſt vindication that can be made of it upon this occaſion.

Fifthly, We beg leave to obſerve to your Majeſty, that by an addreſs from a few of us, who are now in town, without the concurrence of the greater number who are abſent, it would look to the world, as if the biſhops (who we hope are very well united) were of different opinions; or that we, who are now here, had more particular reaſons of a vindication than the reſt; which makes it reaſonable for us to be unwilling to come within the danger of ſuch an interpretation.

Sixthly, We conſider that the clauſe in the declaration joineth the lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſo that, if it has any meaning, it muſt intend, that there is a concurrence of many of both orders to invite them to this attempt, which would make it more imperfect for us, even though all

all the biſhops were here to make a ſeparate vindication, where the accuſation is joined and comprehends the temporal lords in it. So that, if any notice is to be taken of it, it can be done no where ſo naturally or with ſo good effect as in parliament; which, whenever your Majeſty ſhall think fit to call, we reſolve to do our duty, and to employ our utmoſt endeavours for the good of the church and ſtate, and for preventing the miſeries which now ſeem to threaten theſe diſtracted kingdoms, and to acquit ourſelves in all things which ſhall be there tranſacted, as becomes, &c." 1688. Nov.

George (probably Sir George) Mackenzie to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. —Hopes his Grace will diſavow the Prince of Orange's Declaration.

Original. Tanner's Coll. vol xxviii. Oxon.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

WE are ſtrangely ſurpriſed with the prince of Orange's declaration, which ſeems, upon the miſinformation of fanaticks, fled to Holland for to have accuſed all ſuch as have ſerved in the government of church and ſtate here as criminal. We hope the worthy and pious prelates of the church of England will own the true intereſt of government and their friends; eſpecially ſuch as have never expoſed themſelves nor their religion to ſale, and whom neither fear nor flattery has influenced. I refer the ſtate of our affairs to this bearer, who can make your Grace underſtand them as well as if you had been in employment here; nor will there be any thing to be added, when you ſhall ſhortly ſee,

Your Grace's moſt humble ſervant,

GEO. MACKENZIE.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury diſavows his ever inviting over the Prince of Orange.

Original. Tanner's Collection, vol. xxviii. Oxon.

WHEREAS there hath been of late a general apprehenſion, that his highneſs the prince of Orange hath an intention to invade this kingdom, in hoſtile manner; and, as 'tis ſaid, makes this one reaſon of his attempt, that he hath been thereunto invited, by ſeveral Engliſh lords, both ſpiritual and temporal; I William, biſhop of Canterbury, do, for

1688. Nov. for my own diſcharge, profeſs and declare, that I never gave him any ſuch invitation, by word, writing, or otherwiſe. Nor, do I know, nor can believe, that any of my reverend brethren, the biſhops, have in any ſuch way invited him. And all this I aver, upon my word; and, in atteſtation thereof, have ſubſcribed my name here, at Lambeth, the 3d day of November, 1688.

W. C.*

The truth of the following anecdotes muſt reſt on the credit of thoſe by whom they are related. It is but juſtice to Churchill to obſerve, that James himſelf mentions nothing of that Lord's deſign to aſſaſſinate him, though he was convinced of his project of placing him in the hands of his rival.

Lord Churchill ſuſpected of a deſign to aſſaſſinate James II.

Carte's MS. looſe papers, marked No. 12.

1. "Sir George Hewett's death-bed confeſſion of lord Churchill's intention to kill James II. communicated to Mr. Carte, in a letter from Alexander Malet of Combe Flory, dated 3d Sept. 1745;—with James's opinion of lord Churchill and the earl of Danby, and Sir Phelim O'Neal's confeſſion, about his appending an old ſeal to a forged commiſſion from Charles I."

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Malet to Mr. Carte.

Original. "— I Have incloſed the thing you mentioned about biſhop Sheridan. You'll ſee two accounts, of different dates, which I found in different pocket books; but what relates to Sir George Hewit's confeſſion is juſt the ſame, only in the firſt I took the perſon to be ſtabb'd or piſtoled to be Maine, but the latter account fixes it on the King."

Ibid. *Sir George Hewit's confeſſion, extracted by Mr. Malet from his uncle's pocket-book.*

"November 19th, 1709, Dr. Sheridan, the deprived biſhop of Kilmore, in Ireland, told me, at his houſe in Sackville-ſtreet, in Piccadilly,

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Carte's Extracts from Dr. Smith's MS. looſe papers, No. 12.

* Archbiſhop Sancroft in his laſt minutes, Mr. Nichols, his gentleman, being by, "I pray God Almighty for the poor and ſuffering church, which is almoſt deſtroyed by this new revolution, and I beſeech God to bleſs the King, Queen, and Prince, and in his due time to reſtore them to their juſt and undoubted rights."

that

that he ſaw, ſeveral years ago, at the old earl of Peterburgh's houſe, the death-bed confeſſion of Sir George Hewit, (made lord Hewit by King William) who died at Cheſter, of a ſickneſs he had contracted at Dundalk camp, in Ireland. In this confeſſion he declared, that nothing troubled his conſcience more than the treacherous part he had acted againſt King James; and particularly, among other things, he mentioned a meeting at Mr. Hatton Compton's lodgings, in St. Alban's-ſtreet, at the landing of the prince of Orange; where were preſent himſelf, the lord Churchill, the biſhop of London, colonel Kirk, and others, whoſe names the biſhop could not call to mind. Sir George affirmed, that, at the meeting, it was debated, how they ſhould beſt further the deſigns of the prince of Orange; and defeat thoſe of King James, whoſe ſucceſs they were ſenſible would be the ruin of themſelves and their religion. It was, therefore, then reſolved, that King James ſhould be ſecured and delivered up to the prince of Orange, which they thought might beſt be done when William Maine was ſtaff-officer in waiting. But if Maine ſhould oppoſe it, then my Lord Churchill *was to piſtol him or ſtab him*; and it was alſo thought adviſeable, that my lord Rocheſter ſhould attend the King, in his march towards the prince, who was thought a fit perſon to betray his councils to the prince of Orange. This confeſſion of Sir George Hewit was ſigned by his own hand and ſeal; and tranſmitted to the old earl of Peterburgh, that he might ſend it to King James, which he did accordingly, as the biſhop aſſured me. 1688.

"At another time, the biſhop told me, he ſaw an original letter of King James to the aforeſaid earl of Peterburgh; in which he wrote, that (being ſolicited to pardon his ſon and daughter, the prince and princeſs of Denmark, with others) he could never have a good opinion of them, or put any confidence in them. The marquis of Halifax, he ſaid, he could eaſily forgive. But as for the earl of Danby (who was called in the letter the old midwife) he declared, he could never deſerve his pardon, being ſo treacherous in his nature, and one that loved only himſelf; and ſo likewiſe for lord Churchill, he ſaid, his crimes were ſo black they could never be forgiven.

"This account I found written in a pocket-book, with my uncle's own hand; and, till I found the following account in another pocket-

1688. book, I thought the perſon *to be piſtoled or ſtabbed* was Maine. But the following account, which you will obſerve was dated two years after the above, makes it quite clear."

The ſame account extracted by Mr. Malet from another pocket-book, with Sir Phelim O'Neale's confeſſion of his appending an old ſeal to a forged commiſſion from Charles I.

" Dr. Sheridan, the deprived biſhop of Kilmore, told me, (May 20th 1711) that he was preſent at the execution of Sir Phelim O'Neale, in Ireland, for being the chief actor in the Iriſh maſſacre; and that colonel Hewſon coming toward the ladder, Sir Phelim made his publick acknowledgments to him, in a grateful manner, for the civil treatment he had met with, during the whole courſe of his impriſonment; and only wiſhed, that his life had been taken from him in a more honourable manner. To this colonel Hewſon anſwered, that he might ſave his life, if he pleaſed, only by declaring, at that preſent, to the people, that his firſt taking arms was by virtue of a commiſſion, under the broad ſeal of King Charles the Firſt. But Sir Phelim replied, he would not ſave his life by ſo baſe a lie, by doing ſo great an injury to that prince.—'Tis true, he ſaid, that he might the better perſuade the people to come unto him, he took off an old ſeal from an old deed, and clapt it to a commiſſion he had forged; and ſo perſuaded the people that what he did was by the King's authority. But he never really had any commiſſion from the King. This the Biſhop told me, he heard him ſay. The ſaid biſhop likewiſe aſſured me, that, being well acquainted with the old earl of Peterburgh, and often with him, he ſhewed him, at one of his viſits, Sir George Hewitt's original confeſſion, with his hand and ſeal to it (which was afterwards ſent to King James in France). In the confeſſion, the ſaid Sir George Hewitt (who had been made a lord by King William) begged pardon of God and King James, for his diſloyalty and rebellion; and declared in it, that the night before King James went to Saliſbury, the earl of Rocheſter and lord Churchill (now duke of Marlborough), the biſhop of London, (Stewart, alſo, who is now a general officer) (as he remembers) and himſelf, with others, met at Mr. Hatton Compton's houſe, in St. Alban's-ſtreet; and there it was debated among them, how they ſhould do the beſt ſervice to the prince of Orange; and, at length,

it was reſolved, that the earl of Rocheſter ſhould attend the King at Saliſbury; but in order to betray all his councils to the prince of Orange. And the lord Churchill ſhould endeavour to ſeize King James's perſon, and carry him off to the Prince. But if he could not do that, he ſhould piſtol him, or ſtab him, when he was in the coach with him. This the biſhop has proteſted to me (more than once or twice) he ſaw written in the confeſſion of Sir George Hewitt. 1688.

2. " *Lord Churchill's intention to ſtab King James II. from an account given by colonel Ambroſe Norton of a converſation with Sir George Hewit.*" Carte's Memorandum-book, marked ⊕ vol. xii. 4to.

" Soon after the coronation of the prince of Orange, having ſome diſcourſe with Sir George Hewit (then newly made a lord) about the late revolution, he told me, when King James was at Saliſbury, if he had gone to Warminſter, as he had promiſed, his buſineſs had been done there. He and captain Cornelius Wood, who was then preſent, ſaid Sir George, he and I had done his buſineſs; for that Wood was to be exempt of the guard, and I ſhould have commanded it, and the lord Churchill would have gone in the King's coach, being in waiting, with the gold-headed ſtick. Kirk, Lanier, ſaid Sir George, and many others of our party being there, and moſt of the guards, and army, that were poſted there, right for our purpoſe; we were reſolved to carry him a priſoner to the prince of Orange: but if Dumbarton, Sarsfield, or any other of the papiſt officers ſhould endeavour to reſcue him, then, ſaid Sir George, little Wood and I, that were on horſeback, were to have ſhot him; and if that had miſſed, then lord Churchill, that was provided with a pocket-piſtol and a dagger, would have ſhot or ſtabbed him in the coach; for there was no other way of ſaving themſelves after attempting the King. But, as it pleaſed God, ſaith the informant, his Majeſty's noſe very happily fell a bleeding, by which his going to Warminſter was prevented."

3. " *Extract from Mr. Carte's account of a converſation with Mr. Eraſmus Lewis, concerning a deſign of aſſaſſinating King James at Warminſter.*" Mr. Carte's Memorandum-book, vol. viii. 4to. marked ☩ 8

1688. "Eraſmus Lewis * told me at the ſame time, (this very day, April 10th, 1749) that Lord de la Mere, and E. Warrington, had been in the ſecret of the deſign of aſſaſſinating King James the 2d at Warminſter, at the review; and told it frequently, that when at the conſult among them, about executing it, ſeveral methods were propoſed, the duke of Marlborough ſaid,—I ſee plainly theſe will not do;—I muſt ſtab him myſelf in the chariot, as I go with him."

Carte's Memorandum-book, vol. xi. 4to. p. 34.

4. "Mr. Dillon † ſaid, at the ſame time, that old prince Vaudemont ‡, who had the entire confidence and friendſhip of the prince of Orange, and was with him, in the ſecret of the Revolution, has told him, that, in talking of the Engliſh affairs and generals, the prince of Orange told him, the duke of Marlborough had the beſt talents for a general of any man in England. But that he was a vile man, and he hated him; for though he could profit of treaſons, he could not bear the traitor."

King William's treatment of the Earl of Marlborough.

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 35.

April 22d, 1724, Mr. Dillon told me, as he had done ſeveral times before, that he had lived in the duke's houſe, and was put under his care, for near a year before the Revolution. That, for three months after it, he uſed to be every day at St. James's (being ſent for up to town, by the duke, from the regiment Mr. Dillon was in, which was quartered at Lewes, in Suſſex) being very intimate with Mr. Keppel, and going often with the duke. That he never ſaw any Engliſh nobleman dine with the prince of Orange, but only the duke of Schomberg, who was always placed at his right hand, and his Dutch general officers. That the Engliſh noblemen, that were there, ſtood behind the prince of Orange's chair; but never were admitted to eat and ſit. He particularly mentioned the duke of Marlborough and the earl of Clarendon; but they went away, when the dinner was half over. That the prince of Orange would not look at the duke of Marlborough; and that he

* He was under ſecretary to the earl of Oxford, and is frequently mentioned in Dr. Swift's letters.

† He was a general in the French ſervice, and an active agent for the Chevalier de St. George.

‡ He was a natural ſon of the duke of Lorraine's.

never

never ſaw a man ſo neglected, as the duke was. That, when they came home, the ducheſs would aſk Mr. Dillon, what treatment the duke had met with; and, on hearing the account, ſaid to the duke, it was what he deſerved. He ought to have conſidered how good his ſettlement was, ſome months before. A reproach, which the c——ſs of S——ch ſaid then, was not ſo proper for her grace to make; ſince to her knowledge, it was the ducheſs that debauched the princeſs Anne, and perſuaded her to that defection, from the King, which ruined him. Mr. Dillon ſaid, that he was there ſeveral days together, before he ever heard the prince of Orange ſpeak a word; and, aſking Keppel, whether he never ſpoke, he ſaid, that he talked enough, at night, over his bottle, when he was got with his friends. 1688. Nov.

Albeville to Lord Sunderland.

Nov. 16th, 1688.

BY the ſeveral advertiſements ſent to the prince of Orange, by expreſs boats and by men ſent to him, that the ſea-ports in the North were well provided, and good orders given in all thoſe parts, he was adviſed from England to land in the Weſt, where he might be aſſured, towns and men ſufficiently would declare for him, and ſurprize the court; not being expected to land there. Letters from both the courts of England and France, aſſuring he would land at Yarmoth, or ſomewhere in the North; and, finding no man of war at Calais and Dunkirk, and having ſome aſſurance that the King's fleet would not engage, divers captains having declared they would not fight againſt their religion, as they have been informed, made them reſolve to ſail towards the Weſt; and, it is ſaid, to land ſome men in the iſle of Wight, to keep Portſmouth blocked up; and, by the manner they will diſpoſe of their fleet, and reinforce it conſtantly with freſh ſhips, they will interrupt all communication with France, and be ready there to invade it, jointly with England, in the ſpring. This is their language, as exorbitant as your lordſhip may think it, and as impracticable. Extracts from Mr. Pepys's MS. in Carte's Papers, vol. xi. quarto.

Brackel, whoſe ſhip of ſeventy guns was leaky, two men of war more fitted, and one fitting, near ready, with ſeven victuallers not ready, having

1688. Nov. ing been left behind; it was thought the prince ſtayed a while for them beyond the banks. But he waited there for the return of one he ſent to England, who came that very night. The people of Roterdam, and in all the ſea-ports, began to exclaim and murmur againſt the prince, for loſing ſo much time, ſince the wind and weather proved ſo favourable; for they think they will be received with open arms every where.

On Friday the tenth, vice admiral Allemonde returned to Helvoetſluys, from the fleet, to take care of the ſhips remaining; and one captain flag to take the command of the ſhip that is fitting. On Wedneſday, November the third, two veſſels were diſpatched, with above fifty thouſand of the manifeſtoes of the prince of Orange; one into the Weſt, another into the North, I believe into Scotland; and one Robinſon in a ketch, and another, employed for ſcouts.

A yaucht of Mr. Hugh Owen, in Wales, came from Milford-haven to Roterdam, about two months ſince, pretending to be laden with coals; but brought eight cheſts of ſilver, and has lain at the Brill, ever ſince the fleet has been ready; and ſo ſoon as it ſailed, went to Wales to carry advice.

Sir W. Waller was expreſsly ſent for, by the prince of Orange, to Caſſel, and embarked with the fleet; to make uſe of him, in his free parliament, I believe. Eighteen boats, with above ſeven hundred men, arrived at Roterdam, on Saturday, the thirteenth of November. Two regiments more are expected; and the ſhips are ready to take them on board. Mareſchal Homieres is returned to Liſle, with ſome companies of the King of France's guards, which will facilitate the parting of theſe men.

The prince's manifeſto is now ſold publickly, and in all languages, as well as this incloſed fine picture; which infamous liberty they may as well take, as the prince of Orange to ſpeak, in his manifeſto, ſo baſely and falſely, of the great belly of the Queen, and of the ſuppoſed prince of Wales.

The packet boats are now ſuffered to go freely from hence.

The

1688. Nov.

The ſame to the ſame.

Hague, Nov. 26th.

THE prince of Orange's friends, not ſatisfied with the States reſolve, for nine frigates to clear the channel of privateers, inſiſted with the admiralty to let out immediately all the men of war they could, to ſecure a communication with the prince and fleet; and a paſſage for four or five thouſand men more, three hundred horſe, proviſions for the fleet, and a ſhip of ammunition and arms. So all the ſhips ready were ordered to ſail to the Maeſe. The States General conſented to it. Two regiments are to embark at Helvoetſluys. The States wanted the fleet back; but could not tell how to ſend ſuccours to the prince; the King's fleet lying on the way.

Van Citters writes to the States, that Dartmouth had but ſeven or eight ſhips that would fight againſt the prince of Orange; the reſt would ſtand neuter. That the Queen and the prince of Wales were to go to Portſmouth, where ſeventy thouſand pounds were already ſent. That the King could not march with his artillery, within ten miles of the prince of Orange. All falſe.

Some of the States are in great perplexity, for the prince of Orange. Others wiſh he may never return; and would ſpeak reſolutely, if the French appeared powerful on the frontiers, or he had met a defeat at ſea. I have not received the King's ſenſe, on the reſolution of the States to aſſiſt the prince; notwithſtanding the reiterated aſſurances they gave his Majeſty, by their ambaſſador, of maintaining the peace. Strange perfidy!

A letter from Colonel Ambroſe Norton.

He gives a very copious and particular account of the deſertion of the troops to the prince of Orange, as well as of the means which had been uſed to ſeduce them from their allegiance to James. He was major to the duke of St. Albans' regiment of dragoons, and was made lieutenant colonel by James, for having refuſed to ſerve the prince, when he had been a priſoner in his camp.

Carte's Memorandum-book, marked ⊕ vol. xii. 4to.

SIR,

1688. Nov.

SIR,

AT the laſt camp which King James had at Hounſlow-heath, which was in part of July and Auguſt, 1688, the earl of Dumbarton, one of his Majeſty's lieutenant generals, ſent for one of the field officers of every regiment, that were Roman Catholics; and the majors of the regiments, where neither the colonels nor lieutenant colonels were Roman Catholics; and his lordſhip told me, and as I preſume, and heard, he did all the reſt, that his Majeſty had commanded him to ſend for me, to give him a liſt of all the officers and ſoldiers in the regiment that were Roman Catholics; which I was ordered forthwith to do, becauſe his Majeſty expected an account of it from his lordſhip. The number of Roman Catholics was then very inconſiderable in our regiment; being but one lieutenant, a quarter-maſter, and thirteen troopers.

This order proved of fatal conſequence; and was a very great furtherance of the buſineſs of our aſſociating officers, who, daily and openly, in the camp, aggravated it, with all the rancour and malice imaginable; affirming, with vollies of oaths, that it was in order to turn out all the proteſtant officers and ſoldiers in the army, and to have none but Roman Catholics in military employments. That, in order thereto, the Iriſh regiments were ſent for hither, and the Engliſh would be exchanged, at ſeveral times, and be reformed in Ireland, that not a proteſtant would be left in them.

This was ſo credited, that it brought over many to their party, as I have often heard. But being confined by you, in this relation, to ſend you nothing but mere matter of fact, to my own knowledge, I muſt confine myſelf more narrowly to what related to the duke of St. Albans' regiment, in which I ſerved.

His Grace, both before and at the time of the late great revolution, being in France, his lieutenant colonel, Thomas Langſton, having the command of the regiment, and being deeply concerned in the aſſociation, was very diligent to aggravate the aforeſaid order, with all the ſpleen and rancour that malice could invent, to moſt of the officers and ſoldiers of the regiment; and ſeldom failed expreſſing it, under ſeveral heads; the truth of which, he affirmed, with vollies of oaths, to be to his own knowledge.

Firſt,

Firſt, That, in a very ſhort time, the King would not have one proteſtant officer or ſoldier in his whole army; and that he had entered into a cloſe league with France, to have all the proteſtants throats cut, in England and Scotland. 1688. Nov.

Secondly, That the prince of Orange had his own taylor, that was a papiſt, and his boy, in cuſtody, that were hired by King James and the earl of Sunderland, father Petre and Sir Nicholas Butler, to poiſon the prince of Orange's waiſtcoat, which was diſcovered by the boy, the very morning the prince was to have worn it; and, alſo, that his maſter had confeſſed the ſame.

Thirdly, That the prince of Orange had alſo in his cuſtody, the true mother of the prince of Wales, who had ſufficiently proved the ſame in Holland, and would do the like here.

Fourthly, That King James, ſo ſoon as his army was modelled to his purpoſe, would ſet up a maſs in every church in England and Scotland; and he that was not a thorough papiſt would be hanged, quartered, or burnt.

With theſe diſcourſes, he frighted and wheedled ſeveral officers and ſoldiers to undertake with him, in his deſign of deſerting his Majeſty, who had made him lieutenant colonel; and, if I have not been miſinformed, gave him twice money to pay his debts, under which he was very uneaſy. The further to confirm his officers to effect what was deſigned, he introduced ſome of them into the company of the Treaſon-club, as it was commonly called, at the Roſe Tavern, in Covent-Garden, where they frequently met to conſult with the lord Colcheſter, Mr. Thomas Wharton, colonel Talmaſh, colonel Godfrey, Mr. William Jephſon, and many others of their party; and there it was reſolved, that the regiment under the foreſaid lieutenant colonel Langſton's command, ſhould deſert entire, as they did, on Sunday,—November, 1688. The which was the better effected, becauſe the lord Churchill, one of the lieutenant generals, had ordered thoſe regiments to go on the advanced poſt neareſt the enemy. The day before we deſerted, a private cabal was held at Saliſbury, to agree on the time and manner of doing it. Of which cabal was the lord Cornbury, colonel of the Royal regiment of dragoons, Sir Francis Compton, lieutenant colonel to the duke of Berwick's,

1688. Nov. formerly the earl of Oxford's regiment, lieutenant-colonel Langſton, commandant of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, and ſome few others of their truſty aſſociating officers; and, among the reſt, it was agreed, to put their deſign in execution very early next morning; and not to intruſt it to lieutenant-colonel Sutherland, who commanded Sir John Fenwick's regiment; but to deceive him and all the reſt of the officers that were not in their intereſt.

Orders were given, at the ſetting of the watch, being at ten at night, that the quartermaſters and adjutants of the foreſaid three regiments ſhould wait for the coming of the poſt; by which, they gave out, they expected marching orders. They, accordingly, did ſo. About twelve, the poſt came in, and colonel Langſton alſo, who had, according to the agreement of their late conſult, the counterfeit ſham marching orders, from Mr. Blathwayt, ſecretary of war. He called for the bag, before the officers, and broke it open; and conveyed the orders ſo cunningly amongſt the letters, that none of thoſe diſcovered it, whom he had employed to help him to look for them. He immediately carried them to lord Cornbury, the commandant; and, thereupon, orders were preſently given out for the regiments to be ready to march, at five o'clock the next morning, towards the enemy; and, the better to diſguiſe the matter, it was given out, that ſeveral other regiments were to come immediately into our quarters, and refreſh themſelves and follow us. Two days and a night we marched very hard, not keeping the direct road, and had very little time allowed us for reſt; ſo fearful were they of being purſued. In the march, they were very apprehenſive that the earl of Feverſham, the duke of Berwick, or Sir John Fenwick, might overtake them, and countermand their march; which, if any of them had, or any other general officer, that was not of their party, they were reſolved to have ſhot them, as both lieutenant colonel Langſton and others told me, when they were got into the prince of Orange's quarters; and in order to it, Francis Langſton, captain-lieutenant to lord Cornbury's troop of dragoons, and brother to lieutenant-colonel Langſton, commanded an advanced party of dragoons in the front, and lieutenant-colonel Thomas Langſton another in the rear, of the three regiments that he drew out of his own troop, which he pretended were to keep the men up together; but were, in truth, to have executed the aforeſaid deſign.

In

In our march, the earl of Abingdon, Sir Walter Clerges, and ſeveral others, came in to Sir Francis Compton, under pretence of being voluntiers with him, and marched with him to Axminſter, within ſix miles of the enemy's quarters, where we halted the moſt part of that day; and, in the evening, it was given out, that they had diſcovered a deſign of the enemy's beating up our quarters. In order to prevent it, orders were given out for our being in readineſs, in the evening, to beat up theirs; and, accordingly, at the time, the trumpet ſounded, and the dragoon drums beat to horſe. After which, having ſat three or four hours on horſeback, which was chiefly occaſioned by major Littleton of the duke of Berwick's regiment, and major Clifford of lord Cornbury's regiment, who had information given them by ſome of their ſoldiers, that the pretence of beating up the enemy's quarters was but a ſham; and that it was a deſign to deſert the King; aſſuring them, that ſome of their fellow-ſoldiers had been perſuading them to go in along with them. Upon which the two majors ſo threatened Sir Francis Compton and the lord Cornbury, that though they were the two forwardeſt officers, for deſerting with the regiments at Saliſbury, yet Sir Francis Compton hung an arſe, and ſneaked away back to Saliſbury, with almoſt his whole regiment; and lord Cornbury ſtole away with his. Lieutenant-colonel Heyford, who was more reſolute, ſtaid, with moſt of his own troop and ſome few others, not exceeding fifty in the whole. The regiment marched back to Saliſbury, under major Clifford, to whom his Majeſty gave the regiment. The whole time of being on horſeback at Axminſter, the duke of St. Albans's regiment was drawn up in a yard and back ſtreet; and, at ſuch a diſtance from the other two regiments, and being very dark, that they knew nothing of what happened to the other two regiments. 1688. Nov.

About ten at night, being the twelfth of November, colonel Langſton came to the head of the regiment, and commanded them to march, which accordingly they did; and, about twelve, we marched into Honiton, the enemy's quarters; where, inſtead of beating them up, we were received as friends, to the great ſurprize of thoſe that were not intruſted with the buſineſs. Brigadier-general Talmaſh commanded in chief, where his regiment of Scots were drawn up; as alſo ſmall parties of horſe of the prince of Orange's guarde du corps, Mr. Bentinck's re-

1688. Nov. giment, and a party of Gray's dragoons. There were no regular quarters aſſigned for the deſerters that night, but were all ordered to ſhift for themſelves, and to be on horſeback, near the market-croſs, at eight next morning. Every officer had time given him, till then, to give his anſwer, whether he was willing to ſtay with the prince of Orange or not; and thoſe that would, had all manner of encouragement, and promiſe of preferment. Thoſe that were not willing, were promiſed leave to return, with their horſes, arms, and baggage. But, before the time was expired, their anſwer was demanded; and major Ambroſe Norton, lord John Metham, cornet Archibald Clincard, cornet Dennis Aſhburnham, and quartermaſter David Brady, upon their refuſal to embrace the ſervice, were all made cloſe priſoners.

At the time appointed, the regiment was on horſeback; and the confined officers window being juſt againſt them, they could ſee what paſt; which was colonel Langſton riding through the ranks bareheaded, haranguing and perſuading the ſoldiers to ſtay with him. But about thirty-three refuſing to ſerve, were immediately ſent priſoners to the main guard, which was kept in the market-houſe. So that the number of ſoldiers that embraced the ſervice, beſides officers, were, of the duke of Berwick's regiment, twenty-five mounted and two on foot; of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, one hundred and one mounted, and fifty dragoons; in all, one hundred and ſeventy-eight: a very inconſiderable number to make ſo much noiſe as it did through the kingdom, of three regiments deſerting in a clap. But they, being the firſt that broke the ice, valued themſelves extremely upon it, and reviled the King their maſter, whoſe money and commiſſions they went off with in their pockets, with ſuch baſe and opprobrious language, as is too indecent to be repeated. They were ſo far from keeping their promiſe, of letting the officers and ſoldiers return, with their horſes, arms, and baggage, that they plundered them of all they had, that only excepted which was on their backs; and with ſuch inhumanity to their fellow-officers, that they would not ſuffer them to change their foul linen for clean, nor let them have their papers and money, or any thing elſe, that was in their portmanteaus. The forementioned time, that the officers had given them to conſider, whether they would embrace the ſervice or not, gave them opportunity to inform themſelves in what condition the enemy was; and

and the account given them, by ſeveral officers that came over with the prince, was, that they were between thirteen and fourteen thouſand. But that they were in a very ill condition with their horſes, by reaſon of the great ſtorms at ſea; and that the prince of Orange had long expected his friends in the army, not ſetting a value upon the country's coming in to him. That this would be extreme welcome news to his highneſs at Exeter; and that we had exactly nicked the time: for, had we not come when we did, he was reſolved to embark at eight next morning, and go back, which had been the reſult of three councils of war. But juſt at the breaking up, it was carried to ſtay twenty-four hours longer, to try if any of the army would come in; and ſo little hopes had they, till this party came in, that the prince had not ſo much as brought his cannon aſhore. 1688. Nov.

The Scotch ſoldiers of colonel Talmaſh's regiment, that had the guard of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, treated them very civilly, and gave them drink, and drank King James's health to them, on their knees; and they declared to them their great diſlike of the ſervice they were engaged in. They ſaid they were all one King's ſubjects, and were very ſorry it was their fortune to be in the ſervice againſt their own King. They complained of their hardſhips and ſmallneſs of their pay; and they wiſhed they were ſo happy as to be in the King's ſervice; and, if he would but pardon them, it ſhould not be long before they ſhould be with us: that they knew a great many more that were of their minds, if they were ſure of their pardon and of being employed.

Many perſuaſive arguments, with great promiſes of favour and advancement, were often repeated to the officers, in the time of their confinement, to induce them to embrace the prince of Orange's ſervice; and, among many others, they aſſured them, that the prince's coming into England was upon the earneſt requeſt and invitation of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, the army, navy, and moſt conſiderable body of the nation, to redeem them from ſlavery and popery. They alſo, with many oaths and vows, aſſured major Norton, that a lieutenant-general, under whom he had ſerved, was the deepeſt in the aſſociation, and was the firſt who propoſed to them the undertaking, and had faithfully promiſed them, and ſent the prince word, that he would be there that night or to-morrow morning at fartheſt; and not he only, but many others alſo, the moſt

1688. Nov. moſt conſiderable officers in the army, and with the better part, if not all, their regiments. The duke of Grafton's foot guards and the old regiment were certain to come in to them; and that, in a few days, we ſhould ſee the King the moſt deſerted prince that ever lived. Some of the deſerting officers wrote to their friends what progreſs they had made, to encourage them to come in to them; and with theſe letters and a paſs, after three days confinement, they diſmiſſed the officers, and, ſoon after, the ſoldiers. But, within an hour or two, they ſent a party of twenty dragoons after them; upon what deſign the late priſoners know not. But they followed them a day's journey, and lay but three miles ſhort of the officers; only cornet Aſhburnham and two troopers, going a-foot, lay ſhort, and fell into their hands. They took from them their money and the cornet's cloak, which was all that was left them before, but juſt the clothes on their backs. They told them their buſineſs was with monſieur, their major, and were very inquiſitive after him. But, hearing no account of him, they returned back.

Theſe officers and ſoldiers thus coming away, ſo much diſcouraged many of them, that they ſneaked away again. His Majeſty and the earl of Feverſham, his lieutenant-general, received the officers and ſoldiers, that were ſo trepanned into the enemy's quarters, and returned to their duty, moſt extraordinary kindly, at Saliſbury; and, after the major had acquainted his Majeſty with all the diſcoveries he had made, by being in the enemy's quarters, which were further confirmed by ſeveral letters which fell into his majeſty's hands, he was graciouſly pleaſed to make the major lieutenant-colonel of the duke of St. Albans's regiment, and advanced all the reſt of the officers, and gave to each two hundred days pay to equip themſelves, and alſo five pounds to each trooper; and orders were given, that the corporals ſhould be made quarter-maſters; and as many of the troopers as were fit, and vacancies, to be made corporals; and each to have twenty pounds more to remount him, and the regiment recruited. The officers and ſoldiers received all this money at Saliſbury, without any deduction of poundage: ſo affectionately kind was the King to thoſe of his army as did their duty; which, together with many of the regiment that were not able to get up, by reaſon of the hardneſs of the march, made up above eighty ſoldiers, who were afterwards at Highgate. But, by reaſon of

his Majeſty's going away, that regiment was not recruited; lieutenant-colonel Norton paying conſtant attendance on his Majeſty, even to his laſt departure from Rocheſter. A corporal or two, and ſeveral trumpeters, that had marched a-foot from Honiton to Saliſbury, followed him to Rocheſter, to tender their ſervice there. But, it being then too late, they returned home to their own country, which was Derbyſhire, where they had been raiſed by the earl of Scarſdale. Several of the loyal ſoldiers were of the Peak. Had not theſe things gone on ſo faſt, theſe ſoldiers had diſcovered a ſpy or decoy, in their march from Honiton to Saliſbury, which might have been of ſervice to his Majeſty. 1688. November.

The ſpy treated them very kindly with all that the place afforded, and inſinuated himſelf very much into them, under pretence of deſiring to be a trooper with them; and, after having drunk very hard with them, deſired to know what pay they had. When he was told two ſhillings and ſixpence a day, he ſaid it was very ſmall; and that he had been at Exeter, and was there preſſed five ſhillings a day to be a trooper, with two leather pouches full of money, to buy him a better horſe. By this diſcourſe, they believed he deſigned to decoy them back again; after which, he ſlipt from them. But they, acquainting their officers with it, were ordered by them to make inquiry after him, which they were very diligent in doing; and, after ſome ſhort time, found him attempting the ſame thing on the foot guards, where, by order, he was confined on the main guard in the ſeſſions-houſe at Saliſbury. Notice whereof being given to lieutenant-colonel Langſton, he went and examined him there; and, reflecting on what he had ſaid to the troopers, and by ſome papers found in his pocket, it appeared that he was a captain or maſter of ſhip, a Taunton man, and undoubtedly what he was ſuſpected to be. Lieutenant-colonel Norton acquainting the King with it, he ordered one of the ſecretaries of ſtate to go and examine him again, and commanded the lieutenant-colonel to attend him; which being accordingly done, he was convinced that he was one of the prince of Orange's decoys or ſpies; and gave him till next morning, about eight, to confeſs or die. But that night, the lord Churchill, who had been till near twelve in his Majeſty's bedchamber at a council of war, deſerting, with ſome others, his Majeſty altering all his meaſures, and retiring from Saliſbury, our ſpy was loſt; or, at leaſt, I never heard

of

1688. November. of him. Theſe are all the remarkable paſſages that I can remember to have been acted, by the duke of St. Albans's regiment, relating to the late great REVOLUTION.

James II. *to Lord Dartmouth.——Bad condition of his affairs.—Orders concerning the fleet.*

Pepys's Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxon, vol. xii.

"*A copy of the King's letter, in his own hand, to Lord Dartmouth.*"

Whitehall, Nov. 29th, 1688.

"YOU will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what paſſes here, and the ill condition my affairs are in on ſhore; ſo I ſhall ſay nothing concerning them. I am ſorry you have been ſo roughly uſed by the winds at ſea. This is a bad time of year for any action on that inconſtant element. The preſervation of the ſquadron under your command, is of the laſt conſequence. Therefore, pray conſider well which is the beſt way to do it; and where you think it is fit the greateſt part of our fleet ſhould be; it being fit to leave ſome ſhips at Portſmouth, either at Spithead or the harbour, as you ſhall think beſt; and let me have your opinion ſpeedily upon it, that I may ſee if I approve it.

JAMES R."

The King ſeems to have had thoughts of making his eſcape, or, at leaſt, of ſending away the Queen and the prince of Wales, as early as the thirtieth of November. The following is addreſſed to Mr. Pepys, ſecretary of the admiralty. He had ſerved Charles and James in that capacity, with ability and fidelity; and was very much attached to them and their family. His papers, depoſited by Rawlinſon in the Bodleian library, are the beſt collection extant, on the naval affairs of this kingdom. He retired from buſineſs ſoon after King William's acceſſion to the throne, and died at Clapham, in the beginning of this century.

In the King's hand.

Pepys's Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxon.

Nov. 30, 1688. ORDER the Iſabella and Anne yachts to fall down to Erith to-morrow.

To Mr. Pepys. J. R.

The

The King to lord Dartmouth.——He ſent away the Queen and the prince of Wales, and gives an account of his diſtreſs. 1688. December.

" *A copy of the King's letter to the lord Dartmouth, the night before his withdrawing himſelf. It was brought by a Frenchman, next morning, to Mr. Pepys, and by him diſpatched by expreſs.*" Pepys's Collection, Oxon.

Whitehall, December 10th, 1688.

" THINGS having ſo very bad an aſpect, I would no longer defer ſecuring the Queen and my ſon, which I hope I have done; and that by to-morrow by noon they will be out of the reach of my enemies. I am at eaſe now I have ſent them away. I have not heard, this day, as I expected, from my commiſſioners with the prince of Orange; who, I believe, will hardly be prevailed with to ſtop his march: ſo that I am in no good condition; nay, in as bad a one as it is poſſible. I am ſending the duke of Berwick down to Portſmouth, by whom you will know my reſolution concerning the fleet under your command, and what reſolutions I have taken. Till when, I would not have you ſtir from the place where you are, for ſeveral reaſons.

JAMES R."

The lord Dartmouth to Mr. Pepys.——Rejoices that the King is ſtill in the kingdom.

Dec. 15, 1688.

" AFTER the writing this, laſt night, with intention of ſending it away early this morning, I received from ſome private hands the good news of the King's being ſtill among us; which gives me new life again, and hopes that all paſt occurrences will terminate in a happy agreement with the prince of Orange (who, I am told, is at London by this time, being ſo earneſtly invited thereunto by the lords) and a good underſtanding among all his Majeſty's ſubjects; none whereof, I hope, can be ſo villanous as to entertain a prejudicial thought to his Majeſty's perſon; which that it may be always in ſafety and honour, is and ſhall be the endeavours and prayers of, Sir, Pepys's Collection, Oxon.

Your affectionate humble Servant,

DARTMOUTH.

1688. December. Though Dartmouth was ſincerely attached to James, he wrote the following anſwer to a letter he received from the prince of Orange.

The lord Dartmouth to the Prince of Orange.——An anſwer to a letter he had received from the Prince.—He gives his advice, and ſends his ſecretary with an account of the fleet.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs, Spithead, Dec. 20th, 1688.

Pepys's Collection, Oxon. "I Have received and obeyed your Highneſs's letter and order of the 16th inſtant from Windſor, ſo far as I have been hitherto able; and, with the firſt ſlack of wind, will make the beſt of my way to the buoy of the Nore. My only fear is, that the wind ſhould hang eaſterly. If ſo, there muſt be neceſſary care taken to ſend me proviſions; for this place hath been in that diſorder, that it cannot preſently ſupply me. I had gone from hence ſome time ſince, but that I thought it my duty to preſerve the navy in harbour, the dock and ſtores from the folly and rage of the Iriſh; and keeping them upon terms of quietly ſubmitting to your Highneſs, which is now done. Pardon me, for hinting one thing to your Highneſs which I think no time ought to be loſt in; which is, ſpeedily to ſend ſome of the leſſer ſhips off the bank of Guernſey, and put good garriſons in Jerſey and Guernſey; the latter of which, if it ſhould be poſſeſſed by the French, will be a thorn in England's ſide for ever. If your Highneſs will pleaſe to call for the ſurvey of that place, from the officers of the Ordnance, you will pleaſe to judge better of it, than I am here able to expreſs. Mr. Muſgrave will attend with it, upon your Highneſs's firſt commands. I fear that office is, at this time, in great diſorder. But, as ſoon as I am able to wait of your Highneſs, I will examine it, and give you a perfect account. I will not give your Highneſs any further trouble now; but, upon my being under ſail, I will ſend my ſecretary, Mr. Bowles, to wait on your Highneſs, with a full account of all things relating to the fleet and otherwiſe. I humbly ſubmit myſelf to your Highneſs, as becomes your Highneſs's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

DARTMOUTH."

The following letter to Mr. Pepys, is an apology for writing the above letter, and ſending Mr. Bowles to the prince of Orange.

1688. December. Pepys's Collection, Oxon.

The Lord Dartmouth to Mr. Pepys.

SIR, Spithead, Dec. 28, 1688.

"I Have received yours, and have anſwered them as fully as I could at preſent. But I beg leave to write you this, with my own hand, to aſſure you the only reaſon I ſent up Mr. Bowles, proceeded wholly from my not hearing from you; and no diſpatch, or any deſign of mine in it. For I ſhould be very ungrateful, if I were capable of making any unkind return to you; and I doubt not, but utility will help us both; though in this miſerable diſtraction, and the grief I am in for my maſter, with being at ſuch diſtance from affairs, and kept ſo much in the dark by my friends, who all write that they think I have better accounts from other hands; and, in the mean time, I am the moſt in the dark of any body. Pray deign me your private and friendly advice, which I ſhall be glad to govern myſelf by; and I hope we may yet be helpful to one another. I am ſure all things ſhall be done, on my part, as becomes your obliged and affectionate friend and humble ſervant,

DARTMOUTH."

The credit to be given to the following anecdote, concerning James when at Rocheſter, muſt depend on the perſons by whom it is related. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that the language aſcribed to the lords Middleton and Dundee, is extremely ſuitable to their characters. Middleton was cool, moderate, and ſenſible; Dundee active, bold, and full of fire. James himſelf owns that Middleton argued, for ſome time, againſt his intended flight. The earl of Balcarras mentions, in his Memoirs, an anecdote not diſſimilar to the following, given by Carte.

An anecdote from Lord Middleton concerning K. James 2d, when at Rocheſter.

Carte's Memorandum Book, vol. xi. 4to. p. 132.

January 5th, 1739-40. THE earl of Middleton told me, that, when King James the 2d was at Rocheſter, his father, the earl of Dunbarton and lord Dundee were with him, and the fire wanting to be put to rights and renewed, the King was ſo deſerted, there was not a ſervant of his in the way. The earl of Middleton, who had gone into the outward room to ſee for one, told the King there was none in the way but a ſervant of his own, (David Middleton, afterwards ſteward to the duke of Bedford, whom I

1688. December. knew well) and if his Majeſty pleaſed, he would call him in to mend the fire. The King deſired it, and David came in. Whilſt he was adjuſting the fire, he heard them continue an earneſt diſcourſe, wherein they were engaged; and lord Dundee ſaid, Sir, the queſtion is, whether you ſhall ſtay in England or go to France? My opinion is, you ſhould ſtay in England. Make your ſtand here and ſummon your ſubjects to your allegiance. 'Tis true, your army is diſbanded by your own authority. But though diſbanded, not ſo diſperſed, but, if you will give me your commiſſion, I will undertake to get 10,000 of them together; and march through all England with your ſtandard at their head, and drive all the Dutch before you.

The King ſaid, he believed it might be done; but it would cauſe a civil war; and he would not do ſo much miſchief to the Engliſh nation, which he loved, and would come ſoon to their ſenſes again. The earl of Middleton, thereupon, ſaid, that ſince his Majeſty rejected the party of force, he ſhould ſtay in the kingdom at any rate, though the remoteſt quarter. For though his going abroad might put them into a confuſion for ſome time, it would not be more than a ſix weeks affair; by which time a new government would be ſettled, and he would be ruined. The King, ſoon after, ſtole away for France.

This, David Middleton told the preſent earl he heard, but went away without hearing the reſt of the diſcourſe.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1689.

INnocent the Eleventh poſſeſſed the See of Rome, when the Revolution happened in Great Britain. His averſion to France threw him into the arms of the Emperor; and he ſupported, in ſome degree, the cauſe of the allies, with the money of the church. He followed the example of ſome of his predeceſſors, in endeavouring to unite the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turks; and it was, in ſome meaſure, through his perſuaſion, that John Sobieſki, King of Poland, came to the relief of Vienna; while he prevailed with the Venetians to join in the alliance, and furniſhed them with conſiderable ſubſidies for carrying on the war. 1689. January.

Notwithſtanding his zeal for the catholic religion, Innocent was, by no means, a friend to King James. His averſion to Lewis XIV. had joined him to the allies, and even connected him with the prince of Orange. Many catholic princes followed the example of the father of the church. The Spaniſh ambaſſador at the Hague ordered maſſes to be ſaid publickly in his chapel for the ſucceſs of the prince's expedition. The emperor eſpouſed his cauſe with all his influence, at Rome; and he himſelf had the addreſs to perſuade the Pope, that the intereſt of the Roman Catholics, and the reſtoration of their religion in Britain, were connected with the ſucceſs of his enterprize.

The following anecdote may be joined to other known proofs of this circumſtance.

"*An anecdote from Prince Vaudemont, concerning the Prince of Orange's engagement with the Pope.*" Carte's Memorandum book, marked vol. xi. 4to. p. 33.

"P. Vaudemont was an intimate friend of the prince of Orange, and had all his confidence; when the league of Augſburg was on foot, and P. O. entertained thoughts of mounting the throne of England, he thought

1689. January. thought it neceſſary to pre-engage the Pope, Emperor, and King of Spain to favour his enterprize upon England. He, therefore, told P. Vaudemont, that the Pope and the Roman Catholic princes were in the wrong to expect any thing from K. James, in favour of the Romiſh faith: that his being declared of that religion, made every body jealous of the leaſt and moſt indifferent ſtep he took; and it was, therefore, impracticable for him to do them any ſervice; for the whole nation would oppoſe it, as tending to deſtroy the church of England; whereas himſelf, being a proteſtant, might take any ſtep whatever, and ſerve them effectually, without the leaſt ſuſpicion; and, in caſe they would favour and promote his attempt upon England, he would undertake to procure a toleration for the Roman Catholics. P. Vaudemont went to Rome; and with this argument, engaged the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, to come into the P. of Orange's ſcheme, and favour his attempt. The firſt thing, therefore, attempted by the P. of Orange, after the Revolution, was a toleration which he carried for the diſſenters; and, though not for the Roman Catholics, yet all his reign he gave them a connivance equivalent to a toleration.

This P. Vaudemont told general Dillon, who told it to ME, and to many others, as the chevalier Glaſcock, abbé Dunne, &c."

February. James was a ſtranger to the intrigues formed againſt him at the court of Rome. He was too devout a ſon of the church, to ſuppoſe that the holy father would conſpire with his enemies, to deprive him of his throne. His ignorance continued, after his flight from England; and when he was preparing for his expedition into Ireland, he ſent colonel Porter, a gentleman of his bedchamber, as his envoy extraordinary to Innocent the Eleventh. The ſubſtance of his inſtructions, which were dated at St. Germains, the 4th of February, 1689, is here ſubjoined.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 5. "PORTER was required to teſtify to the Pope, James's profeſſion of, and attachment to, the catholic faith: to repreſent that the proteſtant princes were alarmed at its progreſs upon his acceſſion: that they are united in a league to ſtop that progreſs, and had engaged catholic princes to join them. He was deſired to beſeech his Holineſs to bring about a peace between the Emperor and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: to repreſent

repreſent the advantages of their reconciliation to James, and to the catholic religion: that James was dethroned on account of his religion: that the preſent war is a religious war; witneſs the perſecution of R. Catholics, and the profanation and deſtruction of their churches in England. Porter was directed to cultivate the friendſhip of certain cardinals." 1689. February.

Sir Thomas Waldgrave was created lord Waldgrave by James 2d on the 20th January, 1686. He married the lady Henrietta, natural daughter of that prince, by Mrs. Arabella Churchill, Siſter to John duke of Marlborough. He retired into France, on the acceſſion of William III.; and until his death, which happened in the latter end of this year, was firmly attached to the fortune of his father-in-law. He lived with the Queen at St. Germains, and carried on the negociations of James's miniſters with Verſailles and Rome.

The Earl of Melfort to Lord Waldgrave.——An account of the ſtate of affairs in Ireland.—James's troops were hitherto victorious.

May. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 15.

Dublin, 8 May, 1689.

"THERE is only Derry holds out, which I hope ſhall now ſoon be reduced, though they are very obſtinate, expecting aids from England, which we hope they are not in a condition to ſend. However it is moſt certain, that ſince all the nobility at that mock-court have taken the names of regiments, they will get men enough, and if they be not prevented they will come hither."

Melfort refers lord Waldgrave to a memorial he had preſented to the French ambaſſador on this ſubject. He deſires him to communicate the ſtate of James's affairs to his foreign miniſters, eſpecially the cardinal duke, that he might let the Pope know the truth of all, and convince him, that he is impoſed on by the faction of Spain.

"The parliament," he continues, "ſat down yeſterday, and will do all the King aſks of them; and he will do for them what is fit for them. I am ſorry to hear from ———, that there are clouds ariſing againſt me. I never deſerved them. They are none of the King's friends. I knew there

1689. June. there were ſome who called themſelves ſo who are my enemies. But at the long run, I doubt that will hardly be thought for his ſervice. I muſt not preſs you to tell me any thing of this matter. But, if you could, you would much oblige me."

Lewis the XIVth is ſuppoſed to have behaved with generoſity to James in his diſtreſs, and though he only meant in the beginning to foment diviſions in Britain and make Charles and James the inſtruments of his ambitious deſigns, it is probable, that towards the end of his life, he was ſincerely attached to the exiled family, and deſirous of replacing them again on the throne. It does not even appear that he ever ſtipulated with James, for any return for the great expences which he incurred in the cauſe of that prince, unwilling perhaps, to add to his misfortunes by doubting his gratitude.

But frequent mortifications are unavoidable in every ſtate of dependence. Though James was not forced to purchaſe the friendſhip of his benefactor with a ceſſion of any part of his dominions, as has been groundleſsly ſuppoſed, he was obliged to grant extraordinary privileges to the French ſubjects, and to diſtinguiſh them by peculiar marks of his favour. The count D'Avaux, who followed him to Ireland as ambaſſador from Lewis, took the lead in all his councils. He ſeemed rather to dictate than to adviſe; and James, ſcrupulouſly attentive to his commands, endeavoured, in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner, to juſtify his conduct, as appears from his anſwer to a memorial preſented to him by that miniſter.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 9.

" *The anſwer made by the King's order to a memorial preſented by Count D'Avaux, Ambaſſador extraordinary from France, the 4th of June, 1689.*"

Tranſlation.

" HIS Majeſty being very ſenſible of the friendly and generous offices of the moſt Chriſtian King, thinks he cannot give too ſtrong proofs of the gratitude he endeavours to ſhew on all occaſions, and particularly in treating his ambaſſador extraordinary in a more diſtinguiſhed manner than any ambaſſador ever was, giving him cheerfully ſuch a reception,

as

as may ſufficiently convince the world of his eſteem for the King his maſter, careſſing him always as his intimate friend, and conſidering him as his moſt faithful councillor in his moſt ſecret affairs, which he generally communicated to him before he ſpoke of them to the duke of Tyrconnel or to the earl of Melfort. 1689. June.

" His Majeſty, upon his arrival in his kingdom of Ireland, communicated to the ſaid ambaſſador extraordinary, the pain that the diſorder in which he found the kingdom gave him; and in order to redreſs them, having choſen a cabinet council, the ſaid ambaſſador was the firſt member of it, and was preſent at all the meetings. So that to this moment he has had opportunities of giving his advice, which has been almoſt generally followed. His Majeſty, therefore, cannot comprehend what reaſon the ſaid ambaſſador had to preſent his memorial of the fourth of June: in which he complains chiefly, that he hath made many preſſing inſtances for applying a ſpeedy remedy to the dangers which threatened, &c. not doubting but his Majeſty conſidered the remedies which might be applied againſt theſe threatening calamities, in his ſecret cabinet-council; and as he is a ſtranger to what paſſes there, he cannot ſee but with ſurprize, that nothing is done which might contribute to the reeſtabliſhment of his Majeſty's affairs, and that even the ſecurity of his perſon is neglected.

" In anſwer to this, James replied, that he was the firſt to diſcover theſe diſorders. That ſince he came to the kingdom, he conſidered by himſelf, and in his cabinet-council, the moſt effectual means of preventing them. That the ambaſſador was always preſent in council, where he either adviſed or conſented to whatever paſſed, and could atteſt, that all the orders which were given were as punctually executed as the preſent circumſtances would permit, the King having always placed them in the hands of thoſe who were nominated by the ambaſſador.

" The ſaid ambaſſador alledges in his memorial, that it is unneceſſary to ſpeak of what is paſt, as there is no time to apply a remedy. But, as there is ſtill time to puniſh thoſe who are guilty of the faults or neglects that have been committed, his Majeſty not being able to gueſs what the ambaſſador complains of, thinks it proper that he ſhould explain himſelf more clearly.

1689. June. "D'Avaux ſaid in his memorial, that there were clear and circumſtantial accounts from different quarters, that there were 10,000 proteſtants in Dublin, who had arms, and who had written to the prince of Orange for aſſiſtance, &c. James anſwers, that he was the firſt who gave this intelligence, and that d'Avaux would never have heard of it unleſs he (James) had told it to him when he aſked his advice, which he did repeatedly, not only in council, but alſo at a private meeting, at which the marquis de Roſen was preſent. It was then determined to diſarm the proteſtants, and to deliver up their arms and horſes to the marquis de Roſen in the preſence of the ambaſſador. But on the evening before this deſign was to be put in execution, James had certain intelligence, that the preſbyterians had ſent letters to the prince of Orange. The intended bearer of theſe letters, who was his informer, knew their ring-leaders, who might be all ſeized in a little time. James, who would never change what was once determined in council without the conſent of the ambaſſador, conſulted him on the ſubject of this information, in the preſence of the marquis de Roſen. They were both of opinion it was proper to delay the execution of their deſign, until as many as poſſible of the guilty could be ſeized. James, ſeeing that it would take up too much time to diſcover them all, ſeized at the end of five or ſix days as many as were known to be guilty; and as neceſſity obliged him to ſend the troops employed in the ſearch againſt the rebels of Inniſkillin, he conſulted the ambaſſador about the means of continuing the ſearch in de Roſen's abſence; it was agreed to employ a lieutenant general, the viſcount de Mont-Caſhel, on that ſervice, and the neceſſary orders were then given to him, though to little purpoſe.

"The ſaid ambaſſador complains that his Majeſty was informed, that the proteſtants had carried already, and continued to carry away the effects of the rebels, &c. which ſhould have been confiſcated for his Majeſty's uſe, and knew that the ſheriffs and others employed to ſearch for theſe effects, had allowed them to be conveyed away, for the ſake of ſome preſents made to themſelves. He alledges that this is a thing of ſo much conſequence to his Majeſty's intereſts, that he humbly entreated him more than once, to arrange it in a proper manner, and had even propoſed the means of doing ſo, but that nothing had been done as yet to prevent this robbery.

"It

" It is true, his Majeſty has heard, that the effects, not of rebels, but of ſuch proteſtants as endeavoured to go over to England, had been tranſported to that country, and that that happened by the connivance of ſome officers of the revenue, who are proteſtants, and are ſettled in ſea-port towns. His Majeſty ordered them inſtantly to be diſcharged from their employments, although there had been nothing proved againſt them, nor any formal accuſation given in of their crime; and his orders had been executed ſo punctually by the commiſſioners of his revenue, on whom theſe officers depend, that when the ambaſſador gave in his memorial there remained but two or three of them in the kingdom. Theſe three were men of fidelity well known to the commiſſioners. All this conſidered, his Majeſty cannot conceive what the ambaſſador means by this article in his memorial. 1689. June.

" As the ambaſſador mentions the eſtates of rebels, from which his Majeſty might draw, by legal means, conſiderable ſums, which he might employ in paying his troops; and as he obſerves, with pain, that the moſt Chriſtian King will be diſſatisfied when he learns, that his Majeſty does not avail himſelf of the ſuccours which he has in his hands, and which are as conſiderable as they are neceſſary in the preſent preſſing exigencies of his affairs; his Majeſty would have the ambaſſador know, that according to the laws of the country, theſe confiſcations cannot be lawfully touched by him or by his officers, but after a ſentence paſſed by the ordinary judges, or an act of parliament." James gives reaſons why neither the one nor the other could be done at this time, and thence concludes, " that the ambaſſador has been ill informed, when he believed that his Majeſty could have, before now, taken theſe confiſcations in a lawful manner." James then acquaints D'Avaux, with the orders which he had given to the ſheriffs and to the commiſſioners of the cuſtoms, whom he had appointed as commiſſaries in the different counties in the kingdom, to make up an exact inventory of the eſtates, not only of rebels, but alſo of abſentees; " and that it was not in his power to do more until he could take theſe eſtates in a lawful manner; being naturally averſe to do any thing contrary to the eſtabliſhed laws of his kingdom, that would give a handle to his enemies to juſtify their accuſations of his arbitrary con-

1689. July. duct, about which they made ſo much noiſe in his other kingdoms; and he does not think it conſiſtent with ordinary prudence in the preſent ſtate of his affairs.

"It is clearly proved by what hath been ſaid above, that his Majeſty hath neglected nothing which he could lawfully do for preſerving theſe eſtates, and he does not recollect to have received any advice from the ambaſſador on this ſubject, unleſs it was to appoint the Sieur Tuffereau, commiſſary general for theſe eſtates; as if he alone, being a ſtranger to the language and cuſtoms of the country, had been ſufficient for an office, which ſo many hundreds find a difficulty in executing." James aſſures D'Avaux, that the value of theſe eſtates had been exaggerated. That they conſiſted entirely of cows, ſheep, and ſome corn, for which there were no purchaſers. "Theſe things being conſidered, his Majeſty imagines, that the moſt Chriſtian King, who has too good a judgment not to know what ſhould be done on theſe occaſions, will be perſuaded that he avails himſelf of all the means in his hands, and will not blame his actions, when he has conſidered them with that friendſhip and benevolence which he has ſo generouſly ſhown upon all occaſions.

The reſt of this memorial regards military operations, which D'Avaux had condemned, and James endeavours to juſtify."

James's troops in Ireland had neither arms nor pay *. He ſent lord Dover to France, to aſk a ſupply of both, and a reinforcement of men and officers. His original inſtructions to him, in Melfort's hand, but with his own ſignature and ſignet, are among Mr. Nairne's papers.

Inſtructions

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 64.

* There is a return of arms, &c. as early as the firſt of April, which ſhows how much James muſt have ſtood in need of theſe things at this time. The pay of the officers of the ordnance amounted to 3165 *l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* a year.

Ibid. No. 56. Ibid. No. 62.

There is a liſt of the forces then employed in different parts of the kingdom. It differs from that which James himſelf gives in the journal of his operations, when he new-modelled his army, in the month of April; becauſe Tyrconnel, whom he had ſent to review the troops over all the kingdom, had kept up ſome regiments which James had intended to diſband.

Their

1689. July. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 34.

Inſtructions to our right truſty and well beloved Couſin and Chancellor, Henry Earl of Dover, going by our Order to France.

JAMES R.

SINCE the invaſion of this our kingdom by the prince of Orange and his adherents, has made us change the deſign we had of going immediately into England for that of preſerving Ireland, you are to preſs our deareſt brother, the moſt Chriſtian King, to ſend us immediately twelve or fifteen thouſand muſkets or firelocks. The more firelocks the better for our ſervice.

You muſt preſs him for one thouſand barrels of powder, with match and muſket ball in proportion, with handgranads and other things fitt for the ſervice, this kingdome being perfectly deſtitute of all things of that kinde.

Thes, with a preſent ſupply of money, you muſt preſs for, as of immediate neceſſity; and that no time be loſt, you muſt hav the armes lying at Breſt for our ſervice diſpatched without delay.

You muſt hav a conſiderable number of ſwords ſent over, ther being extream want of them amongſt the forces; ſhabres, if you can get them, are preferable; ther muſt be belts ſent in proportion to them, and bandaliers in proportion to the muſkets and firelocks.

Their pay was as follows:

Foot.	*per diem.* s.	d.
Captain	6	0
Lieutenant	2	0
Enſign	1	8
Serjeant	0	8
Corporal	0	6
Drummers and private men	0	4
Field and Staff Officers.		
Colonel	4	0
Lieut. Colonel	2	0
Major	6	0
Adjutant	3	0
Quarter-maſter	1	8
Chaplain	1	3
Surgeon	1	3

Horse.	*per diem.* s.	d.
Captain	9	0
Lieutenant	4	4
Cornet	3	4
Quarter-maſter	2	6
Corporal	1	0
Private men	0	6½
Field Officers.		
Colonel	4	0
Lieut. Colonel	3	0
Major	9	0
Adjutant	4	4
Chaplain	1	3
Surgeon	1	3

Dragoons.	*per diem.* s.	d.
Captain	7	0
Lieutenant	4	0
Cornet	3	0
Quarter-maſter	1	8
Corporal	0	10
Private man	0	5½
Field Officers.		
Colonel	4	0
Lieut. Colonel	3	0
Major	7	0
Adjutant	4	0
Chaplain	1	3
Surgeon	1	3

Ibid. No. 57.

1689. July. You muſt endeavour with all ſpeed to procure to us ſix thouſand foot of the old troops of our deareſt brother, without which our affairs hear will be in great danger. For though we have a great number of men, yet they are for the moſt part new and undiſciplined, as well the officers as the ſouldiours, and conſequently will be unequally matched with the old troops deſigned againſt us. But if that body of old men come, we have no reaſon to fear the event; and you muſt hold forth the advantages this will be off to the moſt Chriſtian King, doing it ſeaſonably; and the danger ther may be in the delay. That thes very troops will ſerve as part of what we expect at our going to England. Lett our deareſt brother kno, that all our intereſt depends upon this one ſtep and the ſudaneſs of it, for all thes reaſons you yourſelf can lay out, being ſo fully informed of this kingdom and all our affairs.

Thes men muſt hav ther officers, arms, touls, and train of artillery with its officers, boats for a bridge, and all other things neceſſary for the ſervice.

You are not to uſe our former inſtructions, only to ſho them to our deareſt conſort the queen, by whoes orders and directions you are to proceed in all things in our ſervice

You ſhall lykways ſho them to our truſty and well beloved Henry lord Waldgrave our envoy extraordinary, by whom you ſhal be informed of what may be fit for our ſervice, and with whom you are to conſult concerning the beſt means ſpeedily to obtain our deſires, that being almoſt of as great importance as the ſupplie in demand itſelf.

You are to inſiſt on the recalling the marquis de Roſen, for the reaſons contained in our other inſtructions of the date of the 15th of July, inſtant.

If you ſhal be certainly informed that the affair of Derry and Inniſkill'n is over, or that we hav ſome other conſiderable advantage; in that caſe, without other orders, you ſhall proceed upon our other inſtructions with all the application imaginable.

That you ſend hither three courvols or other paquet boats immediately after your arrival, that we may have boats on this ſide to ſend with expreſſes in caſe of need. That you remember to informe fully of the matter of the wine, the wool, and the other cuſtoms, according to the

memoir hearwith given with you of this ſtate: in all which, you are to doe what ſhall be beſt for you to obtaine our deſires. 1689. July.

Given at our court of Dublin Caſtle, the 16th of July, 1689, and of our reign the fifth year.

J. R.

The inſtructions to which the King refers in the preceding paper, contain very particular directions. Lord Dover was to embark at Kinſale, to wait on the Queen immediately upon his arrival, and to obey her inſtructions. He was to inform Lewis of the ſtate of Ireland, and of the difficulties which James had to overcome. "The reaſons of delay you have in the journal of this date, of which you are to make uſe, as being the matter of fact which has paſſed ſince our arrival here*. Nairne's papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 33.

"The condition and nature of the arms come laſt from France, you are to inform of, but ſo, that no offence may be taken by Mr. de Louvois if he ſent them, nor by any others of the miniſters concerned."

James proceeds to mention the reaſons, with which lord Dover was to endeavour to perſuade Lewis to ſend him a fleet and troops, in order to invade England and make a diverſion in Scotland. He marks the quantity of arms, ſtores, amunition, &c. which he wanted; ſets forth his need of money and the advantage of ſending him an immediate ſupply, and the neceſſity of ſending it, on account of the loſs which his Majeſty muſt unavoidably ſuſtain from the circulation of copper-tickets, which was only a temporary expedient to ſatisfy his creditors, by ſome acknowledgment of the debt he owed them.

He deſires lord Dover "to make his principal application to the marquis de Louvois, and to anſwer every thing that may be objected againſt us or any thing we have done, eſpecially in our behaviour to the French officers our deareſt brother the moſt Chriſtian King ſent us, and all others of that nature, of which you have memorials and liſts given you herewith, by which you will ſee how much we have preferred them on all occaſions to our own ſubjects."

* See above, page 216.

He

1689. August. He then deſires lord Dover to inform Lewis of his indulgence to the French ſubjects in the articles of trade, particularly in exporting wool and importing wine.

" You are to endeavour with all the ſoftneſs imaginable to have our deareſt brother recall the marquis de Roſen, as one, after having done what he did at Londonderry, incapable to ſerve us uſefully; you are to inform, if need be, of his contemning our protections, by ordering to drive in and ſtarve not only thoſe who lived peaceably at home, but likewiſe thoſe who were protected by us; ſo that no promiſes will be believed from him, nor indeed from our officers, till the truth of this affair be known by the rebels. At Inniſkillin they are become more numerous by much, every body running there for ſhelter from ſo unjuſt a violence. You ſhall ſhew how he required to be recalled, if this his project was not followed, and how he offered himſelf garant of the treaty with the town, and that if any violation of it happened he would put himſelf on their ſide; the which procedure of his there was nothing but the conſideration of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty could have made us ſuffer from him; and therefore, ſince we will not vindicate our juſtice by puniſhing of him, we muſt ſhow our diſlike of his procedure by having him recalled."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i fol. No. 40. *The Earl of Melfort to Lord Waldgrave.—Complaints againſt D'Avaux and Roſen,—ſends to Lord Waldgrave a journal of the operations in Ireland, and deſires him to ſolicit the King of France for aſſiſtance.*

My Lord, Dublin-Caſtle, Auguſt 10, 1689.

HIS Majeſty has laid the affairs this expreſs comes for ſo fully before you, that it is but little I have to add to it. Some time ago the French ambaſſador gave a memorial to the King, of things that the King his maſter adviſed the King to do; and amongſt other things this was one, to ceaſe the ſiege of Derry if there was no likelihood of taking it. Theſe things the King was ſtill inclined to, and therefore, did ſtill deliberate how to execute them, and ſo, thought all were of opinion the ſiege was to be ceaſed, yet none was ſo much of that mind, as that it was fit to be done then, nor indeed before we had news that the Engliſh were juſt landing,

landing, and then all with one conſent were of the ſame mind. You muſt know that I told you this, becauſe the French ambaſſador and monſieur de Roſen are ſtill laying all the blame on the King, for not following their advice as they ſay, whilſt nothing in the world is more true, than that he ſtill followed all that was practicable of it; and that for Roſen he never would give any, though the King has aſked it many and many a time from him. Nor had the King the power to make him take the command of Derry on him, nor the ordering of any thing of that ſiege by no order he could ſend to him, as you will ſee by the King's letters to him and his in return, which I ſend you the copies of for your information. 1689. September.

He has done the King much harm. For if he had let the Proteſtants alone who were protected, their party at Inniſkillin had not been ſo ſtrong as it now is. But for what's paſt it is in vain to talk to you of it, nor to tell you the blame thrown on the two Hamiltons, or the diffidence the natives have of them. All we muſt look to now, is what's to come, and that depends on what the King of France will do. Let him ſend us quickly what he has to ſend us, eſpecially men and arms, for thoſe two would ſerve us. Send as many arms as poſſibly you can, and believe there is no want of raw men to be found here, if we had but ſome old troops to ſhow them how to do well. Haſte is all, and the King is ſo preſſing to diſpatch this, that I have not time to ſay the thouſandth part of what I would ſay if I had time. The journal as it is I have ſent to you, and by the next you ſhall have it more perfect.

I have time to add no more, but wonder we hear nothing from you ſince Porter came. We think there is ſome fault. But when we conſider that the ways may be ſtopt, we muſt have patience. The King was never better in his health. God ſend him to be long ſo. I am, with all my heart,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt humble Servant,

MELFORT."

1689. September. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 42.

King James to Lord Waldgrave.

It is ſigned by himſelf at the top. It is indorſed by another hand thus, "ſans date, poſſibly writ in September, 1689." It is again indorſed in Nairne's hand, "The King to Lord Waldgrave. September, 1689. Dublin."

He gives an account of affairs in Ireland, and ſhews the neceſſity of immediate ſuccours from France.

WE have yours of the 31ſt of Auguſt, and another to my lord Melfort, with a full account of the audiences of my lord Dover, whom we hope ſhortly to ſee here, and by him be informed of the ſuccours we expect thence, which for their own intereſt as well as ours ought to be haſtened, that we may ſoon quench the flame which Schomberg's landing in this kingdom hath kindled here. For although God has bleſſed our councils and endeavours already beyond our expectation, and we find them ſo well ſeconded by our loyal ſubjects here, that we are perſuaded we ſhall hinder its ſpreading out of that corner of the North where it is now fixed; yet time is precious, and it may be conjectured out of Schomberg's conduct, that his inſtructions were either to take a preſent poſſeſſion of the kingdom, (of which he had ſome hopes at his arrival,) or to protract the war in it, and keep it out of England by that means, which muſt in the ſequel be the ruin of this kingdom too; for it being already impoveriſhed, it will by a laſting war with two armies in the bowels of it be quite conſumed. Wherefore it is of great conſequence that this war be ſpeedily ended, as well for the preſervation of this kingdom as the tranſportation of it into England, whilſt our friends there are in heart. With that intention having gathered together as good an army as ever was ſeen here, and as well provided as poſſible, finding in both officers and ſoldiers a reſolution for God, ourſelves, and their country, and an earneſt deſire to be brought to the enemy; on the 6th of September, we came with them within three miles of Dundalk, where Schomberg lies encamped. Since which time we have often offered him occaſions of battle. We have omitted nothing that might provoke him to it by excurſions of parties to his out guards, by forraging near his camp, and conſuming with fire what we could not tranſport; yet he continues within his

his trenches without accepting a battle or even a fair ſkirmiſh, although his parties have been often much ſuperior in number to ours. Thus much, that you may underſtand our preſent condition, which is ſuch as we may hope to hold out much longer than till November, the time deſigned for our ſuccours, which you may ſo repreſent, as not to ſlacken the miniſters of that court in diſpatching them as if they were not neceſſary; but to haſten them, by ſhewing them how eaſy it is to chaſe Schomberg out of this country, which would open a door for our return to England; and by this, break that formidable league againſt France, and lay the corner ſtone of a laſting peace in Chriſtendome. [*A paſſage in unintelligible cyphers.*] 1689. September.

The frigate called La Jollie, commanded by captain Nangle, is leaky and unfit to keep the ſea this winter ſeaſon. Deal with Monſieur Seignelay for another frigate of the ſame bigneſs, but ſtronger and finer for winter ſervice; and get his conſent for changing the captains, that Nangle may remain with the other frigate, and the captain of it return with the Jollie. As to the money, we ordered that 21000 livres ſhould be given to the queen, the remainder you may receive and keep by you, till you receive our order to lay it out."

[Here follows the ſentence of a court martial; it has been inſerted above in a note, p. 194.]

" We ſend the letters to Rome; that to all the cardinals is ſigned and ſealed with a flying ſeal. Enquire of ſome of the miniſters in that court, if that King adds any thing to his ſignature beſides his name; and, if you find he does, add the ſame to this letter and then ſeal it, and, by the firſt occaſion, acquaint us what it is, that we may do the like hereafter. My lord Tyrconnel hath written to the Queen about a buſineſs, which ſhe will acquaint you with."

1689. September. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 44.

"*Copy of a letter without names, concerning Ireland.*"

It was written from France and probably by Lord Waldgrave. It gives an account of Lord Dover's reception, and of the ſucceſs of his negociation. It ſhows the ſtate of James's affairs in Ireland, and the ſituation and diſpoſition of the court of France.—Roſen is to be recalled, and Lauſun to be ſent in his place.—Lauſun's character.—Money tranſactions.

My Lord,

I Have received your lordſhip's by my lord Dover, who tells me, that he has given your lordſhip an account of the diſpoſition of this court, with relation to Ireland. But, however, it being my duty, and I having been preſent at the audience he has had of the miniſters, I will give your lordſhip an account of what I have heard and of what I can gueſs. The firſt audience he had was of Monſ. de Louvois, to whom he delivered a copy of the demands contained in the ſecond inſtruction. Monſ. de Louvois told him, he had already ſeen it, being ſent by Monſ. D'Avaux; and that my Lord could ſay nothing to him which could encreaſe the opinion he had of the great conſequence of preſerving Ireland, and of the danger, if it were not ſuccoured. But that the preſent poſture of their affairs was ſuch, that they could not ſpare any men, till the end of October; and that they had not arms or ammunition ready, their magazines being exhauſted, what was ſent into Ireland already being the very remnants; ſo that it would require time to get together any quantity. That in caſe Monſ. de Schomberg ſhould land, he hoped the King would be able to defend himſelf, till the beginning of November; and that then he ſhould not want aſſiſtance. I cannot ſee how they could refuſe 6000 men, conſidering the good poſture of their affairs; but much leſs, why they refuſe a ſmall quantity of arms. My lord Dover having begged, that, if they could not ſend the quantity deſired, they ſhould at leaſt ſend what they had ready, every thouſand arms being a thouſand men to the King. They had a warm diſpute about the lies, that were written by many of the French in Ireland; Lord Dover demonſtrating plainly the impoſſibility of doing better, conſidering the deſolation of the country; and that many of the employments, which are ſaid to be ill-executed, as relating to the money, commiſſaries for the army, &c. were executed by Frenchmen. Monſ. de Louvois did anſwer, that he was ſenſible of the

the difficulties in a country deſtroyed by civil war, and where the method of arms and ſieges being new, few had any experience in their employments. But that he was convinced, that no induſtry was uſed to obviate theſe difficulties. That, whenſoever a cart was not to be found with horſes, the artillery or baggage ſtood for want of induſtry to get cows or oxen. Then when any the leaſt ſcrew was broke of any of the arms, there was no care to have a ſmith to mend them. That the French, who had executed their employments ill, as I think, eſpecially ſome of the commiſſaries were ſaid to have done, were not recommended from hence, and it was the fault of thoſe who admitted them, as I remember, lord Dover did ſay, that they were recommended by Monſ. D'Avaux. The King of France has been ſince with the Queen; and has ſaid the ſame as Monſ. de Louvois, as to the time of ſending into Ireland. But he ſeemed more ready to believe my lord Dover, concerning the management of affairs there. They are very ready to recal Rozen. But I doubt much, whether they are not ſorry Lauſun is ſent in his place; it being only yielded to (as I believe) becauſe the King has writ ſo earneſtly for him, and that many, who do not love him, are glad to ſend him out of the way. I have been told, by thoſe who are moſt affectionate to the King's ſervice, that whenever he has had power, he has been ſo inſupportably imperious and haughty, that it was impoſſible to live with him; and that, ſince he was ſo with his own maſter, it is to be feared he will be worſe when he finds himſelf and the ſuccours he commands neceſſary. Beſides, it is ſo long ſince he has been in an army, that he muſt have forgot much of the method of war; and certainly his impriſonment and life ſince have taken away that vigour and activity, neceſſary to command a raw army. He has ſhewed ſo much ill-humour about this matter, that I have almoſt fallen out with him about it. The firſt two or three days, after lord Dover's arrival, he told us, that he would not go, unleſs he were made a duke. When he begun to be cool enough to conſider, that ſuch a capitulation would ſend him again to priſon, he ſaid he would go; but told me, particularly, that, if there were a man, to whom he wiſhed the greateſt plague he could invent, it ſhould be to be in his circumſtances, and to be ſent into Ireland. That he was grown old, and deſired quiet; and, inſtead of that, undertook a deſperate buſineſs; only fit for ſomebody who had neither reputation, nor intereſt, nor quiet, nor any thing elſe to loſe. I believe no general. 1689. September.

1689. September. general in France but would have been ambitious to reſtore the King, and to venture their lives in ſuch a cauſe. He intends to ſtay to go with the men, becauſe he will take better care to have every thing neceſſary. He is very ill with Monſ. de Louvois. But I hope the latter is ſo good a ſervant to his maſter, that he will not oppoſe any thing out of a private pique. I was glad to find, that lord Dover was ſo well received at this court, becauſe Monſ. D'Avaux had writ, that, after the ſea fight, he ſeemed to be ſorry for the victory, and turned it into ridicule; ſo that the King of France took notice of it to the Queen, and the miniſters to me. But he has wrote ſince, in ſuch a manner, as lord Dover has been received with great kindneſs.

The bills of exchange, drawn upon me, were taken at Cheſter, as I perceive, by a letter I have had from James Grimes, in which he deſires me to find ſome other way to ſend money; and that he thinks the ordinary way of returning by merchants dangerous. I have already informed your lordſhip, that I have ſpoke to Monſ. de Croiſſy, who told me he had received a letter from your lordſhip, on that ſubject; and had accordingly ſpoke to the King of France, who anſwered, that he had already given 2000 piſtoles, which he believed had not been ſpent as was deſigned, ſince they were for printing papers, and ſending intelligence into Ireland; and he was informed by Monſ. D'Avaux, that the King had very little intelligence from his friends in England.

I have ſpoke ſince, but found leſs hope ſince the war is likely to be carried into Ireland. Whereas, if the war could have been carried into England, it would have been of ſuch invincible neceſſity, that it muſt have been madneſs to have refuſed it. I have alſo informed your lordſhip, that I went to Monſ. de Metz, Garde du Treſor Royal; and told him, that he knew very well, that I had received 50,000 livres for the month the King was here. That I had not any notice from the King, at his departure, that I was not to receive the whole ſum; and, therefore, I believed, he expected I ſhould do it, and return into Ireland what was above the Queen's proportion. He told me, that the comptroller general had ordered him to pay me only 21,000 livres a month; and that the King had left his orders concerning the reſt. I aſked him, whether the reſt paſſed through his hands, and to whom he paid it, to be returned into Ireland. But could not get any light, by his anſwer. Upon

which, I desired Monsr. de Lausun to speak with the comptroller general, who told him the King had left his orders, and would not give him any account. 1689.

While James was endeavouring, in vain, to force Schomberg to fight, he sent Lord Melfort to France, to inquire into the success of lord Dover's negociations, and to convince Lewis the XIV. and his ministers of the facility and advantage of making a diversion in England.—Melfort wrote the following letters upon his arrival in France. October.

The Earl of Melfort to King James, St. Germains, October, 1689. "*Upon his arrival from Ireland, and before his going to Rome.*" Carte's Papers, D. N. 1. fol. No. 74.

A copy in Nairne's hand, who was at this time Secretary to the Earl of Melfort.

An account of his reception.—Confutes the misrepresentations of D'Avaux, Dover, and an Irish faction at Paris.—Endeavours to reconcile the French ministry to an invasion of England.—Conduct and character of Lord Dover.—Further reasons for the intended invasion.—State of Scotland.—Correspondence to be settled with Scotland and England.—Expectations from the new Pope.—The Queen proposes to send Melfort to Rome.—He consents to go, and asks for instructions.—News from England.—The Queen's conduct.

May it please your Majesty,

SINCE my last to your Majesty, we have had many accounts of success you have had; and we have only wanted the confirmation of so good news, to give us a joy we have now been long strangers to. God Almighty grant, that it be true, and your Majesty's most just and righteous cause may prosper, to the ruin of your enemies.

After I had given my first accounts here to the ministers and to the King himself, and touched on some things I had found your Majesty most blamed for, I was not willing to press any farther, till I should learn how what I had said relished; and, for this end, I employed my friends at court to get me notice of the different sentiments. I was not long of finding, that the King was satisfied, and saw, that before he had not been rightly informed, neither by D'Avaux nor lord Dover, of the state

1689. October. ſtate of Ireland, either before your Majeſty came to it or ſince; and that, not finding things ſo deſperate, he begun to be of the opinion, that the help he gave would not be loſt. The miniſters pretended to be ſo well ſatisfied with the anſwers I had given to what your Majeſty was accuſed of, and what was laid to my charge, that every one told me what they had been informed of, and ſo gave me the occaſion to vindicate all; a matter not hard to do, for one ſo much converſant in the whole matter. On the main, I found the calumnies to come from the ambaſſador, Roſen, and ſome of the French officers, on the one hand; and from a knot of Iriſh on the other, who reſide here at Paris. As for the French, all I could do was, to anſwer them. I did it fully, in ways not worthy troubling your Majeſty with. But as for the Iriſh, I made it my buſineſs to find out their malice, as well as the ways they took to execute it. I ſoon found, that the fountain of this here was one biſhop Malone, who, ſome time ago, being preſſed to go to Ireland, had refuſed, and being put to it, declared, that he was entruſted at the court of France by duke Tyrconnel, and for the clergy and nobility of Ireland, and conſequently could not go. This he drew up in a paper, and was reſolved to have preſented it to the Queen. But ſome of his countrymen, more wiſe than he, it ſeems, prevented it. This I had from one of that kingdom, who ſaw the paper.

This man, pretending ſo odd an ambaſſade, has a ſecret correſpondence and acceſs to the miniſters, as I am informed, to whom he ſhews letters of correſpondence from Ireland of a moſt abominable ſtrain; eſpecially three (after which I now hunt), wherein the great things done in that kingdom before your Majeſty's coming there are fully ſet out; and how you had, by the advice of ill councillors, ruined all the good order you found in it, and hindered duke Tyrconnel's deſigns. I was almoſt deſpairing to find any of theſe ſo true, as that I might build upon them, when the Queen was pleaſed to tell me, that ſhe had got the laſt of them from that biſhop himſelf, a good luck I could not hope for. I begged it; and, though ſhe could not give me the original, till ſhe had ſpoken to the biſhop, yet ſhe has promiſed me a copy of it, by which I ſhall more fully know what is ſaid, and be better able to vindicate your Majeſty here, and be able to find out the perſon from whom it was ſent; which I think is of the laſt importance to your Majeſty's honour, to have

him puniſhed, with all the rigour the laws civil or military, if an officer, will allow of; and I muſt conjure your Majeſty, though I know it needleſs in this matter, where your honour and reputation in this country is concerned, not to have compaſſion on him, nor have regard either to his relations or any thing elſe; but have him puniſhed ſo, as the world may ſee he was a calumniator of his King: a crime merits more deaths than that ill man has hairs. For it is by ſuch, that more ill has been ſaid of your Majeſty's royal perſon and proceedings, than it were decent for me to repeat; and, by having this end of the cord, your Majeſty may pluck out all the accomplices of ſo wicked a fact, and learn why they came to be guilty of it. Their accomplices here are as many almoſt as there are of Iriſh. For all have ſeen, and either carried about copies of theſe letters, or trumpeted their contents about; but there are two more guilty than the reſt, viz. O'Farrel, a lawyer, and another lawyer beſides the biſhop. I am confident the Queen ſends your Majeſty the original paper. I ſhall endeavour to take off all the impreſſions that and ſuch like have given in which, hitherto, I have neither been idle nor unſucceſsful. I confeſs, I found, amongſt the generality, a ſtrange change. But it begins to clear up, and every day will more and more, by the aſſiſtance of Almighty God. 1689. October.

One point in your Majeſty's inſtructions I had not inſiſted on, as I told your Majeſty in my laſt, becauſe the Queen would firſt think of it amongſt her Majeſty, lord Waldgrave, and myſelf. This, at leaſt, ſhe did, upon the repeated news of ſucceſs your Majeſty had had. The point was, for aſſiſtance to go to England or Scotland; and, beſides, the advices from England were ſo many ſpurs to haſte her on to it; at leaſt, the fear was, it ſhould be looked on as a new propoſition, and ſhe or we looked on as inconſtant, and might hinder the ſuccours promiſed. This I over-ruled, and ſo was ordered to go on with it, when the Queen went to Chaliot, and the court to Fountainbleau.—At Chaliot, Mr. de Louvois came to viſit her, and told her, that it would be fit to ſend me to Fountainbleau for haſtening on the ſuccours. She told him, that was agreed on already; and I could do no more. However, he ſaid, I was one would be welcome to every body, and my very face would haſten them, and keep them in mind. The Queen ſent for me, and told me this before my lord Waldgrave; ſo we took up the matter of going into

1689. October. England again, and concluded it was fit to propoſe it; but ſo as that it might not come as a new thing. So I was ready to go Thurſday laſt. On Wedneſday, the Queen ſent for me, and told me ſhe had altered her mind. Mr. de Lauſun had been there, and ſhe thought it would be to no purpoſe to propoſe that matter at this time. I let her Majeſty ſee, that it was ſo to be done as not to be a new thing. That it was of importance to your Majeſty, to know their opinion, and what you had to rely on, and ſo begged the manner might be left to me, which ſhe was pleaſed to agree to; and ſo I went on Friday. Saturday, I met with M. de Louvois, and diſcourſed long with him of the ſtate of Ireland. I ſhewed him what the condition of it was, at your Majeſty's arrival there; the difficulties you had to encounter, and the little help; the poverty of the country, and the threatning wants, through the licencious plundering of the inhabitants, and deſtroying the ſtocks of the proteſtants; and that the beſt corn country of Ireland either was entirely waſte, or the ſeat of the war. That, from theſe, and the want of money, which would infallibly be ſo ſoon as they came to be in greater quantity, than the ordinary ſtock of money current in the kingdom. That all theſe things make it evident, that Ireland cannot be long kept, without conſtant and vaſt ſupplies.

That your Majeſty went to Ireland only in your way to Britain; and that the door there was open, ſo ſoon as any conſiderable party was ready to join with your Majeſty. So that, whenever that happened, you did never queſtion the aſſiſtance of the moſt Chriſtian King for your return thither. That your Majeſty had all the moral certainties imaginable to believe, that England was now in thoſe circumſtances; and that, therefore, this was the time to provide for your Majeſty's tranſportation and ſuccour. That it was the intereſt of France, and good *menagerie*, to do ſoon what muſt be done at laſt, after a vaſt loſs of time and expences with more uncertainty. That there ſtill would be danger, and there ſtill muſt be an army to go, and a fleet to carry it. That there never could be a greater diſproportion betwixt the fleets on the French ſide; and that this was the ſeaſon they could beſt ſend their troops, and leaſt fear any other enemy at ſea than wind and weather. A copy of all theſe arguments, at length, I ſhall ſend your Majeſty. This he himſelf introduced, by aſking, what I thought would be the event of any advantage

your

your Majeſty could get in Ireland. I told him, that, if it were not followed by further attempts, whilſt the one party were hearty, and the other in fear, it would have no other effect than to haſten your ruin; and that, by the forces they would ſend againſt your Majeſty in the ſpring: and that, in all probability, it would need more aſſiſtance to preſerve Ireland, than it would do now to gain England; and ſo went on. By this means, it came to be no new propoſition, nor did he look on it as ſuch. 1689. October.

He told me, the men would be no great difficulty; the horſes would; but that the greateſt was the fleet. That, if the Engliſh kept out all they had this ſummer, as was reported, it was not poſſible for them to keep out ſo many.

I told him, that it was not poſſible for the Engliſh to keep out their great ſhips this winter. That many of their other ſhips were ſo ill built, and of green timber, that they would not be able to keep the ſeas in this rough weather; but, however, that the ſame difficulty occurred for the 6000 already condeſcended on; all which was out of diſpute, and what could ſafely carry them would need but ſmall addition to ſecure the reſt.

He ſaid, that was not all. Ships to tranſport the horſe and dragoons muſt be provided, and that would take time; and that a ſmall number of ſhips not embarraſſed with a convoy, would be too hard for a far greater number of ſhips with a convoy. I told him, though I was not ſeaman enough to anſwer all theſe objections; yet I remember it was not thought ſo by the ſeamen, when the King had the prince of Orange to oppoſe. He told me, that the great difficulty yet remained; which was, that, in caſe of ill weather, they were maſters of no port on the coaſt. I told him, that to me appeared the eaſieſt: for that moment your Majeſty ſet foot in England, you would be maſter of the beſt port in it; and then, what with it, Ireland, and the coaſt of France, they would be in a better condition than the Engliſh themſelves, when that port was taken from them. He ſaid, that he wiſhed it were in their power to do this; but he did not think it poſſible for them. However, I was glad he would diſcourſe of it: a thing he could not be brought to before, by letters.

He complained to me of lord Dover grievouſly, for quarrelling him in his own houſe; and ſaying that, if the French intended to ſell their

1689. October. wars ſo dear, he was not come for that end. He ſays, that he told him, that the lord Dover had taken himſelf to quarrelling, at which he was very unſkilful; and ſo they parted that time. That lord Dover had excuſed that matter afterwards; but that he told him freely, that at this court there needed a great practice and experience of affairs, and a good temper, not to be ſoon found out, and to make their matters go well on. That, afterwards, ſpeaking of the affairs of Ireland, lord Dover ſaid, there were diſorders; but he was going back, and would take care to ſee all put right; at which Mr. de Louvois laught much, and told the King of France, Ireland was now ſecure, lord Dover was to take the government on him. Theſe are things I expected not from lord Dover; for your Majeſty may remember, that he told you, one cauſe of your affairs going ill was, that I did not carry as I ought to Mr. de Louvois. To me he was all kindneſs, and told me all the time, the comte de Lauſun and others ſaid all the ills of me. He had ſtill ſaid, that if I had done ten times worſe, yet I was the only man about your Majeſty he had ever converſed with capable of ſerving in theſe ſtations I was in. This I only tell your Majeſty, to ſhew how far my coming has changed the talk here; and, indeed, I think there was a good providence in it, in relation to your Majeſty's affairs; for it is not conceivable the villainous reports they had ſpread abroad. And, indeed, matters go too far, when ſubjects will raiſe their reputation upon the ruin of that of their ſovereign; yea, that they dare connive at others doing it for them. Of theſe ſorts of intelligences there has been too many.

I find too, that Mr. de Lauſun is no ways ſatisfied with my lord Dover's conduct here, and thinks he was no ways fit to have been ſent; and Mr. de Louvois told me, that he had ſaid to his maſter, that he pitied your Majeſty, for having been reduced to the neceſſity of ſending ſuch a man. For his part, when he met with ſuch men in buſineſs, he knew no remedy but to go and ſleep.

But to return to the other affair. I ſpoke fully to Mr. de Seignelay, and found him more averſe from hazarding the fleet than Mr. de Louvois had been, and make the difficulties inſuperable for this ſeaſon. I preſſed him on it, as far as I thought reaſonable then; having a mind not to put him out of patience, ſo as that I might have room to begin again at the court's return; and indeed I durſt not preſs, leaſt having taken

taken the thing upon myſelf, any ill anſwer had been given, and I blamed. On Sunday morning, I made the Queen's compliment to the King, and thought to have ſaid no more, but juſt to put him in mind, that the time was near in which he had promiſed to ſend the ſuccours into Ireland. But he entered in diſcourſe of the whole matter, and expreſſed all the kindneſs and all the reſpect imaginable to your Majeſty and to the Queen; gave me again an account of the affiette of his affairs; and ſaid, that he will not only do what he finds difficult, but if there be a poſſibility he deſires no more, and ſaid, that it was ſo much his own intereſt, that he was not to be ſuſpected in the matter. That Louvois had told him, that we had had a long diſcourſe together on your Majeſty's affairs; and that, if there remained any poſſibility of doing what I had propoſed, in relation to your Majeſty's paſſage into England, he would do it. But that, if by any accident he came to loſe his fleet, your Majeſty's affairs would be deſperate, and his in an ill condition. That he knew he was blamed, for not fighting the enemy this ſummer; but that, I knew it, things were never repreſented as they truely were: for he did not think the ſtate of the enemy ſo bad as it really was. And that, I knew well, ſome years ago, it would have been looked on as extravagant to ſay, France could have coped with any of the two ſea powers; and now, though he confeſſed it was not the ſame brave Engliſh, but a company of rebels, yet both the powers were united againſt him. That, if he came to fight on the coaſt of England, and had (as it could not be otherwiſe) any diſabled ſhips, not having a port near, all theſe muſt be neceſſarily loſt. I told him, that, if it only ſtood at that, your Majeſty's landing in England ſecured him one of the beſt, if not more. He ſaid, he was afraid that might harm your buſineſs in England. I told him, that, if your Majeſty did not go to England in a condition above theſe precautions, you could not think to ſucceed. At that, he ſeemed to be pleaſed; ſo I told him, that, one time or other, this muſt fall out; and doing it in time, would ſave much time, money, and blood; and I did not doubt, that if he did apply himſelf to it, he would find ways to overcome the moſt difficult ſteps that lay in the way; and to think of it ſoon would give the more time for the preparations. He ſaid, that, as for what concerned the 6000 men, he had taken his meaſures; and that the regiments were named, and ſhould ſoon be at Breſt, tho'

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1689. October. tho' he durſt not let know which they were, leſt the ill opinion was here of the Iriſh affairs might occaſion them to run away; ſo he muſt bring them by other ways: that he would, in all things, do his utmoſt for your Majeſty's intereſt; and a great deal more to this purpoſe.

Upon this whole matter, ſeeing there is no body in the world knows ſo much of the ſea affairs as your Majeſty does, it may be fit that your Majeſty ſhould write to the moſt Chriſtian King, on this ſubject, yourſelf; and give him your opinion, how this matter may be done, and ſend your letter to the Queen, to ſee if it quadrates with the circumſtances your Majeſty's affairs may be in when it comes; and this, ſo much the rather, that I have the little ſeal for ſealing, and ſhe will be ſure to make the beſt uſe of what your Majeſty ſhall ſo write; and, if there be any thing to add to what I have ſaid on the ſubject, your Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend it; and, in the mean time, I ſhall ſtill be going on, as far as it is poſſible for me here, in conjunction with my lord Waldegrave, whoſe health obliges him to go and paſs the winter in the warmer climate.

I hope he gives your Majeſty an account, that he and I live in that perfect underſtanding your Majeſty deſires; and, if ever it ſhould be otherwiſe, I ſhall look on myſelf as moſt unfortunate.

The foreign news I leave entirely to my lord Waldegrave, and the Queen has all the papers from England, except this, which I ſend to your Majeſty; in which, you will ſee the true humour of Scotland, and that what I foretold the D. Hamilton is true; that where one grumbled at me, there would be a hundred open clamours againſt him, if ever he came to have any hand in the government.

Your Majeſty will likewiſe ſee there, the bravery of Cannon and the other Scotch officers, who muſt have ſome ſort of relief, if your Majeſty thinks fit, conſidering the inconveniency of ſending any part of what lands once in Ireland. The Queen may demand ſomething to be ſent immediately to Scotland, without touching at Ireland; and this to be done ſo ſoon as the reſt is gone from Breſt. Some arms, ammunition, and ſome money muſt be had. It were pity ſo many brave men ſhould periſh without aſſiſtance.

I confeſs

I confeſs I am in pain for their wants, though not ſo much as for theſe I know your Majeſty muſt needs have where you are, conſidering how little ammunition was left; and, for that end, I begged of the intendant to haſten what was ordered to go with all ſpeed. But I find all ſtays to go with my lord Dover, and he ſtays for the Soleil d'Affrique, which is to relieve the Jollie, and is not yet come from Rochfort. Indeed this was not right; but, as I informed your Majeſty in my laſt, lord Dover gave all ſo much for loſt, and had convinced all here ſo much of it, that I found he had no great mind to go back: for he ſaid publickly at the table, the beſt could befall him was to be taken by the way and carried to England: he had friends there, and the prince of Orange would be kind to him. This he ſaid to the ducheſs of Powis, and pretended to be angry when the act of attainder was againſt us, (propoſed, for it did not paſs) that he had not writt into England, to inform that he was not in Ireland; the attainder going only againſt ſuch as were there in arms, as they called it. Theſe things are fooliſh. At preſent, I am doing all I poſſibly can to haſten on the ſuccours; and I will leave no ſtone unturned to obtain your paſſage into England: for the more I ſee from thence, the more I find of reaſon for your Majeſty's hazarding there. 1689. October.

The matter of intelligence has been managed here by Mr. Innis and his correſpondents, all depending on the care of Sir Robert Clerk, whoſe concern for your royal intereſt is above what I am able to expreſs; and, indeed, without him and his correſpondent, author of this long letter I ſend you, there would be nothing here, but ſtorys one can make nothing of, nor any way rely upon.

This correſpondent, whoſe name I know not, your Majeſty will find by his writings to be an intelligent man, and much knowing in all the affairs, eſpecially thoſe of Scotland; and that comes from his great familiarity with Scalmorley, Sir James Montgomery, and, by his means, this man has had the influence to raiſe many a broil amongſt them, and is ſtill raiſing more.

This correſpondence muſt be entertained; and that cannot be without money: for the perſons concerned have not whereon to live. This muſt be ſoon too, and I thought it might have been ſupplied from the 29,000 pounds your Majeſty received for yourſelf, of the 50,000 was

1689. October. given for your entertainment. But, upon diſcourſe with my lord Waldgrave, I find he could not get the miniſters to let him know what they reſolved in that matter; nor to explain whether it was paid or not, or whether it was to be paid at all. This is unlucky; but it muſt be known; for it is of importance, that diſtinction be made of what is for your entertainment, and what for the war; yet ſo as no exception can be taken at the demand. The difference I take to be this, that what is given for entertainment, your Majeſty may diſpoſe of for ſuch ends as you ſhall think fit; and, indeed, I think your Majeſty will need a conſiderable part of it to live on, and for the aſſiſtance of ſuch as are like to ſtarve in gaols in England upon your Majeſty's account, and ſome part of it muſt go for ſuch intelligence, as they would ſtarve; for they believe none but their own, and all theſe are refugees and fanaticks, who write all the whig news they can pick up. This will not do your buſineſs. Beſides, ſome perſon muſt be ſent to give an account of your Majeſty's affairs, leſt they, who all pretend to ſkill in the politicks, make judgment on the wrong notions they have; and ſo believe, that your Majeſty would be incapable of relieving them, tho' you come back: ſo ill an opinion have they of your conduct; and ſo little they know the condition of your affairs. As for example, all who come from England rail againſt me as a traitor and a Sunderland, or worſe, if that can be; becauſe that I durſt not come into England myſelf; and, therefore, had hindered your Majeſty from coming, tho' you had arms enough, 15,000 French all this ſummer in the army, 700,000 *l.* ſterling money from France, and the command of their whole fleet. I confeſs, had this been ſo, I muſt have been worſe than they can conceive of me, if I had been againſt your Majeſty's going. But, as fooliſh as this is, it is univerſally believed; and, therefore, there muſt be a way of true intelligence found, which I am now upon, both directly from England to your Majeſty, and by this.

Fergus Graham *, being come over here, will be the fit man to be the firſt informer of the true ſtate of your affairs; and how much your Majeſty deſerves the praiſe of all the world for your conduct in Ireland, inſtead of being reproached. I thought to have ſent Tempeſt firſt; but he will not look ſo diſintereſted as the other, who came fraught with com-

* Brother to the lord Preſton.

plaints

plaints againſt me, and is now fully ſatisfied of the folly of them, and all the things they ſo fully believe in England. Beſides, he is a fit man to take a farm, or find a farmer on the ſea coaſt, for laying down of letters. If he think better to go to Ireland, I will ſend Mr. Tempeſt only to lord Preſton and that gang; for there are ſeveral gangs who truſt not one another; and all theſe muſt be managed ſeparately, according to their tempers and deſires, and what is poſſible to be done muſt be to keep them in heart; and yet not make them believe what we are ſure cannot be performed; for, at the long run, ſuch things does infinite harm. 1689. October.

The next matter of great importance, is the management of this new Pope, who, they ſay, is entirely for France. He gained, but by one vote, to be elected; and all the French cardinals voted for him: ſo he owes his election to them, and the duke de Chaunes is his moſt intimate friend. They lived long in one houſe together; and that duke was inſtructed to ſtand for him, though none of the other parties imagined it; and he being a Venetian, is of a ſtate has moſt generouſly eſpouſed your Majeſty's intereſt, and put affronts on the reſident the prince of Orange would have ſent, and has continued yours, in poſſeſſion of your Majeſty's right; and, it's ſaid, that it was this Ottoboni who, before the election, propoſed, that a conſiderable part of the money found with the old Pope's treaſurers, ſhould be employed for your Majeſty's reſtoration. Moſt certain it is, that he has begun to compliment France, and has aſſured the ambaſſador of all the bulls now wanting for France; and the moſt Chriſtian King has preſented him with Avignon. So that I hope God will ſmile again on your Majeſty's affairs, from that rigid corner from which ſo many of your misfortunes ſpring.

The diſtance your Majeſty is at, made me adviſe the Queen to make your excuſe, and to ſend her compliments early, and to begin to lay your Majeſty's condition at his Holineſs's feet; and I myſelf have made bold to write to the cardinals d'Eſte and Norfolk. Theſe letters, whereof I have ſent copies incloſed, that your Majeſty may ſee what I do; in which, if I do amiſs, your Majeſty will pardon a zeal that cannot let ſlip any occaſion of ſerving you, which my conſcience convinces me is for the beſt; and I ſhall go on with this, till I have your Majeſty's commands in the matter, and your own letters, which may either be done there, or

1689. October. the incloſed copy followed and ſigned by your Majeſty, and ſent back open to me, as you ſhall pleaſe to order, together with theſe to the cardinals. But I am yet to ſee the miniſters here; and ſhall lay all before your Majeſty, in the beſt method I can, before this expreſs is diſpatched.

There are ſome four or five hundred Iriſh officers and ſoldiers come to Liſle, from Hamborough, through all imaginable difficulties, till they came to the duke of Lorraine's army; who told them, if they ſaid they were to ſerve in France, he muſt put them in priſon: but, if they were to go and ſerve their own King, he would give them all paſſes. So they ſaid they were to go to your Majeſty to ſerve you; and he not only gave them paſſes, but money to bear their expences: a thing ſo generous as deſerves your royal thanks; and, indeed, it has gained him more reputation here, than moſt things he could have done, conſidering his circumſtances with the Emperor. Theſe men we hope to get over ſupernumerary, when the reſt comes. I never knew what impatience was, as now to be ſo long of hearing from your Majeſty; eſpecially at a time when there is all the reaſon in the world to believe ſome conſiderable action muſt have been done; and, indeed, in the circumſtance your Majeſty's army was, I think it is a conſiderable proof of your Majeſty's conduct, that you did not run behind the Shannon, as others adviſed you, and as your army had done, had not you been at the head of it.

At St. Germain, 25th October.

I Have been ſeveral times at this place, in order to lay down ways for carrying on your Majeſty's ſervice; wherein, I hope, now, at laſt, ſomething more conſiderable may be done. For the Queen will give your Majeſty an account of the laſt diſcourſe ſhe had with this King, and I ſhall be ſure to preſs it on with the miniſters all I can, ſo long as I am here. But I confeſs an unexpected thing has happened to me, by a propoſal of the Queen's to me, to go to Rome. I defended myſelf from it, with that deference I owe to her Majeſty; and layed out my perſonal defects for that employment. But, withall, laid myſelf at her feet, to be diſpoſed of. I likewiſe would not plead my character already, for an excuſe; but would have had her ſee it might have been one, if the neceſſity was not urgent. She ſaid ſhe would hope, that if the King

here were of the mind, that it were fit I would not refuſe the thing. I am not of a temper ever to refuſe any thing, which may be for your Majeſty's ſervice, what hazard or trouble ſoever there may be in it. Of this, I believe, her Majeſty will give you an account, and how the moſt Chriſtian King was violent for it, as a thing of great importance to your Majeſty and to him both, which I had confirmed to me, by M. de Seignelay, this day again. 1689. October.

I muſt, therefore, tell your Majeſty, that I go, when they order me to be gone; and that I expect your Majeſty's approbation of my going, and your commands to me, in the terms here incloſed, or ſuch others, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit. But it ſeems to me moſt proper, to ſhun all expences, that I have no character, but that of your Majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate; and that your Majeſty's letters have theſe expreſſions in it. For it will not be fit, that one in my circumſtances be made an envoy; and, I am confident, your Majeſty would not put it upon me, and there is not wherewithal to keep out the poſt of an ambaſſador: ſo ſecretary is more to be believed, than both the other characters, more honour and leſs charge. This, I hope, your Majeſty will approve of, and haſte back, two or three ſeveral ways, duplicates of what I ſend incloſed for your Majeſty to ſign. The reaſon that I leave the inſtructions ſo general is, that I am confident your Majeſty is perſuaded, that I will do all that lies in my power to ſerve you in every thing, and that I have the diſcretion not to do what I ought not, in any of your Majeſty's concerns.

If there be neceſſity to have letters to any cardinals, ſuch as the cardinals employed in affairs by this Pope, of whom we cannot now think your Majeſty will not take it ill, I ſign ſuch letters only of compliment for you, which I will not do, but only in caſe of neceſſity; and that, I hope, ſhall not occur.

I am ſenſible, that I ought not to have gone without your Majeſty's commands, if I had not thought that I could ſerve you both in this matter. But, to ſay the truth, I have been ſo toſſed up and down, I have no will of my own; and, therefore, whatſoever is beſt for your Majeſty I do it without heſitation.

I hope to get theſe duplicates of this diſpatch ſent next week; and, therefore, I ſhall not now enlarge on this matter, of which your Majeſty

1689. October. jeſty will ſee I had no thought, by my letters to the cardinals d'Eſté and Norfolk. For, though I thought it might be fit, when I was in Ireland, and gave it in a note to your Majeſty, yet it was quite out of my thoughts, having no orders from you; and, beſides, now, that, upon what paſſed at Fountainbleau, and the conferences I had with the miniſters, the ſame things being urged by the Queen to the King here, he begins to think more of the affairs of England (as poſſible); and that probably he will truſt your Majeſty with his fleet; I might hope to be ſo happy as to ſee your Majeſty in England once again: but I ſubmit.

I muſt tell your Majeſty, that there is nothing ſo wicked, that ſome here, and others from England do not vent againſt me. But, I am afraid, they will be found as little your Majeſty's friends, at the long run, as theſe in Scotland were. My happineſs is to have your Majeſty for my judge, who, I flatter myſelf, knows the bottom of my heart; and that it is as true as ever was in any ſubject's breaſt. I am, therefore, hopeful they will have no influence on your Majeſty, whoſe goodneſs to me, on ſo many occaſions, is the only comfort of my life; and that I eſteem, above all the ſhare I have of this world. Forgive my ſaying ſo much, tho' it is of one ſo entirely your Majeſty's own, by all the ties which bind a faithful ſubject to the beſt of maſters, as well as Kings.

Since writing this, it's thought abſolutely fit, that there be another copy of the letter to the Pope, with credentials in it to me, as ambaſſador extraordinary, ſent hither to lie in the Queen's hands, till ſhe and the moſt Chriſtian King find it neceſſary to make uſe of them. For it is moſt certain I will, at firſt daſh, have all the Spaniſh and German faction upon me; and that being the moſt ceremonious court in the world, things not yet ſeen may occur, which may not ſuffer the delay of ſending to Ireland; and, therefore, it's beſt to depoſit theſe letters in the Queen's hands. The form is herewith ſent. All of them have papers ſewed on them, to ſhew what they are for; and they muſt all be with flying ſeals, or not ſealed at all; for I can do that when I get them.

I have ſent your Majeſty the news from England, at length; an intelligence which, if rightly made uſe of here, your affairs had been more forwardly, both in England and here. But, to ſay true, it's ſtarved, and like to be broken off. The uſe which ſhould have been made of it, was

to

to have turned it into French, and to have ſent it to the court of France; by which they would have ſeen, by what ſteps we came to believe that there is a party in England ready to join, which is ſtill what they have moſt doubted of. This I had begun, and likewiſe a correſpondence in England, by which I had informed them right of the ſolid things they were to expect, inſtead of theſe airy follies they are undone by, and learn them to go on better meaſures; though, indeed, lord Arran and ſome pretending to do your Majeſty ſervice, have moſt unjuſtly injured me; but, if they ſerve you, I forgive them; and would go further than I am going, if that can advance your Majeſty's intereſt a ſtep. This letter is ſo impertinently long, that I am aſhamed of it, though it is fit your Majeſty know as much as poſſible of what paſſes here; and, indeed, it were to be wiſhed, that there were ſome of experience and knowledge of affairs here. For tho' the Queen has as little need of any to help her, as ever any body, man or woman, had, yet it is an eaſe for her, ſometimes to have people to aſſiſt her; and my lord Waldgrave's ſickneſs hinders him from thinking of many things too important to be neglected. Beſides, that, for ſome time, he is to be quite abſent. I confeſs I never ſaw any body underſtand affairs better than the Queen; and ſhe has really gained ſo much the eſteem of the King, here, and his miniſters, that I am truly of the opinion, if it had not been for her, the wicked reports ſpread here had made your affairs go entirely wrong at the court. I dare not enter to ſpeak of the prince, for adding to this volume; only, I do proteſt, that he is, without any ſort of flattery, the fineſt child I ever ſaw. God Almighty bleſs your Majeſty, the Queen, and him for your comfort: grant you the poſſeſſion of your own, and may you never have a worſe ſervant than, &c. 1689. October.

Melfort was at great pains to obviate all the objections againſt his propoſals of an invaſion of England; as appears from the following paper, in Nairne's hand, intituled,

"*Reaſons why his Majeſty ought to go with all diligence into England, October 20th, 1689.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 77.

"THE kingdom of Ireland, at long run, is not to be kept, againſt England and Scotland, without a vaſt charge.

The

1689. October. The kingdom of Ireland is ſo exhauſted, by the many great diſorders, rapines, plunderings, and robberies, that it is not able to furniſh any conſiderable part of this expence.

The King went to Ireland, only in order to go to England, ſo ſoon as it was in a condition to receive him, with any probability of ſucceſs. This probability is, when a conſiderable party of the nation is ready to embrace his Majeſty's intereſt, eſpecially the men of quality.

The King, being convinced this is now the caſe, has all the inclination imaginable to proceed on this deſign.

The queſtion then is, if theſe be the circumſtances of England and Scotland at this time; which muſt be tried, by any means ſhall be thought fit; which being found true, his Majeſty, ſo generouſly aſſiſted hitherto by the moſt Chriſtian King, hath no reaſon to queſtion his aſſiſtance, in this ſo glorious enterprize, his intereſt, as well as glory, being concerned in it.

The kingdom of France is not only ſurrounded with enemies; which way ſoever one looks, they ſtill ſee a formidable enemy before them; and, beſides, the King is forced to guard a long ſea-coaſt, to preſerve his kingdom from invaſion on that ſide.

All the coaſt, at the King's firſt landing, will be immediately out of danger, and the troops there have leave to be employed elſewhere, to the great advantage of France; and, as the ſucceſs is great in Ireland, the Auxbourg league grows weak: for had the King no other thing to do, but to aſſiſt France, they would ſoon force their enemies to accept of a peace of their propoſing.

The expences of this, at preſent, will be money ſaved next year moſt conſiderable; for what will now be requiſite will not preſerve Ireland ſix months; and this muſt be done, at long run, ere the King be re-eſtabliſhed.

The men the King ſends to his Majeſty's aſſiſtance, being ſix thouſand, it will be no difficult matter to make them up to eight thouſand, to give fifteen hundred horſe and five hundred dragoons, conſidering that, by this, the whole ſea-coaſt is relieved, and ſufficiently guarded.

The tranſportation can be nō inſuperable difficulty, ſeeing the moſt Chriſtian King hath many more ſhips of fifty guns and under, than the Engliſh

Engliſh and Dutch. Beſides, the Maloines and all theſe, being ſhips proper for winter, will be fitter for this purpoſe, than bigger ſhips. 1689. October.

Theſe, or a conſiderable part of them, muſt be ſent, however, to tranſport the ſuccours already condeſcended to; and the addition will not be of that importance, as to delay ſo conſiderable a deſign for France, as well as for the King.

The ports of Ireland for the French are as uſeful, as thoſe of England can be to the Engliſh and Dutch; and their ſhips, being truly ſtronger and better manned, are in a better condition to keep the ſeas and for fighting. Beſides that, the officers are better, have more honour, and fight for a King they juſtly adore; and that the others have neither honour, experience, nor care of the uſurper, and only fight for pay.

There are hardly, in ſummer, many days found, in which fleets can fight: how much leſs is ſuch weather to be found in winter?

There are many difficulties in the matter. But it is well known, the moſt difficult things to other nations, and impracticable by other councils, have been contrived and acted with ſucceſs in France; and, it is to be hoped, they will find expedients for this matter, which other leſs wiſe or experienced may juſtly deſpair of.

By delay, Ireland will be wearied out with a long war; and the domeſtic diſorders have been ſo great, that it's to be feared there will hardly be wherewith to feed the armies next ſummer.

The King's friends, who have been in an anxious expectation of him all this ſummer, will be tired out by impriſonment, fines, proceſſes, plunderings, and, what is worſe, have an ill opinion of the King's conduct, and deſpair that ever they ſhall be relieved; and ſo turn in to where they may be covered from the violence of that tempeſt they are threatened with.

The remainder of the party in Scotland, already almoſt ruined by delays, will be quite pulled up by the roots, and the uſurpation ſo ſettled, that it will be moſt difficult to ſhake it.

The prince of Orange will have an excuſe to ſend all the Britiſh forces out of England and Scotland, as if to reduce Ireland, and ſo have an opportunity

1689. October. opportunity to fill that iſle with foreigners; which would be more difficult, if the forces were at home, and the people put on their guard, as they may be, by fit inſtruments, at London; and Scotland is already upon this foot of demanding the fulfilling of promiſes, in regard to their privilege, and yet they have no ſuch ground of complaint as a foreign army would be.

The King can take the number he deſigns now from Ireland, without hazarding that kingdom, all action being there near an end, which he cannot do, if the ſummer were come; and, by this means, Ireland will be ſafer than it is now; the true way to preſerve it, being to attack England. This expedient has been of uſe before, in as conſiderable a caſe.

The advantages the King will have are, that, being on the ſame continent with his friends, they will dare to ſhow themſelves; and the indifferent will be obliged to take party, the oppreſſed will reſent their ill-uſage, the old diſbanded army have an opportunity to revenge themſelves, the Catholicks have a head to rally to, the church of England the confidence to ſay they are injured and to demand redreſs, the non-conformiſts, ever trimmers in danger, ſtand and look on, and leave the prince and his ſtrangers to act for themſelves; reſentments of wrongs, hopes of advantage, pardon, preferment, or ſafety, each argument will have its party, and the giddy humour of that nation, never content, will make them as apt to huzanna, as they were before to perſecute; and, in general, it is a ſtrong argument to be in peace, on the legal foot; a thing not to be hoped for under the uſurper. The prince of Wales is no more diſputed. God be bleſſed, he thrives. This was looked on as impoſſible, and was the ſtrongeſt argument to join with that prince, whom, they thought, would, ſooner or later, be their maſter, and uſe them as they ſhould now do him. The bribes he promiſed are not paid; or, if they be, they who have them would be content to ſave them. All theſe things make for the King's going, as ſoon as it is poſſible for him.

At his landing, the beſt port in England will be in his hands; which, being ſecured, affords a ſecure retreat to any ſhips of the moſt Chriſtian King, who ſhall have any need thereof, eſpecially in caſe of any engagement on the coaſt of England. Going, at this ſeaſon, ſecures any poſt

the King ſhall take, if he reſolves not to advance, through any diſappointment he may meet with; the ſeaſon making the action difficult, in that country where the King muſt land, except the numbers be unequal, as it is ſuppoſed the King's will be much ſuperior to what the prince of Orange can bring; who has not now above ten thouſand foot in all the ſouth of England, and very few horſe or dragoons. 1689. October.

Lord Melfort to King James, October, 1689.

A copy in Nairne's hand. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 75.

The miſrepreſentations of D'Avaux.—The character of the ductheſs of Tyrconnel.—Biſhop Malony, and the Iriſh faction.—They will endeavour to carry every thing in parliament.—He adviſes James not to call one.—Diviſions in Scotland and England.—A correſpondence to be ſettled with the malecontents.—Melfort is to ſet out on his embaſſy.

THE laſt letter I had the honour of writing to your Majeſty was ſo long, that it has not left much for me to ſay; and this carries the duplicate of that whole diſpatch; and, therefore, I muſt not weary your Majeſty with too long a letter now.

The wicked informations which have been ſent hither, are of worſe conſequence, and more uneaſy to remove, than I thought them to be; becauſe there comes daily freſh ſupplies to ſupport the old; and ſo induſtrious they are here, they need but a hint to ſerve for a foundation. They build upon it abundantly.

M. D'Avaux is not idle of his ſide. The laſt poſt was full of his invectives. (But I muſt firſt caution your Majeſty, that it muſt be for your own uſe, leſt I hurt my informers; for they ſaw the letter itſelf.) In the firſt place, he ſays, that all things now go well, ſince I was ſent away: that all the Iriſhmen have another heart, ſince they ſaw my lord Tyrconnel with them; and that it is evidently ſeen the prejudice I did to your Majeſty's affairs. This he has reaſon to write here. But how does this agree with the great deſire he ſhewed to have me ſtay?

In the next place, he ſays, that now your Majeſty is beginning to take up the proteſtants of Dublin; and that, once before, there were a good many in priſon; but that I let them out without order; and that for

1689. October. many I gave paſſes, at Cork and Kinſale, to men who now are with Schomberg, and that after my coming away from Dublin. Theſe things are ſuch follies as all wiſe men laugh at, and his beſt friends here ſay, that he puſhes the matter too far to be believed: for he has ſhewn malice, and ſo deſerves no credit; and, as for what relates to me, I laugh at him, and would ſay no more; but to you there are ſome things elſe to be ſaid. Mr. de Lauzun is to go over, and I am afraid that he and the ambaſſador will not agree long together. This will draw in my lady, and conſequently my lord Tyrconnel, and there will be a war in your own court, which I fled hither to ſhun: for that end, that there may be no diſſenſion, it were fit D'Avaux were recalled; which advice (as many others I have given) is downright againſt my own intereſt; for it would be no ſmall juſtification to me here, if he ſhould agree as ill with Mr. de Lauzun; and, beſides, it's better for me now, that I ſhall not be here, that he were at a diſtance likewiſe. But that does not bias me. He ought to be recalled, for the quiet of your affairs. He could not agree with one ſubmitted to him: how will he with one who will not yield an ace, nor let him meddle with French troops pay or preferment? this I ſee is the other's temper, and I dread the conſequences. There is one other thing, if it could be effectuate, were of infinite uſe; which is the getting the ducheſs of Tyrconnel, for her health, to come into France. I did not know ſhe had been ſo well known here as ſhe is; but the terms they give her, and which, for your ſervice, I may repeat unto you, is that ſhe has *(l'ame la plus noire qui ſe puiſſe concevoir.)* I think it would help to keep that peace, ſo neceſſary for you, and prevent that caballing humour, which has very ill effects.

Theſe things I write, not for the outward appearance, but becauſe there is a ſecret ſpring at bottom I confeſs I like not; and that on two accounts. Firſt, it is ſaid, Churchill has more influence in that matter, and this I believe not, except ſhe have ſent her money into England. But the ſecond is another thing, the keeping up a correſpondence here, the bottom whereof I will not underſtand; firſt, by herſelf with Mr. Courtin and by him; and ſecondly, by the nephew with the Iriſh here, who begin to have diſcourſes of the freedom of their nation. I muſt not repeat, but your Majeſty muſt prevent, leſt it come too late, by putting it out of the power of any one family to make Ireland change a maſter.

This is that what prudence demands without ſuſpecting any, and I muſt humbly lay it before your Majeſty the true way to do this. As I have often ſaid, get men of your own independent men, on whom build a government as united in your Majeſty's intereſt as poſſible, but as independent of one another. I wiſh I had the honour to be half an hour with you for the reaſons of this advice, which I dare not write leſt this fall in hands there. The perſon who carries on the deſign here is biſhop Malony, and it is plainly a faction of almoſt all the Iriſh to lay all blame at your door and to applaud Tyrconnel; not that they care for him, otherwiſe than that he is Iriſh. They ſay openly, that no man is to be truſted, but the Iriſh; and that now is the time to play their game or never. They curſe the laſt parliament, as a company of eaſy men, for not ſticking to their demands; and that, in the next, they will have other things done, eſpecially the overturning Poynings laws, &c. Lord Clare has written to biſhop Malony, telling him, that they will truſt none but their own countrymen; and, therefore, ſhortly there will be an envoy there, for their affairs; but he will employ his intereſt, that Malony ſhall be the man. From this, your Majeſty will find the neceſſity of having no parliament; and, on my conſcience, I think it ſo much for your ſervice, that I am confident you will not ſuffer any to meet. You want not excuſes too good; but it will be attempted moſt certainly. But I hope, in God, no perſuaſion will make you yield to it. In the next place, there is an abſolute neceſſity to call over to Ireland this biſhop Malony; for he is not what he ought to be. His correſpondent, for that letter, is Sir Neal O'Neal, nephew of my lord Tyrconnel; and, if your Majeſty make not an example of him, all will paſs for true he has ſent; and one ſuch action, judge by the council or judges, would put a ſtop to theſe ſtories here, if rightly uſed. And, for another means, I muſt beg of you to examine the French ambaſſador, as not knowing a thing written by him; but as a report here, if any ſuch things has been ſaid to him; and, if he denies it, to write it to me. If he ſays, there has, cauſe examine it fully, and ſend the iſſue; but let it be examined when your Majeſty is preſent. I know the reſt are not to be truſted. This, if it were only for my vindication, I ſhould not have the confidence to aſk, though I flatter myſelf with the hopes, your goodneſs to me would not refuſe to clear a faithful ſervant, that does almoſt nothing, beſides

1689. October.

1689. October. your ſervice; and whoſe zeal, for your intereſt, I hope, your Majeſty is perſuaded of. But, indeed, it is your own intereſt I purſue in this, that his black calumnies againſt your Majeſty's proceedings may not be truſted hereafter. For juſt now he complains of the raſhneſs of your conduct, in going on to Allerſton-bridge, ſo near the enemy, and that againſt his advice, and that of all the general officers of his nation. I do not find, that has taken here: for your Majeſty is much commended for it: only all are of opinion, that, if you are forced to retire, you ſhould chicane, and ſtill ruin all behind you. This Mr. de Belfond came with a card yeſterday to ſhew me. I moſt humbly beg leave now to go to the other ſide of the water.

By the advices from England, your Majeſty will ſee the diſpoſition of affairs, and the neceſſity of following theſe affairs more cloſely. Indeed there are many things to do, which require the utmoſt ſkill and application; and am ſorry, that I muſt leave them; but I will tell your Majeſty the heads of what is to be done. Scotland is diſſatisfied; would offer fair. I have given the heads. Theſe aſſurances I know your Majeſty will approve of; that is, they offer to yield, without capitulating for religion, they having the pardon for what is paſt. I have written, that they doing the beſt to bring your Majeſty back by theſe ways they have in their hands, they ſhall not only have pardon for lives and fortunes, but they ſhall have rewards ſuitable to the actual ſervices they ſhall hereafter perform. Now going away, without their anſwer, I leave that to the Queen, and am confident your Majeſty will forgive for hazarding ſuch things, when a day is of importance, as it is in this caſe, by reaſon they are at London, and actually now treating with Orange.

As for the Engliſh, they are divided in factions. One knows not of another; yet I would have found a way to have let moſt of them know your Majeſty's mind; but that I muſt leave too; only I muſt ſay, this correſpondence muſt be continued, and the money neceſſary for that left here in the Queen's hands, and I ſhall leave a memorial with her of the way it is to be done. Now that I am ſent to Rome, I hope I ſhall ſerve your Majeſty uſefully there; though, I muſt confeſs, I ſaw more to be done here, that others underſtand not, than I do there, where I am but as others, without experience, their language, or acquaintance. But I am

glad to go, where God ordains, and your Majeſty's ſervice calls me. The M. C. King has given to me of allowance, as to his ambaſſadors extraordinary, and has given me a memorial, a copy whereof I ſend incloſed. I can only ſay to your Majeſty, that there ſhall be no want of me, except of natural underſtanding; for what I have ſhall be employed to the utmoſt. I have been happy in Mr. Tallon, who has got me acquainted with ſome men of admirable knowledge in the matters of that court, and I hope all ſhall do well. I ſhall be ordered in every thing by cardinal D'Eſté, and he ſhall be the witneſs of all my actions. I hope your Majeſty will be pleaſed to have all that you think fit conſtantly tranſmitted to me, and defend me from all my enemies behind me: for I am determined never to look back, when your ſervice lies before me. I have reaſons of great weight to ſend over father Maxwell to wait on your Majeſty, for a correſpondence I muſt not have known to any but your Majeſty; and I humbly beg it of your Majeſty to take him, as one of your chaplains, the time he ſtays; himſelf deſerves it on many accounts, and your Majeſty has none of his nation. But theſe are not now the only reaſons. I beg it for your own ſervice, and what I ſhall anſwer your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to repent of. I have told him many things, as under confeſſion, with power only to reveal them to yourſelf; and he, knowing the jealouſy, will be better able to watch the deſigns of theſe caballers, and to let you know their progreſs; for I have given him his meaſures here, and I am ſure he will obey them exactly. 1689. October.

Theſe letters, when compared with the accounts printed of the intrigues of the year 1689, authenticate the hiſtory of that period.—The private inſtructions which Melfort gave to father Maxwell his confeſſor, are in his lordſhip's hand-writing, among Nairne's papers.—The reaſons for ſending him to Ireland are mentioned in the preceding letter.

Inſtructions for Mr. Maxwell, going into Ireland.

Carte's Papers, D N. 1 fol. No 76.

TO give the King his letters, and to inform him, that, under the ſeal of confeſſion to all, beſides the King himſelf, I had told him of what was ſaid to be a-doing amongſt the Iriſh in Paris and elſewhere, that

1689, October. that the King might have his eyes open to prevent their folly, if it were really true. Firſt, That it has been debated amongſt them, whether it be not their intereſt to join themſelves to ſome catholic crown able to protect them, rather than be ſubject to the revolutions of the proteſtant kingdoms of Great Britain; and that moſt of them at Paris have been of this mind.

That upon this deſign it was, that they were ſo *opiniatre* in ſome points in the parliament; and that, after it, they decried the King's proceedings, to make it the eaſier to go off from him, if they found any to accept of them.

That it was for this, they would have all Iriſh ſecretaries and other officers Iriſh, that they might have it, one time, in their power to manage this matter the more cloſely.

To furniſh theſe at Paris with arguments of the neceſſity of theſe things, ſome in Ireland were employed to write letters to defame the King and his government, and to cry up that of the natives.

Theſe letters were all tranſlated into French, and by biſhop Malony, taking on him as empowered for Ireland, communicated to the court of France.

That it was, for this reaſon, they could not ſuffer the earl of Melfort, ſuſpecting that he would ſoon ſee this matter, of which the King knows his ſuſpicions founded on appearances.

That the ducheſs of Tyrconnel is a main inſtrument, in carrying on this deſign, and keeps a conſtant correſpondence with M. Courtin, and by him, with M. Louvois. That, for this reaſon, biſhop Malony ſtays here, and had the impudence to give one of theſe lybels to the Queen, and to propoſe to her the having an Iriſh envoy at the court of France; he himſelf having the promiſe of lord Clare and others for their endeavours, that he ſhall be the man.

For this reaſon, it's ſaid to be that M. D'Avaux had made a faction amongſt the Iriſh; but that the deſign was rejected with ſcorn here. For that reaſon, that advice was given to abandon the kingdom to Schomberg, thinking the King would loſe the hearts of the people, by deſerting them; and others gain it, by recovering it again, when the ſuccours

ſuccours came over. This deſign not reliſhed here, they uſe only to perſuade the uſefulneſs of it. 1689. October.

Many more things are ſaid, and original informations to be ſhewn the Queen of all the matter, principally in relation to a ſeſſion of parliament, in which great things are propoſed to the nation, &c.

To prevent the miſchief of this, it will be neceſſary, in the firſt place, that in all places hereafter to be filled, the King chooſe men having no dependance, but on himſelf alone; and that, ſo long as he is there in perſon, he diſcourages all dependance on any other to eclipſe him; but in ſuch a manner, as none can take exception juſtly at.

The next thing is, by no means to have a ſeſſion of parliament there, having excuſes none can take exceptions at.

Pope Innocent the XI. died on the 12th of Auguſt, 1689. James received the news of his death, in a letter from the cardinals, while he was at Dundalk, offering battle to Schomberg. His anſwer to them, then aſſembled in the conclave, is in the ſtyle of a true ſon of the church, and dated from Dundalk, the 30th of September. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 71.

On the 6th of October, Alexander the VIII. was placed in the papal chair. Lewis the XIV. who had renewed the war with the Emperor, was deſirous of ſecuring the favour of the new pontiff, and a temporary accommodation was made up between the courts of Rome and Verſailles, by a tacit conceſſion of ſome of the pretenſions on both ſides. Lewis likewiſe adviſed the Queen to ſend Melfort to Rome, in quality of ambaſſador from James, as mentioned by Melfort himſelf in the preceding letters, and he furniſhed him with inſtructions, that he might not be obliged to wait, until he received them from his maſter. Theſe inſtructions are among Mr. Nairne's papers, and entitled, "Memorial for the earl of Melfort, going to Rome on the part of the King of Great Britain." Lewis believed it was neceſſary, that James ſhould have a miniſter at Rome, in order to cultivate a good underſtanding with the Pope, and to procure his holineſs's aſſiſtance in re-eſtabliſhing him, and in preventing the entire abolition of the Romiſh faith in the Britiſh empire. He thought Melfort well qualified to execute ſuch a commiſſion, and furniſhed him with ample directions before he ſet out D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 68.

1689. October. out on his embaſſy. He directed him to cultivate a good understanding with the cardinals and miniſters of France, who would have inſtructions to ſecond him in his negociations; and particularly with cardinal D'Eſté, who might be of infinite ſervice, and had already given ſufficient proofs of his attachment to the intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty, which cardinal Norfolk, though his ſubject, had always neglected. He deſired him to repreſent the low ſtate of his maſter's affairs, and to ſhew the pope, that providence ſeemed to have reſerved, for the honour of his pontificate, the moſt glorious enterpriſe that could be undertaken for the advantage of religion and the good of the church.

Theſe circumſtances, Lewis continued, were favourable. The prince of Orange's tyranny had become inſupportable, even to thoſe who had called him over. There was a ſtrong party for James in Scotland, in England, and in Ireland; but it was neceſſary to ſupport them. The proteſtant princes were in a league to aboliſh the Roman Catholic religion (of which Lewis attempts to give proofs in Britain, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Germany). It was incumbent on the ſee of Rome to employ all its authority, and even the treaſures of the church, againſt them. The prince of Orange, if he was once maſter of the Britiſh empire, and the States General in conjunction, would endeavour to reeſtabliſh Calviniſm in France, and even to introduce it into Italy. The proteſtant princes and ſtates had deluded the Roman Catholic princes, and met with no oppoſition but from France. France was able to defend itſelf, but the union of the houſe of Auſtria with proteſtant princes could not fail to be prejudicial to the Roman Catholic religion.

Melfort ſhould endeavour to perſuade the Pope, to bring the Emperor and the King of Spain to the ſentiments with which the danger that threatened their religion ſhould inſpire them; to unite the Roman Catholic princes in a league to reſtore a King, who ſuffered merely for his attachment to the religion of the holy ſee; to diſcontinue the ſubſidy which his predeceſſor gave to the emperor, and to employ it in aſſiſting the loyal ſubjects of the King of England, to drive away the uſurper of his throne.

Melfort

Melfort ſet out on his embaſſy with theſe inſtructions before he received credentials and inſtructions from his maſter. James's credentials to him are in the uſual form, and his inſtructions in the following terms: 1689. October. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 69.

" *Inſtructions to our right truſty and right well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor, John Earl of Melfort, our principal Secretary of State at Rome, or on his way thither, by order of our deareſt Conſort the Queen.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 70.

A Copy in Nairne's hand.

October, 1689.

SO ſoon as you ſhall have received theſe our inſtructions and our letter to the Pope, you ſhall demand an audience of his holineſs, wherein you ſhall congratulate his exaltation to the holy chair, in our name; aſſuring him of our filial obedience, and that the reaſon of your not uſing the character of our ambaſſador extraordinary to perform theſe things, in the due manner, proceeds from the preſent ill condition of our affairs.

You ſhall hold forth to him the preſent ſtate of our affairs, the injuſtice we ſuffer, upon the account of our religion, and the fears the proteſtants had of its apparent progreſs, in our dominions; the violence of the perſecution againſt the Catholics, and the horridneſs of the uſurpation of the prince of Orange. That this affair is not only of importance to us, but to the whole Catholic world. You are, therefore, to demand his holineſs's aſſiſtance, by endeavouring a peace among Catholic princes; if not general, yet to diſunite as many as is poſſible from the proteſtant alliance, that ſo our deareſt brother, the moſt Chriſtian King, may be the better enabled to give us thoſe generous aſſiſtances, our neceſſities call for from him towards our re-eſtabliſhment.

And, whilſt this is doing, you are to preſs, that his holineſs may give us ſuch preſent ſupplies, as may enable us to wait for the other, and to maintain theſe dominions we are in poſſeſſion of.

Such letters to cardinals or others as may be neceſſary, and we cannot here think of now, cauſe prepare there, and ſign for us, ſo as they may be thought from us.

You ſhall make our compliments to ſuch cardinals as you ſhall find to ſtand well-affected to us, eſpecially to the cardinal of Norfolk.

You are to communicate, in all things, with the cardinal D'Eſte, our couſin, whoſe directions you are to follow, in what relates to our ſervice.

1689. October. You are to correſpond with the miniſters employed there by our deareſt brother, the moſt Chriſtian King, and go alongſt with them in all things; our intereſt and that of our deareſt brother being all the ſame.

You ſhall do all things which you judge can beſt conduce to the weal of our ſervice, and obey what orders you ſhall receive from our deareſt conſort the Queen, as if they were immediately given by us.

You ſhall remain at Rome, or where his Holineſs ſhall be, till recalled by us or our deareſt conſort the Queen.

You ſhall diligently obſerve what you may think worth informing us or our deareſt conſort the Queen of; and inform us punctually thereof, from time to time, by letters directed to ourſelves; and we ſhall, from time to time, ſend you ſuch other inſtructions as may be for our ſervice.

Given at our court, &c.

When Melfort was on his way to Rome, he ſent the Queen his opinion about the diviſions which reigned in England and in Scotland, and the means of fomenting them. He gave directions about the proper method of receiving intelligence, and of guarding againſt the Iriſh faction.

Lord Melfort to the Queen. Toulon, November 22d, 1689.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 78. November. THE intelligences which come from England, containing many things of great importance, it is fit that extracts of them be punctually tranſlated into French, and given to the French miniſters, that they, knowing the true progreſs of the King's affairs in England, may the more readily join in the meaſures which may be moſt uſeful for the King; and that the moſt Chriſtian King himſelf may the better judge of what is propoſed to him by your Majeſty.

There ſeems to be ſome jarrings betwixt the prince of Orange and the rebellious Scots, which it will be fit to foment; and, for that end, all encouragement muſt be given to ſuch as will ſtand up againſt him, they promiſing to adhere to the King's intereſt; and this being begun already, muſt be carefully continued, and the King's authority interpoſed (if required by theſe Scots) or the Queen, till that can be had.

This beginning in Scotland will, no doubt, have great conſequences, if the King's friends in England take the example, in that parliament, which

which is now aſſembled at Weſtminſter; where a few reſolute members might put a great ſtop to the P. of O. his proceedings, if not quite defeat his deſigns, money being his great buſineſs. Many reaſons can be alledged to hinder it, and whatever is done on that head, is grateful to the people, who love not to pay their money, now eſpecially, that trade is low. Care, therefore, muſt be taken to inſinuate this to all the parties the King has in England; and money, &c. muſt be offered to ſuch as will appear in that affair. 1689. November.

The perſons who can beſt manage this matter, are theſe from whom the ſeveral intelligences come; ſeeing that the parties know not of one another, and that it is of importance to keep all their councils; and, for this reaſon, ſome money muſt be lodged in careful hands, for the carrying on this work, beſides what muſt be employed in relieving ſtarving priſoners; which is a juſtice and charity not to be forgotten, as far as is poſſible, conſidering the circumſtances.

Sir Robert Clerk is not to be forgot, and thoſe of his gang; for, though I have not his acquaintance, yet I muſt ſay, that, as to his intelligence, he has done more than all the reſt together; and, therefore, 4 or 500*l.* to be put in his hands, to be diſpoſed of for the King's ſervice, is abſolutely neceſſary for carrying on that intelligence, and it muſt not be loſt on any terms. Mr. Belfons is likewiſe of great uſe, and he muſt have ſome aſſiſtance, juſt that he may live.

It is of importance, that what your Majeſty does in theſe things be only known to yourſelf, and to ſuch as Sir Robert Clerk and Mr. Belfons truſt: for there are ſome, whom your Majeſty truſts, that theſe would not; and they bearing the hazard, it is juſt to humour them in this manner. Of this, Mr. Innes can inform more particularly; and, ſeeing it is he who has been at the expences on this ſide, it will be fit that he have juſt as much as to reimburſe him; and more he will not, at this time, expect from your Majeſty.

All imaginable inſtances muſt be made, with the moſt Chriſtian King, to get ſome way to tranſport the King into England; and, as arguments ariſe, from the ſeveral intelligences from England, Scotland, or Ireland, this muſt ſtill be made uſe of to facilitate the matter, at leaſt, againſt the ſpring.

1689. November. It will be moſt neceſſary to ſee, if ſome of the Iriſh or French merchants will carry arms into Ireland to ſell, for which they will get great prices in the native commodity of that kingdom, to wit, wool, butter, beef, &c. by which an uſeful trade will be carried on to both nations, and much for the King's intereſt. The beſt way will be, for your Majeſty to cauſe ſome of the moſt ſubſtantial merchants be ſpoken with, and preſſed to, as good ſervice for their own nation.

It will be moſt fit to endeavour ſome ſeparate relief for Scotland, beſides what goes into Ireland, as well to ſhew theſe brave men, who ſtand out for the King, in deſpite of all diſcouragement, that they are not forgot, as really to enable them to make a more powerful diverſion againſt the ſpring; which, if it can be effectuate, will be of a vaſt importance. If it cannot be obtained from the moſt Chriſtian King, it is of ſuch importance, that it will be fit for your Majeſty yourſelf to do ſomething in it, even out of ſuch money as the King is to get from France. Great care is to be taken to ſuppreſs, as much as may be, the clamours, and indeed follies, of ſome Iriſh at Paris, by letting them know the undutifulneſs of their proceedings, and ſending ſome of the moſt buſy into Ireland. It will be abſolutely neceſſary to have ſome amongſt them to inform of what paſſes; for this employment Mr. Sheridan is the moſt proper man; and from him may be got the moſt ſecret of their intrigues and correſpondences; though, at the ſame time, great care is to be had not to believe what he brings not good proofs for, eſpecially as to the fooliſh deſign he mentioned to me of delivering up the kingdom; a thing would never be accepted; and, beſides, ſo fooliſh and villainous in them, that I cannot think it ever entered into their heads. If it has, they are only ſome mad-men, and has fooliſhly been talking at random, and not any men of ſenſe or conſideration. To find out this, Sheridan is to ſhew his proofs, but only to your Majeſty: for the thing is ſo fooliſh, and ſo undutiful, that it's of importance it go no farther.

I need not put your Majeſty in mind how neceſſary it is to free your own family of any who may be ſpies upon your actions. It is a moſt intolerable thing for us, who are private people, to be conſtrained in our families; and muſt be much more troubleſome to your Majeſty, who ought much leſs to be ſubjected to ſuch hardſhips.

It

It is, in my opinion, moſt neceſſary that Mr. de Lauzun be made as eaſy as poſſible to make him: for, if once there begin any jarrings, they will have worſe conſequences than any thing has yet happened; and care muſt be had of any pretenſions he may have, that the King be informed of them; and that, from time to time, he gratify him in ſuch things as he may juſtly pretend to; and, on the other ſide, the D. of Tyrconnel would be precautioned not to ſuffer himſelf to be led into ſuch little cabals as may diſorder the King's affairs, and never end in any other confuſion. 1689. November.

The pretenſions of the French, as to their ranks, muſt be ſent over diſtinctly to the King, that he may prepare all who are concerned to ſubmit to what he ſhall determine. This Mr. de Lauzun can inform of, and it's beſt doing it now, before the troops part from Breſt.

This being all that occurs at this time, if there be any thing more, it ſhall be ſent as ſoon as poſſible; and, if any thing occur to your Majeſty, you have but to let me receive your commands, and they ſhall be moſt punctually obeyed.

MELFORT."

Melfort arrived at Rome before he received King James's inſtructions. For the firſt memorial which he preſented to the Pope was in the name of the Queen. It is in Mr. Nairne's hand, and dated December 19th, 1689. December.

AFTER a complimentary preamble to his Holineſs, Melfort begins with aſſuring him, "That there never was a King of England ſo beloved and ſo obeyed by his people, as his Majeſty, until it appeared by his actions, that he was more zealous to gain a heavenly crown for his ſubjects, than careful to preſerve an earthly one for himſelf. This and the extirpation of hereſy in France, gave ſuch an alarm to the proteſtants throughout all Europe, and even hell itſelf, that they put in practice every means, however deteſtable, to ruin the King, and with him all thoſe who had the ſame ſentiments of piety and religion." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 79.

This myſtery of iniquity, as Melfort calls it, muſt, according to him, without a ſpeedy remedy, be of the moſt fatal conſequences to the Catholic

1689. December. tholic religion: but he ſaves the pope the pain of hearing, and to himſelf the pain of repeating them, as it is ſufficient, that his Holineſs knows that the King has been chaſed from his kingdoms merely on account of his religion, and obliged to throw himſelf into the arms of the only ſovereign among his allies, who was not an accomplice in the prince of Orange's deſigns. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has ſo generouſly aſſiſted him, that he has been able to quell almoſt entirely the rebellion in Ireland, by defeating Schomberg's army, and reducing it to its preſent diſtreſs.

From the ſtate which Melfort gives of his maſter's affairs, he endeavours to ſhew that his Holineſs can re-eſtabliſh him, if he will give an immediate ſupply of money, and bring about a peace among the Catholic princes, who might then be perſuaded to aſſiſt in reſtoring his Britannick Majeſty.

"The affairs of the King my maſter have nothing in common with thoſe of the other catholic princes. He hath given no occaſion to the preſent war. It was merely his religion which alarmed the proteſtant princes, and drew upon him his misfortunes. If he had been partial, or formed alliances, as has been falſely ſuppoſed, his Majeſty would not be in the circumſtances in which he now finds himſelf; and if he had not refuſed the aſſiſtance which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty offered to him, he would have had no difficulty in repelling the violences of the prince of Orange, and in curbing the inſolence of his ſubjects: but he generouſly refuſed them, to avoid the partiality of which he hath been ſince accuſed, as guarantee of the peace of Nimeguen: and it is very certain, that if the King my maſter had been in concert with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the firſt hoſtilities would not have commenced towards Philipſburgh."

For theſe and other reaſons, Melfort thinks the catholic princes will be diſpoſed to aſſiſt his maſter. He adds a great many arguments in the ſame ſtrain, and concludes his long memorial with theſe words:

"As for myſelf, I reckon it a happineſs to be at the feet of your Holineſs; having nothing to ſolicit, but the concerns of the King my maſter, which are, at preſent, thoſe of your Holineſs; and, after having endeavoured to diſcharge my duty towards God and my King, although

though in a more weak and defective manner than another would have done, that I have an opportunity of ſoliciting for myſelf your Holineſs's apoſtolical benediction." 1689. December.

It was probably at this time that Melfort, according to his inſtructions, gave a memorial to the cardinal D'Eſté. It is marked at the top in his hand-writing.

A paper given to his ſerene highneſs the cardinal D'Eſté.

He begins with repeating, as in the preceding memorial, that his maſter ſuffered for his attachment to the catholic religion; and that being the cauſe of the holy See, and of the Pope, his Holineſs could not avoid to aſſiſt him; which could only be done in two ways, by bringing about a peace between the Roman catholic princes, and by furniſhing his Majeſty with money. To open a congreſs for ſuch a peace, his Holineſs ſhould diſpatch legates, who were well diſpoſed to the cauſe, to different courts. A ſupply of money was abſolutely neceſſary that very ſeaſon, to ſecure the ſafety of Ireland, and accompliſh the reduction of Scotland. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 82.

AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND.

JAMES the Seventh, upon his acceſſion, was addreſſed by the Scotiſh parliament, with expreſſions of the moſt ſervile adulation, and with promiſes of perpetual attachment to his perſon, and abſolute ſubmiſſion to his will. They acknowledged, in an act, "That the bleſſings the nation then enjoyed were owing to the ſolid and abſolute authority with which their Kings were inveſted." They expreſſed their abhorrence of all principles which are contrary or derogatory to the "King's ſacred, ſupreme, abſolute power and authority;" and they promiſed to give entire obedience to the King, "without reſerve." They gave him convincing proofs of the ſincerity of theſe profeſſions, by extending the laws of treaſon, and obliging all the men in the nation, above ſixteen years of age, to be in "readineſs to attend the King, in arms, where and as oft as he ſhould require."

But the meaſures of the new reign were not calculated to continue the popularity with which it began. James compoſed a new miniſtry, conſiſting

1689. ſiſting almoſt entirely of Papiſts and non-conformiſts. He gave new commiſſions to all thoſe who were in public ſtations, without requiring their compliance with the teſts. He diſpenſed with the execution of the penal laws; and advanced Roman catholics to many places of honour and emolument in the kingdom.

Theſe meaſures, and the unpopular character of ſecretary Melfort and others, leſſened greatly the affection of the people for James and his government. Yet he had ſtill many friends among the Scots, when the prince of Orange landed in England. He was invited by them, after he retired to France, to return and join them. James, however, thought it more for his intereſt to go to Ireland; and he contented himſelf with writing a letter to the convention, which the prince of Orange had ſummoned to aſſemble, at Edinburgh, in the month of March. His letter was dated, after he had embarked, on board the St. Michael, the 1ſt of March, 1689. From Ireland, he ſent them the proclamation referred to, in the journal he ſent to France by lord Dover. In the mean time, his friends in Scotland, particularly the viſcount Dundee, were diligent in increaſing the number of his adherents.

Dundee, who had refuſed to enter into the ſervice of King William, came to the convention of eſtates, which had aſſembled at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of March; but, finding he was deſerted by ſome who pretended, at firſt, to adhere to the cauſe of his maſter, and apprehending there was a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, he retired, at the head of a troop of fifty horſemen, who had deſerted to him from his own regiment, then in England; and, having reconciled ſome of the Highland clans, who had been quarrelling among themſelves, he began hoſtilities, without waiting either for a commiſſion or the ſuccours which James had promiſed to ſend him from Ireland.

Among Mr. Nairne's papers, there is a copy of an account of his military operations, which was ſent to Ireland. It is called on the back

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 49.

"*News from Scotland, with Mr. Hay. Received July 7th, 1689.*"

"BY the laſt information, ſent by Mr. M'Swine, account was given how the viſcount of Dundee parted from Edinburgh; how he ſtayed at his own houſe for above a fortnight after, guarded by a party of 50 horſe; and

and how, after a party of the Scotch dragoons came over to Dundee, with a party of Mackay's foot, he marched towards Inverneſs, encouraging all perſons to ſtand out, letting them ſee, by his example, there was no danger in it. The account was alſo given, how he went through Murray, and was come back to Caſtle-Gordon, when M'Swine was diſpatched. After which, he marched to the Cairn of Mounth, deſigning to go near Dundee, encouraged by the promiſes the Scotch dragoons had ſent him that they would declare for the King; but, by the way having intercepted a meſſenger of the maſter of Forbes, returning from Edinburgh, found, by Mackay's letters, that he was to be at Dundee that night, with 200 foot and a regiment of Engliſh horſe; and they, with the dragoons and the foot that came there before, were to purſue him wherever he went. The lord viſcount waited at the Cairn of Mounth, till M'Kay was within eight miles, and then marched back towards Caſtle-Gordon, (where the earl of Dunfermling, with 40 or 50 gentlemen, joined him) and from thence through Murray to Inverneſs, where he found the laird of Keppoch at the head of 700 men; the moſt part volunteers. They plundered M'Intoſh's lands and the neighbourhood; which M'Intoſh, in a manner, deſerved, becauſe the viſcount had written twice to him to declare for the King, and had got no return. The laird of Kilravock, with 300 men, was on one ſide of Keppoch, and the town of Inverneſs in arms on the other. The viſcount ſent to Kilravock to know his deſign. He profeſſed loyalty, and ſo was allowed to guard his country. The magiſtrates of Inverneſs came and informed him, that Keppoch had forced them to promiſe him 4000 marks. My lord Dundee told them, that Keppoch had no warrant from him to be in arms, much leſs to plunder; but that neceſſity had forced him out, and told he would give his bond that, at the King's return, (ſince they had not yet declared the prince of Orange King) they ſhould have their money repaid them. After which, he deſired Keppoch to march his men with him, and he would go and engage M'Kay. But the men, partly the Camerons, ſaid they could not, without conſent of their maſter; but the truth was, they were loaded with ſpoil, and neither they nor their leader had any thing elſe in head; ſo they went home plundering on the way. 1689. May.

The viſcount marched to Glengairie, and ſo into Badenoch, where, conſidering the ſeaſon was advanced towards the 8th of May, and the

1689. May. graſs begun to appear, and having found the diſpoſition of the low-countries for the King, and received letters from moſt of the chiefs of clans of their readineſs, and being informed of the ſubſtance of brevettes, letters, and commiſſions, and finding that M'Kay was endeavouring to raiſe Highlanders and others for to ruin and ſuppreſs the King's faithful ſubjects, before the eſtate of his affairs in Ireland would allow him to come to their relief, the ſaid viſcount reſolved to appoint a general rendezvous, which accordingly he did, to be, the 18th of May, in Lochaber, and acquainted all chiefs of clans; and, in the mean time, M'Kay being at Inverneſs, he took occaſion to ſlip down through Athol, to St. Johnſton, where he ſurpriſed the laird of Blair, ſeized him, his lieutenant Pogue of that ilk, trumpet, ſtandard, and all the troopers that were in the town, with two lieutenants of M'Kay's, and two or three officers of the new levies; moſt of which are ſent to an iſland of the M'Leans which is ſaid to be like the Baſs. After which, he went to Dundee, thinking to gain the two troops of Scotch dragoons: but could not prevail, becauſe of captain Balfour, who commanded them; yet he forced them to leave Dundee, but could do no more, becauſe the town was in rebellion, and the ſtreets barricadoed. He cauſed ſeize the drums and baggage of the laird of Drum, and others of the earl of Mar's officers, and chaſed the lieutenant colonel, and might have ſeized whole companies, but was not at the pains; yet frightened and ſcattered them ſo, that they have not been heard of ſince. After which, having ſeized 300 *l.* of ceſs and exciſe, the lord viſcount took his march through Athol and Rannoch, up to Lochaber, to keep the dyet of the rendezvous. Glengairie kept the day punctually, with betwixt 2 and 300 men (who, on all occaſions, ſhews himſelf a man of honour, ſenſe, and integrity). Next came a very honeſt gentleman, the laird of Morer, commanding all the captain of Clan Rannald's men, on the main land near 200. Next came Appin and Glenco, towards 200. Sir Donald M'Donald was expected, but was not ready. M'Lean gave account, that he was juſt coming; and, after having made the viſcount ſtay ſix days, Sir Alexander M'Lean, hearing his friends were in difficulties, ſailed away to Kintyr, with his men and an hundred of M'Lean's; at the ſame time M'Lean fell ſick. Lochiel came, with 600 men; Keppoch, with 200; with which the viſcount marched into Badenoch, in haſte, hearing

ing that colonel Ramſay was coming that way, with 700 foot, to join M'Kay at Inverneſs; and, accordingly, Ramſay having marched from Edinburgh to St. Johnſton, and near 40 miles up towards Ruthven in Badenoch; but upon different news of my lord Dundee's coming, went back and fore in the hill a whole night. In the end, he went back in great confuſion to St. Johnſton. Several of his men deſerted. The Athol men got together; and, by the prudence of the gentry, with great difficulty, were hindered from falling on them. Ramſay poſted to Edinburgh, and got commiſſion of fire and ſword againſt Athol. About this time, account was brought to Dundee, that M'Kay was within four miles of him, with great numbers of Highlanders, Grant's men, M'Intoſh's, Balnagown's, Rae's, Strathnaver's, and Monroe's, beſide the ſtanding troops. On which, he cauſed draw out all the men, and bid them be gaining towards a very ſtrong ground, and ſent out a party immediately to view the enemy, following it himſelf; having left orders with Lochiel, that the body ſhould not go above half a mile back. However, when he returned, he underſtood that M'Kay had almoſt no Highlanders, and was not there to fight, but to meet Ramſay. He found that all the troops had marched four miles back. However, he made all haſte to march to engage M'Kay: but, before he could come to the place, M'Kay was ſo far gone, that he could not be overtaken; and being informed there, that Sir Donald and M'Lean were yet to join, thought fit to wait; and, in the mean time, blockt up the caſtle of Ruthven, where M'Kay had put 50 of Grant's men in garriſon. After ſome days, the caſtle, wanting proviſions, ſurrendered; which being burnt, and loſt hopes of M'Lean, and fear of Ramſay, my lord reſolved to engage M'Kay. But, ſo ſoon as he heard of the march towards him, he diſlodged in the night. The viſcount purſued him four days; and, by an unexpected way, came in ſight of him, an hour before the ſun ſet, and purſued them ſo cloſe, that parties of the Highlanders were within ſhot of the rear-guard, cloſe to the main body, and dark night came on; ſave which, nothing could have ſaved them, in all human probability. The ground was dangerous, and the march had been long; ſo that the viſcount thought not fit to follow further, being within three miles of Strathbogy, a plain country, where the horſe and dragoons had too much advantage of the Highlanders. The next morn- 1689. May.

1689. May. ing, hearing M'Kay had marched 10 miles before he halted, the viſcount lay ſtill all that day; but, being after informed, that Sir James Leſly, with his regiment of foot and another regiment of dragoons, had joined M'Kay, and the officers of the Scotch dragoons having ſent to acquaint the viſcount, that there was very bad news come of the duke of Berwick's being priſoner, and of a party's being beat back, that had endeavoured to land in Scotland, and that they were ſo ſurrounded with Engliſh horſe and dragoons, that, if there was any engagement, they could not ſhun to fight; and, therefore, begged, that he would go out of the way, for a time, till better news ſhould come. On all which, the viſcount thought fit to return to Badenoch. Moſt of my lord Dumfermling's people, ſave himſelf (who continued ſtill very fixt) and the duke of Gordon's horſemen, being wearied and near their own houſes, went home, without leave; the Highlanders thinking themſelves maſters, grew very diſorderly, and plundered, without diſtinction, wherever they came. The viſcount fell ſick, which gave boldneſs to the diſorderly and diſheartened others. The firſt day he marched back, he made a long march. M'Kay ſent a party of horſe, who ſeized ſome of the duke of Gordon's gentlemen that went off, and ſome of the plundering ſtragglers; but never came in ſight of the rear-guard. The next two days, the viſcount did not march ſix miles in all; and M'Kay's foot came not within ten miles of his: but, in the evening of the laſt day, he ſent up a party of 200 horſe and dragoons, who, led on by Grant, were brought upon a party of the M'Leans, ſcattered a mile aſunder, ſeeking meal. The horſe came up upon them at the full gallop, having got ſome advertiſement. About one hundred of them got together; and finding themſelves on a plain, they run near half a mile, till they gained the foot of a hill, where they ſtood and fired upon the enemy, who, in the diſorder, having killed two or three, and ſeized their baggage, thought they had nothing to do but knock them all down; ſo got above them and ſurrounded them, which the M'Leans perceiving, threw by their guns, drew their ſwords, attacked the enemy boldly, killed the Engliſh officers that commanded, and eleven more, wounded many, and forced the reſt to retire. Night being then come, the ſcattered M'Leans joined the reſt. My lord Dundee, marching towards them, the next morning early, met Lochbuy and all his party, who had not loſt above four of his men, and

and the baggage, and two old men and boys, who were with it. Then the lord Dundee marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, where he learned, that Ramſay had come back, with 1100 foot and 100 horſe, had paſſed to Inverneſs; that my lord Murray had come up to Athol, had brought theſe men together, and ſaw Ramſay ſafe through. The next day, the viſcount was further informed, that Ramſay and M'Kay were joined and marching towards him, and that there was come to St. Johnſton my lord Angus's regiment and other new troops, and to Dumblain more of that kind, was reſolved to go to Rannoch, and ſtrong ground near the low countries; but finding that the Lochaber men were going away every night by fortys and fiftys, with droves of cattle, and finding all the reſt loaden with plunder of Grant's lands, and others would needs go home, gave way to it, and came into Lochaber with them, diſperſed them all to their reſpective homes, with orders to be ready within a few days, if the enemy purſued. If not, to lay ſtill till further orders; and, in the mean time, ſent advertiſement to M'Lean, Sir Donald, the captain of Clan Rannald, and M'Leod, to make ready againſt the rendezvous, who had not yet come forth. It's believed M'Kay was very glad of the occaſion, his horſe being extremely wearied, and ſo retired to Inverneſs, where, on ſuſpicion of correſpondence, he ſeized eight officers of the Scotch dragoons and ſent them priſoners to Edinburgh, with a guard of 300 Engliſh horſe. The reſt of the horſe and dragoons are quartered in the adjacent places for conveniency of graſs. Ramſay, with 700 foot, is ſent to Elgin, who ſummoned Gordon caſtle to ſurrender; upon which Mr. Dumbar, and thoſe that were with him, immediately deſerted the place. There were ſeveral hundred bolls of meal there, as well as at Strathbogie. M'Kay, in the mean time, is cauſing ſeize all the meal in the low countries, and gives it to the ſoldiers landladies, inſtead of ready money: for it is believed, they have not great abundance of it. My lord Dundee hath continued in Lochaber, guarded only by 200, commanded by Sir Alexander M'Lean; but being in the heart of Glengairy and Lochiel's lands, he thinks himſelf ſecure enough, though he had not, as he has, the captain of Clan Rannald with 600 men within ten miles of him, and M'Lean, Sir Donald, and M'Leod, marching toward him; ſo that he can march with near 4000, or refreſh in ſafety till ſuch time as the ſtate of the affairs of Ireland may allow the King to ſend

1689. May.

1689. May. ſend forces to his relief; which, if it pleaſe God ſhall fall out, there is all appearance of forming a conſiderable army. Notwithſtanding that, the people are a little diſheartened, by the unexpected ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh, which is ſaid was only by deſpair the duke had of any relief, though he wanted not from my lord Dundee, by a third hand, all the encouragement he could give.

There is another account of military operations in Scotland, from the 21ſt of May to the 4th of June. It was ſent by Mr. Hay to Ireland, at the ſame time with the preceding; for it is marked on the back:

Nairne's Papers, D N. vol. i. fol. No. 47.

"*Relation of what paſt in Scotland, in the Highlands, with* [by] *Mr. Hay, received July 7th*, 1689."

It contains an account of Sir Alexander M'Lean's expedition to Kintyre, and of his return to join lord Dundee at Lochaber, with ſome articles of more late intelligence.

Mull, June 2d, 1689.

UPON Tueſday, the 21ſt of May, Sir Alexander M'Lean embarqued for the relief of the King's party in Kintyre. At his landing in the iſland of Giga, where he found Mr. Neal of Clachalie, his lieutenant colonel, with two companies of men, who gave account, that, two days before, Lurip and he had endeavoured to ſtop the low country forces from entering Kintyre; they had engaged near Clachan Killcalmanell, and after facing others for two or three hours, and ſome party's firing, Clachalie finding the rebels ſtill encreaſing to more than four times his number, he very handſomely drew off his men, and came ſafe to Giga. Lurip took ſhip for Ireland, without acquainting any with his deſign; and Lergie left the caſtle of Skipnidge, and went for Arran. In this action Clachalie loſt one man, and the rebels ſeven. In this condition Sir Alexander found theſe gentlemen, at his landing in Giga, and immediately ordered boats to be prepared for ſecuring Lergie's ſafe retreat to him, and ſent him orders to come to the coaſt ſide of Kintyre, where he ſhould meet him; all which was performed before Friday night, the 27th. Upon Saturday blew a great ſtorm, ſo that they could not come to Giga, which they deſigned, to come in all haſte to his Majeſty's army at Lochaber. Lergie gave an account, the rebels were 1500, preparing

boats to invade Giga. Upon Sunday morning early, the wind continuing to blow in the ſame * art, Sir Alexander perceives two men of war, one frigate, and three or four long-boats, making from Ila towards them, and ſome boats coming off from Kintyre to meet them. Upon which, he and the other gentlemen diſpoſed their boats equally in two ſeveral places, and encouraged their men to a brave reſiſtance, this being their firſt action. The two men of war did anchor cloſe within muſket-ſhot of both harbours, and had a full view of the ſmall boats; the frigate continued under ſail, from place to place, with a great long-boat, and offered ſeveral times to land; but were always beat off. Thus they continued, firing inceſſantly, from eight in the morning till eight at night; about which time, the wind decreaſing, Sir Alexander began to carry away his boats to other places, and two contrary ways, the better to delude the rebels, and give them the more to do, which was effected with ſo much courage of the ſoldiers, that they carried away their boats, through ſhowers of cannon and muſkets, to the other end of the iſland, where they embarqued all their men, and came to Argyle next morning. In the action, the King's party loſt one boat, and two ſunk with cannon-ſhot, and one man only wounded. The rebels loſt 13 of their men, above 400 cannon-ſhot, and their whole plot miſcarried. 1689. May.

Upon Monday, Sir Alexander having intelligence, that there was a rendezvous of the rebels at Kill-Michall of Invereny, within five miles of Glaſrie, he immediately makes towards them, for it was not much out of his way; but, upon approach, they all fled. Sir Alexander, with Elchille, encamped there that night, and ſuffered the ſoldiers to take nothing but meat next morning. He continued, with as much expedition as poſſible, to come up to my lord Dundee; and landed juſt now here, with the other gentlemen in the boats, and brought all his men ſafe to this place.

The ſoldiers are hearty and eager to ſee my lord Dundee, and ſuffer hunger and want of ſleep, with great patience, to come up, and are in hopes to be tranſported to Morven, to-morrow or Sunday.

Badinoch, the 4th June.—Juſt now arrived here Sir Alexander M'Lean, with Mr. Neal of Calchalie, and the laird of Lergie, where they met his excellency my Lord Dundee, on his way to Lochaber; who,

* Quarter.

thereupon,

1689. June. thereupon, diſmiſſed the reſt of his army to be refreſhed at home, keeping only with himſelf Sir Alexander's party and a few horſe, until news from his Majeſty and the next rendezvous. Three days ago, a party of major general M'Kay's horſe and dragoons, with ſix ſcore horſe, fell upon a party of M'Lean's men, commanded by Lochbuy, who was upon a party, about half a mile from the army. The M'Leans took themſelves to a hill, and loſt their baggage in the retreat, whereupon they took their ground and fell in pell-mell with the rebels, ſword in hand, and broke them, chaſing them for a good way. In this notable action, the rebels loſt their chief officers, who were killed upon the place, viz. the captain, who was an Engliſhman of conſiderable note, and much regretted by the rebels. His name we have not known as yet. Himſelf with a lieutenant and 15 others were left dead upon the place; and the M'Leans carried the horſe and arms, &c. to the camp. Lochbuy loſt five of his men.

Lochaber, June 23d.—Yeſternight arrived at the camp, Mr. Hay, from Ireland, with expreſs from his Majeſty, which gave great joy to his Majeſty's army here. We have alſo accounts from ſeveral places, that his Majeſty's fleet have ſecured their coaſts and have taken, or ſunk, or chaſed all the rebels' ſhips from hence. My lord Dundee is now drawing his forces together again, and reſolves to march from this in a few days.

The viſcount Dundee to the Earl of Melfort.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. 1. fol. No. 48.

Melfort unpopular.—Dundee did not prejudice the King againſt him, but adviſes him to retire from buſineſs for ſome time.—Dundee's conduct.—His want of reſources.—Remittances from the Queen.—Character of the nobility of Scotland.—Many of them will join, when ſuccours arrive from Ireland.—Aſks 5000 or 6000 men.—Expects the King.—Names the place of landing.

" My Lord, Moy, in Lochaber, June 27th, 1689.

" I Was not a little ſurprized to find, by yours, that my name has been made uſe of, for carrying on deſigns againſt you. Mr. Carleton is extremely in the wrong, if he ſays I gave him any commiſſion to the King, or warrant to ſay any thing to him, in my name. Earl Bredalbin

ſent

ſent him to me, with a credential, which he deſired me to burn ſo ſoon as I had read it. I had never ſeen the man in the face before, nor heard of him. He was not two hours in my company; and, when he gave me account of his pretended buſineſs to Ireland, I diſliked moſt of it, as I ſignified to you, by M'Swyne; nor did I give him ſo much as a line with him, that I remember. I leave you to judge, if it be probable, that I would intruſt myſelf ſo far to any in ſuch circumſtances, as to employ him in ſo nice and dangerous a point as that is, of accuſing ſo great a man, and ſo much my friend as you are, to the King. If I had any ſuch deſign, I would rather have truſted myſelf to the King, and written frankly to himſelf. I will aſſure you, all my endeavours to lay you aſide were only to yourſelf. I thought myſelf bound in duty to the King and friendſhip to you, not to diſſemble to you the circumſtances you ſtand in with the generality of this country and many in the neighbouring. Your merit and riſing fortune has raiſed envy; your favour with the King is crime enough with his enemies, and I am feared, even with his ambitious friends, which I am ſure can never be imagined to be one with me: for I can never have any pretenſions in your way. Beſides, you have contributed to all the conſiderable ſteps of my fortune; but I muſt tell you, that beſides theſe generals, there are many pretend to have received diſobligations from you and others, no doubt, with deſign on your employment; yet the moſt univerſal pretext is, the great hand you had in carrying on matters of religion, as they ſay, to the ruin of the King and country. I muſt tell you, I heard a great reſentment againſt you, for adviſing the giving the bulls for the biſhops, and I am feared they themſelves believe it. You know what the church of England is in England; and, both there and here, they generally ſay, that the King of himſelf is not diſpoſed to puſh matters of religion, or force people to do things they ſcruple in conſcience; but that you, to gain favour with thoſe of that religion, had proved and prevailed with him, contrary to his inclination, to do what he did, which has given his enemies occaſion to deſtroy him and the monarchy. This being, as I aſſure you it is, however unjuſt, the general opinion of theſe nations, I thought, in prudence, for your own ſake as well as the King's, you would have thought it beſt to ſeem to be out of buſineſs for a time; that the King's buſineſs might go the ſmoother, and all pretext be taken away

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1689. June. for rebellion; and this only, in caſe the King find difficulties in his affairs: for I am obliged to tell you, that, if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithſtanding of all the foreign aid, a long war. But I think you may come over; and, when you have ſeen the ſtate of affairs on the place, and ſpoke with every body, you may think what will be beſt for you to do. You deſire me to recommend a proper man to be ſecretary. You know it is hard to do. But, if you really reſolve not to ſeem to meddle, I would, were I you, adviſe the King to employ one, to be turned out when things altered, would not much diſoblige, or could have no conſequence. But I think I have ſaid enough, if not too much of this.

My lord, I have given the King, in general, account of things here; but to you I will be more particular. As to myſelf, I have ſent you it at large. You may by it underſtand a little of the ſtate of the country. You will ſee there, when I had a ſeen advantage, I endeavoured to profit on it; but, on the other hand, ſhunned to hazard any thing, for fear of a ruffle: for the leaſt of that would have diſcouraged all. I thought, if I could gain time, and keep up a figure of a party, without loſs, it was my beſt, till we got aſſiſtance, which the enemy got from England every day. I have told the King, I had neither commiſſion, money, nor ammunition. My brother-in-law, Albar, and my wife found ways to get credit. For my own, nobody durſt pay to a traitor. I was extremely ſurpriſed, when I ſaw Mr. Drummond, the advocate, in Highland habit, come up to Lochaber to me, and gave account, that the Queen had ſent 2000 l. ſterling to London, to be paid to me for the King's ſervice, and that two more was a coming. I did not think the Queen had known any thing of our affairs. I received a very obliging letter from her, with Mr. Crain; but I know no way to make a return. However, when the money comes, I ſhall keep count of it, and employ it right. But I am feard, it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh. When we came firſt out, I had but fifty pound of powder; more I could not get; all the great towns and ſea-ports were in rebellion, and had ſeized the powder and would ſell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broad-ſword. But I wonder, above all things, that, in three months, I never heard from you, ſeeing by Mr. Hay, I had ſo earneſtly recommended it to you, and told

told of this way by Inverlochie, as ſure, if you would not have ſent expreſſes, we thought you would, at leaſt, have haſtened the diſpatch of theſe we ſent. M'Swyne has now been away near two months, and we know not, if the coaſt be clear or not. However, I have adventured to adviſe Mr. Hay to return ſtreight, and not go farther in the country. It would have been impoſſible for him to get through to Edinburgh; but there was no need. He came not here until the 22d, and they ſurrendered on the 13th. It was not Mr. Hay's fault, he was ſo long a coming; for there has been two Engliſh men of war and the Glaſgow frigates amongſt the iſlands, till of late. For the reſt of the letters, I undertook to get them delivered. Moſt of the perſons to whom they are directed are either put under bond, or in priſon, or gone out of the kingdom. The advocate is gone to England, a very honeſt man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken priſoner to Edinburgh; but will be let out, on ſecurity. Earl Bredalbine keeps cloſe in a ſtrong houſe he has, and pretends the gout. Earl Errol ſtays at homes; ſo does Aberdeen. Earl Marſhall is at Edinburgh; but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The biſhops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk inviſible. I will be forced to open the letter, and ſend copies atteſted to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primate. The poor miniſters are ſorely oppreſſed over all. They generally ſtand right. Duke Queenſberry was preſent at the croſs, when their new mock King was proclaimed; and, I hear, voted for him, tho' not for the throne vacant. His brother, the lieutenant general, ſome ſay, is made an Earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abuſed me ſtrangely; for he ſwore to me to make amends. 1689. June.

Tarbat is a great villain. Beſides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to ſeduce Locheil, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to ſecure his faction, which is melting. The two Dalrymples and others againſt Skelmurly, Polwart, Cardroſs, Roſs, and others, now joined with that worthy prince, duke Hamilton. M. Douglaſs is now a great knave, as well as beaſt, as is Glencairne, Morton and Eglington; and even Caſſills is gone aſtray, miſled by Gibby *. Panmure keeps right, and at home; ſo does Strathmore,

* Biſhop Burnet.

1689. June. Southeſk and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh, under caution; ſo is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive, for not appearing. All theſe will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Moſt of the gentry on this ſide the Forth, and many on the other, will do ſo too. But they ſuffer mightily in the mean time, and will be forced to ſubmit, if there be not relief ſent very ſoon. The duke of Gordon, they ſay, wanted nothing for holding out, but hopes of relief. Earl of Dumfermling ſtays conſtantly with me, and ſo does lord Dunkell, Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deſerve well, for they ſuffer great hardſhips. When the troops land, there muſt be blank commiſſions ſent for horſe and foot for them, and others that will join. There muſt be a commiſſion of juſticiary, to judge all but landed men; for there would be examples made of ſome that cannot be judged by a council of war. They take our people and hang them up, by their new ſheriffs, when they find them ſtraggling.

My lord, I have given my opinion to the King concerning the landing. I would firſt have a good party ſent over to Inverlochie, about 5000 or 6000, as you have conveniency of boats; of which, as many horſe as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well; but rather more; for had I had horſe, for all that yet appeared, I would not have feared them. Inverlochie is ſafe landing, far from the enemy, and one may chuſe, from thence, to go to Murray by Inverneſs, or to Angus by Athol, or to Perth by Glencoe, and all tolerable ways. The only ill is, the paſſage is long by ſea and inconvenient, becauſe of the iſland; but, in this ſeaſon, that is not to be feared. So ſoon as the boats return, let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit to the Point of Kintyre, which will ſoon be done; and then the King has all the boats for his own landing. I ſhould march towards Kintyre, and meet at the Neck of Tarbitt, the foot, and ſo march to raiſe the country, and then towards the paſſes of Forth to meet the King, where I doubt not but we would be numerous. I have done all I can to make them believe the King will land altogether in the Weſt, on purpoſe to draw their troops from the North, that we may the eaſier raiſe the country, if the landing be here. I have ſaid ſo, and written it to every body; and particularly, I ſent ſome proclamations to my lady Errol, and wrote to her to that purpoſe, which was intercepted and carried to Edinburgh, and

and my lady taken priſoner. I believe it has taken the effect I deſigned; for the forces are marched out of Kintyre, and I am juſt now informed, M. G. M'Kay is gone from Inverneſs by Murray towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him as yet; but it is thought, he will take the horſe and dragoons, except a few, and moſt of the ſtanding forces; which, if he do, it will be a rare occaſion for landing here, and for raiſing the country. Then, when they hear of that, they will draw this way, which will again favour the King's landing. Some think Ely a convenient place for landing, becauſe you have choice of what ſide, and the enemy cannot be on both: others think the nearer Galloway the better, becauſe the rebels will have far to march before they can trouble you: others think Kirkudbright, or thereabouts, becauſe of that ſea for ſhips, and that it is near England. Nobody expects any landing here now, becauſe it is thought you will alter the deſign, it having been diſcovered; and to friends and all, I give out I do not expect any. So I am extremely of opinion, this would be an extreme proper place, unleſs you be ſo ſtrong that you need not care where to land. The truth is, I do not admire their mettle. The landing of troops will confound them terribly. I had almoſt forgot to tell you that P—— O——, as they ſay, has written to his Scotch council, telling them he will not have his troops any more harraſſed following me through the hills; but orders them to draw to the weſt, where, he ſays, a great army is to land; and, at the ſame time, gives them accounts, that eight ſail of men of war is coming from Breſt, with 15000 men on board. He knows not whether they are deſigned for England or Ireland. I beg you will ſend an expreſs, before whatever you do, that I may know how to take my meaſures; and, if the expreſs that comes knows nothing, I am ſure it ſhall not be diſcovered for me. I have told Mr. Hay nothing of this propoſal, nor no man. If there come any party this way, I beg you, ſend us ammunition, and three or four thouſand arms of different ſorts, ſome horſe, ſome foot. I have juſt now received a confirmation of M'Kay's going South, and that he takes with him all the horſe and dragoons, and all the ſtanding foot; by which I conclude, certainly, they are preparing againſt the landing in the Weſt. I entreat to hear from

1689. June.

1689. June. from you as ſoon as poſſible; and am, in the old manner, moſt ſincerely, for all Carleton can ſay,

My Lord,
Your moſt humble and faithful ſervant,
DUNDEE."

Dundee having received news from Ireland recalled Mr. Hay, whom he had diſpatched with the preceding letter, and wrote again to lord Melfort. The copy among Mr. Nairne's papers wants a date, but is marked on the baek "My Lord Dundee's letter; June 28, 1689."

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 46. *The Viſcount Dundee to the Earl of Melfort.——The ſame ſubject continued.*

"My Lord,

"AFTER Mr. Hay was diſpatched I was informed, that Achtera and major Farchar's ſon were landed, ſo ſent and ſtopt Mr. Hay and came down here to know what news they brought. I am very glad to hear by your lordſhip's that the King's affairs proſper ſo well and that Derry will be ſoon ours. But I hear it was not on Monday laſt. I know not what the matter is; but I would think Mackay's going ſouth and the troops drawing back from Kintyre towards Edinburgh would import ſome alarm they have got. I have ſo often written over all that Derry was ours, that now, ſay what I like, they hardly believe, and when I talk of relief out of Ireland, they laugh at it, though I believe ere long they will find it earneſt, and then our enemy's confuſion will be great. As to the places of landing, I am ſtill of the ſame mind. For the number I muſt leave to the conveniency you have. The only inconveniency of the delay is, that the honeſt ſuffer extremely in the low countrys in the time, and I dare not go down for want of horſe, and in part, for fear of plundering all, and ſo making enemys, having no pay. I wonder you ſend no ammunition, were it but 4 or 5 barrels. For we have not 20 pound. As to yourſelf, I have told you freely my opinion and am ſtill of the ſame mind. You deſire I may tell you your faults. I uſe to ſee none in my friends, and for to tell you what others find when I do not believe them were to loſe time. But I muſt tell you many of them who complained of you, have carried themſelves ſo, that what they

ſay deſerves not much to be noticed. However, they have poiſoned the generality with prejudice againſt you, and England will, I am afraid, be uneaſier to you than Scotland. It is the unjuſteſt thing in the world, that not being popular muſt be an argument to be laid aſide by the King. I do really think it were hard for the King to do it; but glorious for you, if once you be convinced that the neceſſity of the King's affairs requires it, to do it of yourſelf and beg it of him. But this only, as I ſaid in my laſt, in caſe of great difficulties, and in the way I adviſed, which I think the King will not refuſe you; I mean as to filling up of the place; for the King may have enemys, ſome by your continuing; but he may put in one who may ruin all, which I am ſure, if he gave it to ſome that pretends, it would I am afraid certainly fall out. I wonder you could have the leaſt thought that I would concert with any body againſt you, having parted ſo good friends. I ſpoke not to Dunmore ſince he came from London. I mind not I ſpoke of you to Bredalbine. I remember when I was endeavouring to make friends for the King in the country and in the convention, many did tell me, that there would be no living if you returned; ſo when no arguments for you could prevail, I have, may be, to ſmooth them, ſaid, that if all were well, you would be prevailed with not to meddle any more. I would have written letters of encouragement to all the King has written to from yourſelf, and aſſured them of your friendſhip and ſatisfied them of your real deſigns of living and letting live every one in their own way in matters of religion, which would mightily allay, I think, as to Scotland, and let them ſee you do favours to cavaliers and to Proteſtants, for ſome ſteps, that may be, you was forced to make in favours of theſe ungrate beaſts the Preſbyterians. You gave unhappy umbrage to both the other, but they were fools; for never will they get one whoſe family, education, and inclination, is ſo cavalier. They long at the King's reſtoration to have a Lauderdale to deſtroy Middleton and poor ſuffering cavaliers. Let not this be their plague. I am ſure you ſhall be ſure of all my endeavours for to bring the minds of people to reaſon. If you will allow, I will ſay, that though you come to ſee the King once landed, you deſign not to ſtay, unleſs you think that you may unbolden your enemys. I give my humble ſervice to my lady, and am, My Lord,

1689. June.

Your moſt humble and faithful ſervant,

DUNDEE."

The

1689. May.—Dec.

The following paper is marked on the back, "Account of the engagements in Scotland ſince May, 1689," *for the Queen.*

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 43.

"*An account of the engagements that happened between the King's party and the rebels in Scotland ſince May, 1689.*"

December 15th, 1689.

"THE firſt engagement was betwixt Sir Alex. M'Leane, with whom were the lairds of Lergie and Calchillie, in the iſland of Giga, betwixt Kintyre and Iſla, and a ſquadron of the Engliſh fleet commanded by captain Ruke, in May laſt, thus.

Sir Alexander and the aforeſaid gentlemen with 400 men were waiting a fair wind to bring them to the rendeſvous appointed by my lord Dundee, his Majeſty's lieut. general, and had their ſmall boats cloſe to the rocks of the iſland when they were aſſaulted by the Engliſh. The fight began at 8 o'clock in the morning. The Engliſh, thinking to take and ſink the boats, manned ſix long boats, and under ſhelter of a yaucht they came in pell mell amongſt the boats, and took a large boat belonging to Sir Alexander, that could not be brought near the ſhore; but they were ſo warmly received by the King's party, that the rebels were forced to retreat with loſs, whereupon the two men of war dropped anchor as cloſe to the boats as they could come, and fired inceſſantly with their cannon and ſmall ſhot from 8 o'clock in the morning until 8 o'clock at night. At which time Sir Alexander divided his boats, and ſent one half of them round the iſland one way, and with them the yaucht and ſmall boats engaged. They being thus out of the way, and the two men of war ſtill at anchor, all the reſt of the boats came out upon them, and in deſpite of all the Engliſh could do, they brought all ſafe away. In this ſkirmiſh the loyaliſts loſt one boat, and two ſunk, and one man wounded, but none killed. The rebels had a lieutenant and 14 men killed and a great many wounded.

The next engagement was in that ſame month, between a party of Sir John M'Leane's regiment of 120 men, commanded by M'Leane of Lochbuy, againſt 200 horſe and dragoons, commanded by col. Livingſton, wherein the M'Leanes routed the rebels, killed captain Waine, an Engliſhman, and 14 of his party, with the loſs of five men only.

The

The battle of Rinrory, in Athol, was the next conſiderable engage- 1689. May.—Dec.
ment after this, which was thus:

The lord Murray, ſon to the marquis of Athol, having with 1500 men laid ſiege to the caſtle Blair, in Athol, then garriſoned for the King (thereof the lairds of and Ballechan were officers) and my lord Dundee being to wait at Lochaber ſome days for colonel Cannon and the Iriſh regiment and the other officers, who were come from Ireland to come up to join him; his Excellency ſent orders for Sir Alexander M'Leane (who was then at Cromar in the North, in an expedition againſt the maſter of Forbes and other rebels) to march in all haſte to relieve the garriſon of Blair, and there to wait till his Excellency's arrival. This Sir Alexander ſo happily performed, that lord Murray was forced to raiſe the ſiege; and major general M'Kay being on his march to ſecond lord Murray, my lord Dundee (upon information thereof) made long marches to prevent him, and arrived at Athol upon the 16th of July, and next morning was informed, that M'Kay's forlorn of 400 men were within two miles of the caſtle, at the Paſs of Kilikrankie. Whereupon his Excellency commanded Sir Alexander M'Leane, with 400 men, to march againſt this party. But they were not a quarter of a mile off when his lordſhip was informed, that inſtead of a party, M'Kay himſelf with all his army was at Rinrory, within a mile and a half of him. Whereupon his lordſhip commanded the army to march towards the rebels, reſolving, without delay, to fight them. M'Kay's army was drawn up in eight battalions, conſiſting of 4500 foot and two troops of horſe. My Lord Dundee's conſiſted of 2500 foot and one troop of horſe. On the right wing Sir John M'Leane was placed with his regiment in two battalions. On the left, was Sir Donald M'Donald's regiment, commanded by his ſon and Sir George Berkley, in one battalion, and Sir Alexander M'Leane another battalion, made the left wing. The main battle conſiſted of four battalions, viz. Lochiel's, Glengary, Clanronald, and the Iriſh regiment, and the troop of horſe commanded by Sir William Wallace. The officers that came from Ireland divided themſelves among the battalions. The fight began about 5 o'clock at night, Sir Alexander M'Leane keeping the rebels in action (while my lord was forming the battle). By debating for advantageous poſts, therein he loſt only five men, but the rebels loſs was greater. About 8 o'clock the ſignal was

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given; his lordſhip, charged in perſon, upon the head of the horſe. The Highlanders gave ſuch a furious charge as made the rebels give ground in a moment. For the rebels having ſpent their fire before the Highlanders fired, (who kept their ſhot till they were within pike length of the enemy), and after fire the royaliſts falling in with broad ſwords made the rebels run. The left wing of M'Kay's army was quite routed by Sir John M'Leane, who followed the ſlaughter for a good way. The like was done by the main battle. But all the oppoſition to purpoſe was in the right wing of the rebels. For Sir Alexander M'Leane, having routed M'Kay's regiment, his men followed the purſuit ſo briſkly, that he was left alone himſelf in the place of battle; and obſerving colonel Haſting's regiment of foot ſtanding their ground againſt Sir Donald M'Donald's regiment, and at laſt forcing them to retire, he rallied as many as he could get of his men, and with Sir Evan Cameron made head towards the rebels who thereupon fled, and the night put a ſtop to the ſlaughter.

In this battle there were killed of the rebels upon the place 1500, ſome ſay 2000, and the next morning 500 priſoners were brought in by the men of Athol. Thoſe of note killed, were brigadier Balfour, and lieutenant colonel M'Kay, brother to the major general, with many more officers of leſs note; of the priſoners were lieutenant colonel Balfour, captain Ferguſon, captain Donaldſon, and 13 other officers, with all their camp, tents, baggage, artillery, and proviſions, which was of great value, and alſo the prince of Orange's ſtandard, carried by M'Kay's regiment, taken by Sir Alexander M'Leane.

Of the royaliſts were killed (to his Majeſty's unſpeakable loſs) the lieutenant general himſelf, (while he was riding to help the confuſion he obſerved in the left wing, occaſioned by the gallant reſiſtance of colonel Haſting's regiment againſt Sir Donald and Sir George Berkley,) the lairds of Largie, captain M'Donald, brother to Glengarie, captain Ramſay, captain M'Leane, nephew to Sir Alexander, captain Pollock, brother to the laird of Pollock, and ſome other officers, but very few common ſoldiers. Sir George Berkley and ſeveral other gentlemen were wounded.

Two days after this battle, colonel Cannon, who now commands the army, ſent the laird of Struan with 100 foot and ſome horſe, under the conduct

conduct of major William Graham, to St. Johnſtoun. where they were 1689.
ſurpriſed by ſome troops of horſe of Sir John Lanier's regiment. Major May.—Dec.
Graham made off in time. But Struan's men were ſome in their beds, ſome drunk, and ſome of them were killed, and 25 taken priſoners; the reſt with the laird himſelf made their eſcape. This was the beginning of Cannon's conduct.

The laſt engagement was about 20 days after this, at Dunkell, where there was ſome 800 of the Cameronians, under the command of colonel Cleaveland and others. Colonel Cannon with the army arrived at Dunkell the 21ſt of Auguſt, at 7 o'clock in the morning, and ſurrounded the town, commanding Sir Alexander M'Leane to make the firſt attack, and ſo the Highlanders fell on ſo furiouſly that they beat the rebels from the walls, and helping one another over the walls entered the town. So that at once the town was ſet on fire both by them and the rebels, whereby the town for an hour and a half was very hot on both ſides. At laſt all the rebels being cut off, except thoſe who got into the caſtle and the great church, and the Highlanders having ſpent their ammunition, retired out of the town. In this engagement, on the rebels ſide were killed Cleaveland himſelf and almoſt all their officers, and 120, ſome ſay 200, of their men. On the King's ſide were killed two captains of M'Leane's regiment, and Sir Alexander M'Leane's captain lieutenant, and ſome other officers of note, but few ſoldiers; but there were a great many wounded. and Sir Alexander M'Leane had his leg broken with a muſket bullet, and was carried to the caſtle of Blair. But upon ſome diſtaſte taken by the clanns at Cannon's conduct, the army broke up and went home; and now they content themſelves with incurſions, wherewith they have done great prejudice to the rebels, and lately went within ſeven miles of Glaſgow and deſtroyed Kilmarnock, &c.

Lord Dundee's ſpeech to his troops before the battle of Killikranky. July. Nairne's Papers, A. L. fol. No. 242.

" Gentlemen,

"YOU are come hither this day to fight, and that in the beſt of cauſes: for it is the battle of your King, your religion, and your country, againſt the fouleſt uſurpation and rebellion; and having, therefore, ſo good a cauſe in your hands, I doubt not but it will inſpire

1689. July. you with an equal courage to maintain it. For there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treaſon; nor ſhould be any betwixt the valour of good ſubjects and traitors. Remember, that to-day begins the fate of your King, your religion, and your country. Behave yourſelves, therefore, like true Scotchmen; and let us, by this action, redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of ſome of our countrymen; in which, I aſk nothing of you, that you ſhall not ſee me do before you; and, if any of us ſhall fall upon this occaſion, we ſhall have the honour of dying in our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conſcience: and ſuch of us as ſhall live and win the battle, ſhall have the reward of a gracious King, and the praiſe of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word: King James and the church of Scotland, which God long preſerve."

Dundee wrote the following letter, giving an account of the battle to King James. He died next morning of the wound which he had received in the action.

The Viſcount Dundee to King James, after the battle of Killikranky.

"SIR,

Nairne's Papers, A. L. ubi ſupra. "IT has pleaſed God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which 3-4ths of them are fallen under the weight of our ſwords. I might ſay much of the action, if I had not the honour to command in it; but of 5000 men, which was the beſt computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have eſcaped above 1200 men. We have not loſt full out 900. This abſolute victory made us maſters of the field and the enemy's baggage, which I gave to the ſoldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Iriſh, behaved themſelves with equal gallantry, to what ever I ſaw in the hotteſt battles fought abroad by diſciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old ſoldiers felt on this occaſion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to aſſure your Majeſty, the kingdom is generally diſpoſed for your ſervice, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this ſucceſs will bring in the reſt of the nobility and gentry, having had all their aſſurances for it, except the notorious

rious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's ſake, aſſiſt us, though it be with ſuch another detachment of your Iriſh forces as you ſent us before, eſpecially of horſe and dragoons; and you will crown our beginnings with a compleat ſucceſs, and yourſelf with an entire poſſeſſion of your antient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majeſty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, Sir, I beſeech your Majeſty to believe, whether I live or die, I am intirely your's, 1689. July.

DUNDEE."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1690.

AFFAIRS of SCOTLAND.

1690. February. UPON the death of the viſcount Dundee, the ſpirit of the Highlanders, who were in arms for James, declined. Colonel Cannon, who ſucceeded to the command, was neither loved for his manner, nor reſpected for his conduct. The inſurgents, however, remained attached to their principles; and though they retired home for the winter, they were ready, with the return of ſummer, to take the field. Major general Buchan was ſent to command them; and the following paper contains a detail of ſome particulars after the arrival of that officer in Scotland.

Nairne's Papers, D. N vol. i. fol. No. 66. "*An account of Major General Buchan's arrival in Scotland.—Of the preſent poſture of affairs.—Of the return of his Majeſty's ſhip the Jennet, with ſome gentlemen from thence; and of a ſkirmiſh they had with the rebels in the harbour of Killibeg.*"

"*For the Queen.*"

"Dublin, the 14th day of March, $16\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{0}$.

"ON the 20th of the laſt month, Sir George Berkley, Sir Alexander M'Lane, colonel James Purcell, and Mr. John Hay, ſet out from Tubermurray, in the iſland of Mull and kingdom of Scotland, in his Majeſty's ſhip the Jennet (that carried major general Buchan thither) for Sligo, in the weſt of this kingdom; but, meeting with contrary winds, put into Killibeg, ſhort of it; which, becauſe of the nearneſs to Sligo, they believed was in his Majeſty's hands; but ſoon found their miſtake. There were three of the enemy's ſhips riding there; and the Jennet had ſcarce anchored, when two of their boats came up to her. In one were the maſters of the two ſhips, their mates and ſeamen; in the

other, two fiſhermen only. The firſt came on board and were ſecured; the maſters in the cabin, and the men in the hold. The two fiſhermen grew jealous, went off, and informed thoſe a-ſhore, they ſuſpected them. Whereupon, one captain Watſon, captain lieutenant to Tiffany, and commander in chief of the place, manned and armed three boats very well; reſolving, if enemies, to take them. They received the captain, and thoſe in his boat, on board, and immediately diſarmed them; which, as ſoon as the other two boats ſaw, they fired upon the ſhip. But his Majeſty, when the ſhip went off from hence, having ordered a ſufficient number of ſoldiers on board her, to ſecure her in her return, they poured ſmall ſhot ſo thick into the boats, that one immediately cried out for quarter. The other was rowed off by two boys, which made thoſe on board the Jennet believe the men in it were killed or diſabled. They took, in all, 19 priſoners; two of which were ſo deſperately wounded, that their lives were deſpaired of. After this ſkirmiſh was over, the wind blew freſh into the harbour; but abated by twelve at night. Then, with the help of the boats they took, they warped and towed out of the harbour, which, in the entrance, is very ſtraight. Some ſhots were made at them, next morning, from the ſhore, which did them no harm; and a ſmall gale preſenting, they got off, and, in two days after, landed at Broad-haven. 1690. February.

Mr. Hay, brother to Mr. George Hay, who was ſent expreſs to the King, by major general Buchan, diſpatched immediately away, and arrived here with his Majeſty, on the 7th in the morning. He brought his Majeſty two ſeveral letters from Buchan: the firſt is of the 2d of February at Mull; the laſt, of the 14th of the ſame month, at Inverlochie. In the firſt, he gives an account of the favourableneſs of his paſſage thither; and that the officers, ammunition, cloaths, and money, ſent with him, were ſafely landed and ſecured by him: that he intended to get a good body of men immediately together: that the duke of Berwick's preſence there would be very neceſſary; and deſires, that the lords Seaforth and Drummond, and all the Scotch to be ſpared here, might immediately be diſpatched thither. In his ſecond, he tells of a meeting he has had with the general officers and chiefs of clans, in a general council of war, (in purſuance of his Majeſty's commiſſion to that purpoſe) where a general letter to his Majeſty was conceived and ſubſcribed

1690. February. ſubſcribed by them all, which he covered to the King. In it, they gave freſh aſſurances of their adherence to his Majeſty and royal intereſt; and promiſe to continue to do as they began, and expoſe their lives and fortunes, and all that is dear and near to them, for his Majeſty's re-eſtabliſhment. They beſeech his Majeſty to ſend the duke of Berwick, with ſome horſe and dragoons, to head them, which, they ſay, will enable them to make a deſcent into the low lands, where they do not queſtion to meet many of his Majeſty's friends who will join them; and add, that they have pitched upon Sir George Berkley, to give an account of their preſent condition, and deſire he may be immediately ſent back to them. The major general further adds, that he has already had private meſſages from conſiderable perſons there, and deſires commiſſions for colonels and lieutenant-colonels of horſe and foot, for ſome noblemen he names, together with ſome blank ones for others. Beſides what he writes, and the general letter, his Majeſty has had particular ones from ſeveral of the chiefs of clans, which are full of dutiful and loyal expreſſions. Mr. Hay, that, ſome time before his embarking, came out of the low lands, has brought the preſent eſtabliſhment there, as to civil and military employments, a liſt of the prince of Orange's troops in that kingdom, the order of council for ſequeſtring the eſtates of the loyaliſts; and has given ſo good an account of all things to the King, that he has pitched upon him to carry his Majeſty's letters to the Queen, and ſets out for Cork this very day."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 50, 51, 52.

The eſtabliſhment in Scotland as to civil and military employments, the liſt of the prince of Orange's troops, and the order of council for ſequeſtrating the eſtates of the loyaliſts, mentioned in the preceding paper, are all in Mr. Nairne's papers; and they are marked on the back, *For the Queen.* The letter Buchan wrote to James, on the 2d of February, at Mull, is wanting; but there are copies of the letter he wrote to him on the 14th, and of a letter from Sir John M'Leane, and of a joint letter from the general officers and Highland chieftains in arms in Scotland. They are marked on the back, *For the Queen.*

1690. February.

[illegible] M'Lean to King James.——Aſſurances of perpetual fidelity and attachment.

SIR, Dowart, 1ſt February, 1690.

THERE is nothing in the world more acceptable to me, than to be daily employed in your Majeſty's ſervice. Your gracious letters to me, and the ſending of major general Buchan unto us, revives our ſpirits, and raiſeth our hopes; and, I thank God, we are reſolute and unanimous to your Majeſty's ſervice, which I ſhall never depart from, while I have a being. My couſin, Sir Alexander M'Lean, being neceſſitate to go to Dublin for his cure, and thereby occaſion to be near your Majeſty, knows ſo well all the circumſtances we are in here, that I need not give your Majeſty the trouble of any relation of what he can more eaſily give himſelf. I ſhall only aſſure your Majeſty of my conſtant and unalterable loyalty and kindneſs and unity with all thoſe who ſhall ſerve your Majeſty, and a perfect ſubmiſſion to all my ſuperior officers; and, when we are ſo happy as to ſee his Grace the duke of Berwick, whoſe coming with ſome forces, eſpecially horſe, will ſoon reduce this kingdom to its duty; I hope his Grace ſhall find me your Majeſty's moſt diligent and obedient ſubject, being, unalterably,

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 53.

Sir, your, &c.

JOHN M'LEAN.

Major General Buchan to King James.

The earl of Bredalbin cannot be depended on.——Lord Tarbat attempts to buy off the clans.—Some noblemen will join, if the duke of Berwick comes to Scotland.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, Inverlochy, Feb. 14th, 1690. Ibid. No. 54.

SINCE my firſt letter, at my landing, I had a meeting with the chiefs of clans; and they have written to your Majeſty and couſin Sir George Berkley, to give a true account of what is paſſed, and of the preſent condition they are in; they will not have any from a particular clan to come over, but an indifferent perſon, whom they all eſteem, as they do the bearer, as much as any that has been amongſt them. My

1690. February. lord Bredalbin has ſent a gentleman to me, and profeſſes very much; yet, for what I can learn underhand, he is not to be truſted. There are ſeveral of the clans, for all their promiſes, that have been treating with the prince of Orange; and my lord Tarbat lies, like a banquire at London, buying off all he can. I have ſeen of his letters. There is 1000 *l.* offered Lochiel, and to pay off all his debts; ſo that, unleſs your Majeſty give ſpeedy ſuccour, I fear the moſt of them.

The officers that came out of Ireland were very miſerable; ſo I, with conſent of the council of war, have given out the 500 *l.* amongſt them. There is ſome of the clergy have been with me, deſiring to know what length your Majeſty would go with them for their religion. I told them, that was truly a point not for me to anſwer; but deſired they might ſend ſome perſon they might truſt to ſpeak to your Majeſty about it. It will be neceſſary to pleaſe that gang, and to ſend over ſome blank commiſſions, for colonels and lieutenant colonels of horſe and foot: for there are ſeveral noblemen in the low country deſire commiſſions; as the earls of Errol, Strathmore, Panmure, and ſome others. Theſe people will never raiſe, till the duke of Berwick comes over. There is a report, that my lord of Arran will join us; but I do not truſt it. I muſt recommend Lochiel to your Majeſty. Your Majeſty will ſee, by his billet, what he deſires; and he rules the Highlanders more than any Scotchman does; and likewiſe Stewart of Ballachant-Billet, who is a very forward man, and John Drummond of Machonie. I beg of your Majeſty, that Sir George Berkley may be put upon his allegiance to give your Majeſty a true account of every one. He is an honeſt, loyal man, and knows much more than I can write; and it will be very fit that he be diſpatched back again; for the Highlanders have a high eſteem for him, and it will conduce very much to your Majeſty's ſervice, that he have a commiſſion for brigadier, which will pleaſe extremely all the loyal party. I would write much more, but refer all to him; ſo, wiſhing the Heavens to preſerve and protect your ſacred Majeſty, I am,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, &c.

THOMAS BUCHAN.

" *General*

1690. February. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 55.

"[illegible] *Letter from the officers and chiefs of clans now in arms in Scotland, to the King.*"

Aſſurances of attachment.—They aſk the duke of Berwick to command them.—They deſire ſome horſe and dragoons.

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

" WE being aſſembled together by major general Buchan's orders, we have all agreed in one voice, that, as we have begun, ſo we will continue to hazard our lives and fortunes, and all that is dear unto us, for your Majeſty's re-eſtabliſhment. But we muſt let your Majeſty know, that his grace the duke of Berwick will be moſt acceptable to all honeſt men in this kingdom, but particularly to us; and that the ſooner he comes the better it will be: for we ſtand extremely in need of ſome horſe and dragoons, and cannot adventure into the low country ſecurely without them. We have likewiſe commanded Sir George Berkley, much againſt his own inclinations, to give your Majeſty a full account of what is paſt, and of our preſent condition. So, to wiſh God to bleſs and preſerve your Majeſty, and to give you ſucceſs over your enemies, ſhall ſtill be the prayers of,

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

Thomas Buchan.	George Berkley.
Al. Cannan.	M'Nachtane.
Alex. M'Donald of Glen.	Alex. M'Donald.
Cameron of Lochiel.	Col. M'Donald."
D. M'Donald.	

Many perſons in Scotland who had declared early for the prince of Orange, and acknowledged his title as King, expected exorbitant rewards for their ſervices, but finding themſelves diſappointed, they began to make their peace with James, and to concert meaſures for his reſtoration. The Highlanders, when abandoned by colonel Cannon, who ſucceeded Dundee in the command of the forfeited King's adherents, choſe Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel for their commander; and, when reinforced by Buchan and the officers whom James ſent with ammunition and proviſions from Ireland,

1690. April. they took arms to ſecond Sir James Montgomery's intrigues in parliament. They were repulſed, rather than defeated, by Sir Thomas Livingſton in the county of Murray, and by major Ferguſon in the iſland of Mull: and the conſpiracy in which Montgomery had engaged all the diſcontented nobility and gentlemen in the kingdom, was diſcovered by himſelf to the earl of Melvil; and by the earl of Annandale to Queen Mary. But before this happened, the conſpirators had begun to correſpond with the exiled Queen in France, and with James in Ireland. The firſt mention made of their deſigns in Nairne's papers, is in the letters which Melfort wrote to his maſter from Paris, and to the Queen from Toulon.

The Scots made certain conditions with James, and prepared to reſtore him in a parliamentary way to his kingdoms; and the moſt rigid Jacobites being under no reſtraints from conſcience, made uſe of their maſter's permiſſion to qualify themſelves to vote in parliament, by taking the oaths to the government. But it is probable that James placed no confidence in the offers of the Preſbyterians; and Melfort, at this deſperate criſis, was as anxious to avoid any conceſſions which might imply a diminution of the prerogative, as when his maſter was firmly ſeated on the throne of his anceſtors. He diſcovers a great deal of this ſpirit in the following memorial, which contains, at once, proofs of inſincerity and marks of weakneſs.

Memorial concerning Scotland, ſent to the Queen from Rome, April 18th, 1690.

In Nairne's hand.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 84.

"HAving ſeen a paper, containing ſome propoſals for the bringing back the kingdom of Scotland to their duties and allegiance to his Majeſty, I thought it my duty to make ſuch reflections upon it, as might be for the clearing of the ſtate of the caſe, and the conſequences of their demands; of which the ſubſtance is:

That it is moſt certain, that the party now deſiring to treat, was that party which gave the uſurper the crown, and have uſed all the means poſſible to gain their ends with him. So that it is not kindneſs to the King, but to play their own game better, which moves this offer; they ſeeing a church of England parliament, their mortal enemies, in all places of truſt about the uſurper, and perſecutions coming on them, inſtead of

of that happineſs they propoſed to themſelves by the change. But this ſhould be no hinderance, if their demands were tolerable, which, in reaſon, the King might expect, conſidering that they have no reſource but in him; and that they muſt be againſt the prince of Orange, it being their own intereſt, as well as his. 1690. April.

As to the firſt demand of an act of indemnity, it is abſolutely neceſſary, and to be as extenſive as the King with ſafety can make it; and theſe exceptions propoſed ſeem to be moſt reaſonable. But, beſides theſe, it is to be conſidered, that ſuch as have formerly been pardoned for high treaſon once, do not ſeem fit objects for the King's mercy; nor ſuch, whoſe families ſeem to have been hereditably ſo, except where, by ſome new ſervice, they merit more favour; and this I do not find they ſtick at, to let the King make the exceptions; and I am of opinion there are many who ſhould be included for their lives and fortunes, who ſhould not as to their honour; that ſo the King may, without augmenting the number of the peers of every rank, have wherewithal to gratify ſuch as have eminently ſerved him; and that exception of honours go to ſuch as have pretended to ſerve him and did not, as well as to ſuch as have been his open enemies.

As to the propoſition of a parliament, it ſeems to be the moſt dangerous expedient in the world for the crown. All yet done is void and null, and there is nothing can ſupport it but a chain of force, as illegal and unjuſt as that which made it. But, if the King conſent to a parliament, whatever is there done, his commiſſioners being there preſent, though contrary to his inſtructions, though it will not be licit, yet will be validly done; and, therefore, it is not a right matter to name a man in open rebellion to be a commiſſioner. It is an act the King may do, but it is not for any to adviſe him in it; and, beſides, it would ſeem too great a condeſcenſion for the King to make, for ſo ſmall aſſurances as he is to have on their part, which amounts only to ſimple endeavours, and ſuch as if the prince of Orange let not the parliament meet, their very fundamental project will be out of doors; it conſiſting all in turning the parliament into a convention.

The acts they propoſe are ſuch as may ſtrengthen their authority with the people, and may be a bait for them to catch at; and, I ſuppoſe, they

1690. April. they mean them for no other end at preſent; becauſe it ſeems they would print and diſperſe them. If that be all, then it would appear to me, that a declaration of the King's, to aſſure them that he will do for them, may be as ſufficient as the inſtructions, and leſs dangerous. If they intend to call a convention, without the prince of Orange's authority, which they muſt do, or have none, in all likelihood, then it were fit, that they admitted the duke of Berwick, or earl of Perth, whom, for that end, they may relieve, to aſſure them of the King's intention, ſo ſoon as he can ſee them, or ſafely hold a parliament there; and, in the mean time, to grant them the indemnity, liberty of conſcience, and ſuch other things as may with ſafety be done, leaving them to rely on the King for ſomething, as he muſt on them for much honeſty and fidelity he muſt preſuppoſe them to have. And it is but reaſonable, that theſe who have broken all oaths and ties, ſhould rather truſt to him, who has ever kept his truth, than that he, who has never failed, ſhould truſt to them who have, and are his ſubjects too.

The acts are ſuch as the King can give no inſtructions in, with any ſort of ſafety, till he ſee them.

As firſt, That act for ſettling the proteſtant religion may be ſuch, as in conſcience the King cannot conſent to. It may have clauſes in it, which may deſtroy the being of the monarchy or perſon of the King, in caſe of being any way, as they think, incroached upon by him. It may give an authority to the people to inquire into the King's actions, &c.

Theſe things, though they ſeem a leſſer ill than what the King now ſuffers, yet I look on it as entirely greater. The violence of this uſurpation threatens its being ſhort-lived; and God, in his juſtice, will throw out theſe workers of iniquity, and, in his mercy, reſtore the King; and, if he have not conſented to any thing prejudicial to the monarchy, he will get intire; whereas a condeſcenſion once made, ſeems impoſſible to be retrieved again.

That act for not keeping up a ſtanding army, is to put the King in the people's power, which they have not uſed ſo in times paſt, as to encourage the King to truſt them in times to come; and for the King to go on theſe terms, or not to go at all, ſeems much the ſame thing, if the firſt be not by much the worſt; and I am in the mind the King will not condeſcend to it.

As

As that his Catholick ſervants ſhould be approved in parliament, 1690. April.
that's of no conſequence to be ſtuck at on any account. If it had been ſo ſtill, we had been more ſecure, and, in my judgment, the King had been allowed whatever he had aſked; but if that extend to officers, it is of the nature of the other act, and the King I believe will never grant it.

That Act, reſcinding all forfeitures ſince 1660, is againſt all law and the ſecurity of the crown. For no man will dread any juſt ſentence. But yet it ſhould not be ſtuck at, if it can help the King's buſineſs on. It may have ſuch exceptions in it, as may be fit that many of the King's own friends may not be forfeited, inſtead of his enemies: a thing has ever been aimed at, by the diſcontented party, to make men weary of their duty and loyalty. So that, to propoſe the matter right, they ſhould have ſaid, at leaſt, The parliament giving compenſation to ſuch as ſhall be injured by ſuch an act. Though, at the ſame time, I renounce all intereſt I have in them, ſo ſoon as the King ſhall let me know it is for his intereſt I do it. But this act requires long time; for many forfeitures are ſold and many bought, by the relation of the perſon forfeited: ſo that it would require time to adjuſt ſuch an act, ſo as to make it as juſt as can be; and it ſhould be well adjuſted with the King's friends, leſt they be alarmed by it and diſheartened; and ſo like the fable of Æſop, we loſe the ſubſtance aiming at the ſhadow.

Let this gentleman ſay what he will, this is not only to hamper but to fetter the King; and, therefore, the true conſideration is, if the King be in ſuch a caſe, as that he muſt accept on any terms, which, according to my weak capacity, he is not yet reduced to; and that, therefore, he may very well propoſe his terms as they have done theirs, and ride theſe gentlemen with a good bridle hand, not giving them too much reins, leſt they run away with him and throw him again, nor too little, leſt they choak and renverſe with him.

This riddle is what it requires more wiſdom, and more experience than I am maſter of to find out; yet I could not be wanting to give the inſight I can, for the ſervice of ſuch as I eſteem above all worldly things; and therefore I think:

That this party, being diſobliged by the prince of Orange, flys to the King, and aſks high terms. If they can get them, they gain; however,

1690. April. they loſe nothing to propoſe them, though, at the ſame time, they muſt accept of what the King offers them, if that weighs down in one grain what they expect from the prince of Orange. For a proof of this, they have put their lives into the King's hands, without any precaution, which they would not have done but in two caſes.

The firſt, to cheat the King and get theſe condeſcenſions, with the prince of Orange's conſent. This they are not in terms to effectuate; and, therefore, it muſt be the ſecond: That they are ſo ill uſed, that they think they were better before the prince of Orange came than they are now; and, if that, then a ſtate near about what they then enjoyed will ſatisfy them, in other demands they be never ſo extravagant.

If, therefore, it be poſſible for the King to ſatisfy them with reaſonable promiſes, and once to get them entered in action, they will do the King's work, and whilſt the prince of Orange and they are ſtruggling for the bone, leave the King the liberty of growing ſtrong enough to take it from them both, and to give as he ſhall ſee reaſonable afterwards. For, if once they begin a war, it will not then be ſo much minded, what terms they are to expect from the King, who is to aſſiſt them, as how they ſhall overthrow the power of the preſent enemy.

[What follows is in Melfort's hand.]

Who gains time, gains life; and, therefore, the King ſhould ſhew them all the kindneſs, all the truſt, all the confidence in the world; write moſt affectionately to them, ſeem to grant even more than he intends to perform; but, in the mean time, delay, and a good reaſon of delay of ſuch acts as he cannot grant is, to ſee them penned and ſent him. Such as he can grant, to aſſure them of them with all chearfulneſs, and brag extremely of what aſſiſtance he will ſend them, and that they ſhall have all content. Naturally they are hot and unwarie, and not able to brook the preſent preſſure of the prince of Orange, as appears by their uneaſy meſſenger's ſtories; that they can hardly be kept in, and conſequently, if encouraged by the King, will break out; which, once begun, and the Highlanders advertiſed to take the ſame opportunity, then all will be paſt their helping, and the King's promiſes be at his own diſpoſal, at the time and in the manner he ſhall think fit. Beſides the likelihood it may ſtop the uſurper's deſigns upon Ireland.

But above all things, he muſt promiſe favours to ſuch, as ſhall entertain this matter, and that they ſhall be in poſts to ſee their people protected, &c. whatever reaſons to the contrary may be gathered from their paſt carriages. 1690. April.

It is of great importance to ſend back this meſſenger contented to his principals; and that he may be inſtructed in what may be of moſt uſe to begin with, as ſeizing the caſtles, a thing eaſy for them to do, by ſurprize; ſeizing good hoſtages on the prince's ſide, &c. God Almighty inſpire the King, and ſend him ſuch as may be ſerviceable to him in this conjuncture; neither loſing all the aſſiſtance of his enemies, nor endangering his royalty.

It appears from the following preamble of a declaration, that James always expreſſed himſelf too ambiguouſly to ſatisfy even thoſe who had formed a conſpiracy to reſtore him to his throne.

WHEREAS, by ſeveral declarations, we have endeavoured to give our good ſubjects all ſatisfaction as to the ſincerity of our intentions, for ſettling the nation in peace and proſperity, hoping, thereby, to have removed all apprehenſions and fears of our invading their religion, liberty, or property. But finding, by experience, that the ſaid declarations did not produce thoſe good effects we expected from them, but rather diſſatisfied the greateſt part of our people, although they contained only the ſubſtance of ſuch heads and propoſals as had from time to time been offered to us by ſeveral very conſiderable perſons and parties of our ſaid ſubjects (who did at the ſame time aſſure us, that, if we would condeſcend to ſuch propoſals as they offered, and which were mentioned in the ſaid declarations, our reſtoration ſhould immediately follow); we, therefore, upon mature conſideration, are convinced, that the only ſure way left to know truly the ſenſe of the nation, and to ſatisfy all parties, will be, to defer the deſcending into particulars till we meet with the repreſentatives of all our ſubjects in a free parliament; with whom we promiſe, upon our royal word, to adviſe and readily to concur in all things, that can, in reaſon, be expected from us, for the general ſatisfaction of our people, in all that may relate to their religion, liberty, property, &c. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 94.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1691.

1691. January. ALEXANDER the VIII. after he was advanced to the Roman pontificate, wrote an affectionate letter to the late King of England. He exhorted him to patience and perſeverance, and promiſed him the aſſiſtance of prayers and money for his reſtoration. But he carried nepotiſm to as great a length as any of his predeceſſors, and probably ſquandered too much money in aggrandizing his own family, to be able to ſend any more effectual aid than chaplets and indulgencies to James. He died on the 1ſt of February, 1691, and on the 12th of July Innocent XII. was elected in his room. This Pope is ſuppoſed, before the end of his pontificate, to have been liberal to James; but it does not appear that he ſent him ſupplies at this time, as there is a blank in lord Melfort's negociations at Rome. Since December, 1689, there are but two of his memorials among Mr. Nairne's Papers. The one is in Italian, and marked on the back, "The fifth memorial on the 2d of March." The year is not mentioned. The other is in French and in Italian, and it is marked on the back of the Italian copy, that it was delivered to the Pope (Innocent the XII.) on the 22d of Auguſt, 1691. In both theſe memorials he aſks money, and recommends a peace among the Roman Catholic princes, in the ſame ſtrain as in his memorial of December 1689.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol i. fol. No. 83.

Ibid. No. 80. 81.

By this time James had recalled lord Melfort from Rome; for the letter he wrote then to Innocent is dated the 30th of July 169 . He had higher expectations now, from the diviſions among his old ſubjects at home, than from the aſſiſtance of foreign princes; and he entered into a correſpondence with thoſe, who had formed a conſpiracy againſt the government. The following paper relates to the intrigues of this period:

Ibid. No. 85.

"*Inſtructions to Mr. Ord,* (I believe) 1691."

1691. January. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 86.

In Mr. Nairne's hand.

YOU ſhall, with the firſt conveniency, after your arrival in England, go to your loyal friends in the North, and from the King command their zeal for his ſervice. Give his royal thanks for what they have done; and let them know, that it is his Majeſty's pleaſure they keep themſelves in the beſt readineſs they can for his ſervice. That they think of the beſt way of arming themſelves, in caſe his Majeſty find, during the courſe of this campaign, means of coming to them; and that they come to join him, as ſoon as conveniently they can, after the publication of his Majeſty's declaration.

That you go to the earl of Hume, and to ſuch friends as you know in Northumberland, and endeavour to contrive the ſurpriſing of Berwick; and that they give the King an account, when they have it in their power, and execute it when his Majeſty ſhall order, or that they ſhall hear ſome ſure good news to encourage them to it. That they, in like manner, try, if it be poſſible, to ſeize Newcaſtle and Tinmouth.

That, in the meantime, they behave themſelves with that prudence, which may preſerve them from being impriſoned, diſmounted, or diſarmed.

That they be ready, at the firſt warning, to take arms; and that they be careful, ſo ſoon as our declaration comes amongſt them, to ſpread it about in all places; and that they cauſe reprint it, where they have conveniency, and where they have it not, that they cauſe written copies to be diſperſed, and that they proclaim our authority, wherever they paſs or have power.

That they endeavour to hearten all our ſubjects; and, that thorough ſuch places as it will be neceſſary for them to paſs, they keep exact diſcipline, and pay for what they get.

And, beſides all other favours we ſhall do to ſuch as appear for us, we ſhall, in the firſt place, refund what they ſhall have laid out in this our ſervice.

You ſhall lay out to all our faithful ſubjects you have occaſion to converſe with on this account, the ſenſe we have of their loyalty, the joy

1691. January. we ſhall have to ſee them, and the unalterable reſolutions we have to reward them. That, if any of your friends in Northumberland have correſpondence in the borders of Scotland, they inform them of what is proper on this head, that they may likewiſe prepare for the firſt advertiſement or ſure good news to take arms.

October. Major Holmes went to France in October 1691, and gave a memorial to the King immediately upon his arrival at Fountainbleau. This memorial is not among Mr. Nairne's papers. But there is a paper, in Holmes's own hand, containing ſome particulars which he had forgot. It is indorſed in lord Melfort's: "Major Holmes's paper, given in October 1691."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 10.

"ACCOUNTS *from* ENGLAND."

"*Memorials from Mr. Ferguſon.*"

"THERE is an impeachment deſigned againſt the biſhop of Saliſbury, biſhop of St. Aſaph, and dean of St. Paul's, in parliament, for perſuading the clergy to take the oaths to the prince of Orange as a conqueror.

Another impeachment deſigned againſt my lord Danby, for declaring no King could reign in England, whilſt the act of *Habeas Corpus* was in force, and a great inſtrument for the clergy's taking the oaths as above written. There is many of the King's friends would gladly have the general exciſe to paſs freely in parliament, in hopes that the King may come to the receiving of it. There are others of his Majeſty's friends of another opinion, that the leſs money granted in parliament is a good way to the breaking of the confederacy. The parliament will have an exact account of the money already given, and how it was ſpent. There are ſeveral of the King's friends, that are much of the opinion, that, when it ſhall pleaſe God that the King ſhall land in England, immediately after or about the time of the landing, the loyaliſts in London or thereabouts join all in a body, attack his guards, and ſeize the prince of Orange and princeſs, with ſome of the head rogues in their government, and bring them ſtraight to the King's camp. That the ceſſation of arms, made by the earl of Bredalbin and major general Buchan, with the reſt of the officers and heads of the clans, was both honourable and advantageous for the King's ſervice; but that lord is not to be truſted by no King,

King, further than his own intereſt leads him. It is a very neceſſary thing, that ſpeedy ſupplies be ſent to the Highlands, both to the officers and clans. It will take air and ſpread, that there is ſome care taken of thoſe poor ſouls, that hath been in a manner ſtarving for want of things fitting for mankind, and will be a great encouragement to the low country in order to their duty. It is very proper 2000l. be ſent to them, with ſome other neceſſaries. Breſt is the place, which is thought fitteſt for thoſe wants to be ſent from; and to land on the iſle of Sky, or iſland Donald. 1691. October.

That the King come not in perſon to Scotland; but to ſend the duke of Berwick and my lord Dumbarton, with 10,000 men, with arms and furniture for 5000 horſes and dragoons more, and 10,000 ſtand of arms for foot.

That no conſiderable ſum of money be ſent to Scotland to a poor nobility, that will undoubtedly quarrel about the dividing of it. But when the army is ſent, to ſend money with it, and put it into a truſty commiſſioner's hands, that will employ it for the uſe of the army, and will be anſwerable for it.

My lord Dumbarton is very fit for this expedition, his lordſhip being generally beloved by all the people in Scotland, ſince he laſt commanded there, and quaſhed that rebellion with ſo little blood, and is very much beloved in England likewiſe.

Arran to command as third lieutenant general. He anſwers, body for body, for Argyle and Athol.

It's proper Athol, Hume, and Argyle, have the characters of lieutenant generals. It's a feather in their hats, to make them more forward to raiſe their men conform to their character.

If the King could land in England, with 15,000 men, either in the Weſt, about Lancaſter, or in the North, he will be joined by more than the number he brings along with him; and, with God's aſſiſtance, march peaceably to Whitehall.

The author of thoſe memorials will be as ſoon on horſeback, as any man in England with his printer.

The King's friends are very confident that there ſhall be a very fair fire about him in parliament; and if he ſhould take Danby in his arms, they

1691. October. they will pull him out; that it's not in their power to protect him; and t's aſſuredly known, that Halifax or Rocheſter will ſucceed.—The King's friends deſire to know, which of the two his Majeſty moſt deſires to fill his place There is many, that is come in to the King's intereſt, that he hath not power to name their names as yet; but will do it as ſoon as he hath their leave. Sir Charles Oweſley is come entirely into the King's intereſt.

The prince of Orange is mortally hated by the Engliſh. They ſee very fairly, that he hath no love for them, neither doth he confide in them; but all in his Dutch. It's certainly known he hath brought over a great many foreigners this ſummer, and it's not doubted but the parliament will not be for foreigners to ride them with a caveſon; and it's mightily in their heads, that thoſe foreigners were brought over to nooſe the parliament. He is curſed daily, by thoſe of his council, his bedchamber, and others that hath very good employments under him.

A marginal note in Lord Melfort's hand. "Addition received the 10th of March, 1692, St. Germains."

The ſtory of Sir William Sharp being with the princeſs of Orange and Nottingham is falſe, and nothing but a malicious invention of Sir James Montgomerie and Jones againſt Sir William; and that thoſe idle and wicked inventions diſeaſed the King's friends at a ſtrong rate, and it was impoſſible that they could be eaſy until they were both on the other ſide, meaning France, and only there to remain ſtill to prevent further jealouſies.

Some months before I came from England, Sir James Montgomerie aſked Mr. Ferguſon's advice to take employment under the prince of Orange, that he might be in a better condition to ſerve the King. Mr. Ferguſon told him, he ſhould never give his advice to any ſuch thing, and further told me, that Sir James had been with the princeſs of Orange quietly, and from that time until my coming into France, they never had any meeting.

All theſe memorials and diſcourſes which paſſed betwixt Mr. Ferguſon and me, captain Williamſon was always preſent, and can teſtify the ſame which I now ſubſcribe.

GEO. HOLMES.

When

When I came firſt to Fountainbleau I was ſo ſtraitned in time, 1691.
that I could not poſſibly remember every particular, far leſs take any double of my papers, being ordered to give them in that very night, that they might be put into French, and I not thinking I had forgot this till now, having peruſed the memorial given by me to the King.

Memorials from Mr. Lawton.

To aſk Mr. Noiſworthie,

IF it be not worth while to engage the King's head clubmen in the King's intereſt?

Whether or not they are the major generals and colonels of the * * * * * * †

That he hath a pretty good ſhare of them heartily engaged in the intereſt, and might have had all if his advice had been followed, and doubts not to bring them all in the intereſt, provided he were allowed to come over.

That he ſhall deliver up his body for a pledge to be ſacrificed, if theſe people don't perform all that he promiſes in their names.

And likewiſe ſhall be heartily ſatisfied to be ſecured in the Baſtile when any effort is to be made, and ſuffer as above written, if his party fail.

And ſhall engage for the beſt and ſooneſt intelligence, that ſhall or can come over of any kind.

He likewiſe engages to put the college of Oxford in flame againſt the prince of Orange. He alſo undertakes, that, if it pleaſe God the King returns into England and holds a parliament, his party ſhall unanimouſly take off the penal laws, and put the catholicks in equal ſecurity with the King's other ſubjects. The King declaring himſelf a common father of all, is the only way to make the King endeared to his people.

And that the aforeſaid propoſals cannot be carried on without money.

All the memorials of this paper is what I received from Mr. Lawton, which I now ſubſcribe.

GEO. HOLMES."

† The reſt illegible.

This

1691. This paper is indorſed in lord Melfort's hand. "Holmes his peaper, received the firſt time in December, the ſecond time, with the addition, 17th March, 1692."

When major Holmes returned to England, James gave him inſtructions, which are not to be found; but there is a paper among Mr. Nairne's manuſcripts, entituled on the back, "Additional inſtructions by G. H. to Mr. Ferguſon, 1691," but on the top, only

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 87.

"*Inſtructions by G. H. to Mr. Ferguſon.*"—*i. e. ſent by G. H. to Mr. Ferguſon.—G. H. is George Holmes.—Theſe inſtructions are in Nairne's hand.*

"YOU are to find out ſome ſafe way, if poſſible, of converſing with Mr. Ferguſon, to whom you ſhall ſay, that we are perfectly ſatisfied with his zeal for our intereſt; that we have received all his advices, and do approve of them, though there are ſome we cannot be poſitive in, ſince they depend upon times and circumſtances, as our going or not going to Scotland, in caſe that we ſhall be in a condition to ſend any troops there. But we are reſolved not to condeſcend to any particulars, nor deliver ourſelves up to any party, being fully reſolved to be a common father to all, to eſtabliſh a thorough liberty of conſcience to all our ſubjects, by law, and to ſecure their libertys and propertys to them. You will deſire him to continue his correſpondence with this place.

"That he, and all theſe he can influence, go on vigorouſly with diſturbing the preſent government, and that if Danby be got out, of theſe propoſed to ſucceed him, we like Halifax the beſt. That, as for the lieutenancy of Ireland we cannot yet ſay any thing, ſince the lord Rocheſter has never yet ſent us any letter or meſſage. Therefore, they are from thence to ſend us advice, and if there be no time, to act as they ſhall think beſt for our ſervice. That we are reſolved to act as a common father to all our ſubjects, and not to eſpouſe any party in particular. That we will ſtand firm to our reſolutions of having a thorough liberty of conſcience eſtabliſhed by law, and we will ſecure the libertys and propertys

of our ſubjects to them fully. That we will mind, in the firſt place, all thoſe who ſhall ſerve us beſt, and that we ſhall never forget the ſervices which he has done us, and the zeal he has ſhewn, both by his writings and actings; and that we ſhall quickly ſend him over ſome inſtructions for a private preſs, which we think fit to maintain in the country, for ſending papers through the kingdom. 1691.

We think it for our ſervice, that you remain in England, ſo long as with ſafety you can; for after this we ſhall have occaſion to employ you more than heretofore, our affairs requiring zeal and addreſs to the carrying them on; for it is our intereſt, that, till we have an opportunity to attempt a landing, all our friends act as vigorouſly as they can to diſturb the preſent uſurped government, by all the ſafe ways they ſhall have in their power, which they on the place can know much better than we can do.

You ſhall let them know what a conſiderable army of our ſubjects we have now here, and that we have reaſon to hope that things ſhall mend. Let them ſend us frequent intelligence, and their advice what we are to do to better our affairs, that in as far as we can, we may comply with their deſires.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1692.

KING James had loſt the battle of the Boyne in July, 1690, and before he arrived in France the Scotiſh and Engliſh conſpirators had been ſeized, and the French King had entirely relinquiſhed his project of invading Britain. It was reſumed, however, from time to time. The enemies of William and of his government, were continually offering their ſervices to the excluded King. An invaſion of Britain was repreſented, as the infallible means of reſtoring James to his kingdoms, and of continuing the progreſs of the French conqueſts in Flanders. Beſides the 5000 Iriſh which James ſent to France, by the tranſports that carried back an equal number of French troops into Ireland; there were 14,000 of the ſame nation ſent over next year, at the expence of the Engliſh government, according to the capitulation which general Ginckle had granted to them, upon the ſurrender of Limeric. Before they arrived, Lewis XIVth began to think ſeriouſly of an invaſion, and having deſired the opinion of James, received the following memorial. It is in the earl of Melfort's hand.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 89.

"*A memorial to Lewis* XIV. *by James* II. *delivered a little time before the arrival of the troops from Ireland, towards the end of the year* 1691."

Ibid. 91. and D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 11.

After the general title, "Memoires writ by E. Melfort, at St. Germains, after his return from Rome;" the Engliſh copy of lord Melfort's draught for this memorial is intituled, "Propoſition for a landing in Scotland, end of December, 1691, or the beginning of January, 1692, before the buſineſs of La Hogue." The French copy is the moſt exact, and is therefore followed in this abridgment.

Tranſlation.

Tranſlation. 1692. January.

"YOUR Majeſty," ſays James, "having aſked ME, if the employing the troops expected from Ireland to make a deſcent in Scotland, would be the means of diverting the arms of the prince of Orange, it appears to me, to be a thing very practicable. And your Majeſty having deſired me to propoſe what I think neceſſary for that deſign, I ſhall, leaving always to your Majeſty to determine what you think fit, make the following propoſals."

His propoſals were, that the French King ſhould ſecretly provide a fleet and tranſports. Beſides the troops that were to come from Ireland, he ſhould employ a requiſite number of HIS troops, which were already in the French ſervice, and provide arms and horſes for 500 troopers and 1000 dragoons. That he ſhould ſend arms for 2000 horſe and 1000 dragoons, to equip ſuch as were ready to take arms upon the firſt notice of HIS landing, and the neceſſary number of arms for the infantry, which might be raiſed in the low country. That a train of artillery, however ſmall, was neceſſary, with warlike ſtores, proviſions, and money, for a ſpecified time.

When theſe things were prepared, the beſt place from which they could embark, appeared, he ſaid, to be Breſt, Belleiſle, or Rochfort, and the beſt route through the Iriſh channel to the firth of Clyde. Its vicinity to the town of Glaſgow, the goodneſs of the anchorage, and the plentifulneſs of the adjoining country, rendered between Air and Irvine the moſt advantageous place for landing. But if the prince of Orange, by his vigilance, which was not probable, ſhould prevent their landing there, Dumbarton was the moſt proper place. The army ſhould march with the greateſt diſpatch to Edinburgh, in order to publiſh the King's authority and aſſume the government; a meaſure which would elevate the ſpirits of the royal party and diſhearten the rebels.

In the mean time, care ſhould be taken to encourage HIS friends, as well in England as in Scotland, to put themſelves in a condition to be uſeful upon that occaſion. The Highlanders ſhould be warned to be in readineſs to take arms on the firſt notice; and HIS friends in the low country ſhould have notice to be in a condition to do him the beſt ſervice, but with that ſecrecy which the importance of the affair required.

1692. January. His friends in England ſhould likewiſe be warned to ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity, on the firſt notice of good news, of aſſembling where they could maintain themſelves with ſafety and make the greateſt diverſion.

That the troops, if ſucceſsful, ſhould march immediately into England, and join the loyaliſts of that kingdom. That his friends in the North of England, ſhould be warned to ſeize Newcaſtle, not only on account of the riches of that commercial city, but becauſe London could not ſubſiſt without the coals which it ſends thither. That if Plymouth, or any other place of ſtrength, could be ſeized in England, the French King ſhould ſend 4 or 5000 men to its aſſiſtance, in order to make a conſiderable diverſion to the arms of the prince of Orange.—"I am of opinion, that, if this affair is prepared with the ſecrecy, and executed with the vigour it ought, though it may fail to ſet ME upon my throne, yet it cannot miſs to divert entirely the arms of the prince of Orange for this campaign, and conſequently fruſtrate the deſigns of the allies."

James at the ſame time preſented a memorial to the French King, propoſing to make a deſcent in England alſo. It is in the earl of Melfort's hand writing, and intituled,

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 99.

"*A memorial to the King of France, delivered in December, 1691, or January, 1692, or about that time.*"

The French fleet muſt be ready to ſail before the Engliſh.—The troops to embark at Ambleteuſe, to land in the Downs or near Dover.—The manner of embarking them.—Their number.—After landing they are to march to Rocheſter and London.—The conſequence of taking theſe towns, will be the conqueſt of England and the proſperity of France.

Tranſlation.

"YOUR Majeſty having aſked me, ſome days ago, if any attempt could be made upon England; I muſt propoſe what, at firſt ſight, may appear raſh; but what, maturely conſidered, may finiſh the preſent war advantageouſly to France, and re-eſtabliſh me on my throne.

"What I have to propoſe depends upon the time in which your Majeſty's fleet can put to ſea. For, if it can only be ready at the ſame time with

with the enemy, it is certain that nothing can be attempted againſt England. But on the contrary, if it can be ready before the enemy's fleet, your Majeſty will have a favourable occaſion of attacking them with great probability of ſucceſs, and I cannot doubt, but your Majeſty may put to ſea before the enemy, if you apply from this time to equip the fleet. On this ſuppoſition, I propoſe; 1692. January.

"That your Majeſty, having taken precautions for having the troops deſtined for this attempt, near Ambleteuſe, and a number of tranſports prepared, ſhould make the fleet ſail from Breſt to join the tranſports, and repair together to ſome convenient place near Ambleteuſe, where fiſhing veſſels may be likewiſe aſſembled, in a ſufficient number to aſſiſt in tranſporting the troops. Every thing being ready, the fleet ſhould carry over the army to the county of Kent, in England, about the Downs or near Dover; and, having landed them there, ſhould remain in the Downs or behind the Godwin ſands, to hinder the Engliſh and Dutch from joining together, and even the Portſmouth ſquadron from joining with that of the Thames. Your Majeſty may inform yourſelf of the facility of all this, by the ſea officers who know the place."

James having ſhewn how all neceſſary preparations may be made with ſecrecy and ſucceſs, and the tranſports aſſembled and troops embarked with great facility, proceeds to ſpecify their number.

"The number of troops I have propoſed, is from 25 to 30,000 men; comprehending 3,000 horſe or dragoons; all my friends having all along acquainted me, that with that number I ſhall ſucceed. But if I come with a ſmaller, I ſhall run a great riſque of not being joined by the Engliſh, who, in that caſe, will wait for the iſſue before they will hazard themſelves. Whereas, on the contrary, if they ſee me at the head of ſuch a good army, they will not heſitate to join me immediately upon my landing." He ſhows that he could eaſily be furniſhed with ſuch an army, conſidering the number of his own ſubjects which are in the French ſervice; and that this attempt would be made before the campaign could be opened in Flanders, where the enemy would be obliged to wait till forage was ripe, and where they could not attack France ſo vigorouſly, if he once landed in England.

"What

1692. January. "What I propoſe to do, after landing in England, is to march directly to Rocheſter, which is but fifteen leagues from the places which I have named above for landing, and to ſeize there on the ſtores of the fleet and take poſſeſſion of the ſhips of war, which will remain in the river, and of which there will be a greater or ſmaller number, according as your Majeſty's fleet ſhall be ready before the enemy; and having Rocheſter in my poſſeſſion, I ſhall have the wives, children, and houſes of a great number of the officers and ſailors of their fleet, which will hinder them from acting againſt me with the ſame vigour, and will render your Majeſty's fleet more ſecure in its ſtation.

"From Rocheſter there are but ten leagues to London; and I know from experience, the conſternation and terrour which will reign in that city, upon the approach of an hoſtile army. They will ſurrender themſelves by deputation before I come near them, if the prince of Orange has not an army ſufficient to oppoſe mine, and to keep the city at the ſame time; which he cannot have, as he has not left in England but 12,000 men, of which 5000 are neceſſary for the garriſons, and there is no likelihood, that he will withdraw any of his troops from Flanders, ſince he has no idea that a deſcent in England is poſſible, as it has not been made the preceding years." He likewiſe infers William's imaginary ſecurity at home, from his having hired 400 tranſports, not to carry troops to Flanders, but, as he gave out publickly, to make a deſcent in France.

"The nearer I approach to London, the more I ſhall be maſter of the Engliſh fleet, becauſe the wives, children, and houſes, of the ſea officers and ſailors, are in all the little towns round about; and when they know, that I have in my hands all that is moſt dear to them, they will not fight againſt my intereſt.

"If I can make myſelf maſter of London, (which has never yet reſiſted, when it was attacked, even by an army of but 5 or 6000 men), I do not deceive myſelf, when I imagine, that the reſt of England will not make a long reſiſtance; ſince it is certain, that in London, all the men of quality, all the good houſes of the nobility, all the rich merchants of the kingdom, have ſo much intereſt, that I ſhall have in my hands very good pledges of their fidelity.

"I do

"I do not deceive myſelf by my intelligence from England, though they are not to be deſpiſed, concerning the number or rank of my friends; and I do not depend much on the troops which are promiſed me at my landing, although their number is not ſmall, nor upon the officers and ſoldiers of my old army, who would not be employed under the prince of Orange, of which the number in London amounts to ſix thouſand. But what I think of importance is, that, throughout all England, there are ten who would not take oaths of fidelity to the uſurper, to one who has taken them, and who chooſe rather to pay the penalties than to take them; and of whom I can form no other judgment, than that being rich they do not chooſe to hazard their eſtates by correſponding with me. They mean to ſhow me their number in this manner, which coſts them only a little money, and that they are ready to join me, the firſt favourable opportunity they can find." 1692. January.

James labours, in the next place, to ſhow, that this invaſion will be of great benefit to France. That it will diſſolve the league of the allies, who are enabled to carry on the war ſolely by the money of England, and the Engliſh can never become poor by the continuance of it, while they are maſters of the ſea by the aſſiſtance of the Dutch, and carry on a flouriſhing trade. He then proceeds thus, to give other arguments for the invaſion.

"It is impoſſible to form a reaſonable conjecture of the Engliſh nation, from what the parliament does now, as two thirds of it are compoſed of the officers of the court, of the fleet, of the revenue, and of the army, which augments jealouſies and diſcontents againſt him (P. O.) among the people. This is favourable for me.

"It is a thing very remarkable, that a deſcent in England was never unſucceſsful, when he who made it carried an army with him, and no one ever had ſo much juſtice nor ſo conſiderable a party before him in England, as I have.

"England appears powerful, when carrying on a war abroad under an uſurper, but will appear weak, when attacked by its lawful ſovereign at home. The reaſon is, that the uſurper compoſes his army of friends, who are faithful to him; and even all his enemies are obliged to contribute to his ſtrength againſt their inclinations, until I go to their aſſiſtance. But if I once ſhow myſelf, then the number of my friends would appear,

1692. January. and the diſproportion between thoſe who acknowledge the prince of Orange, and thoſe who are loyal to me; and the moment I ſet my foot aſhore in England, the prince of Orange would have neither money nor ammunition, nor any of thoſe things from thence, with which he furniſhed his army in Flanders laſt year; and it would be ſoon ſeen, that the great force which he has now, would inſtantly vaniſh, when I had once cut off the ſinews of war, that is to ſay, deprived him of the money which ſupports it."

The reſt of this memorial is addreſſed to the vanity of Lewis.

Lewis, convinced by the reaſonings of James, permitted himſelf to be buoyed up with hopes of a ſucceſsful invaſion, and James and his ſecretary were employed in concerting the plan. There is a copy of it among Nairne's manuſcripts written by Lord Melfort, with ſome little marginal notes in the King's own hand, which are here inſerted as they occur in the original.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 92.

"*Plan of a deſcent to be made in England, by his Majeſty's army, under his own command.*"

January, 1692.

THAT the number of troops being concluded on, they may be brought as near to the place or places where they are to embark as poſſible. That the King conſider what alterations may be proper to be made amongſt the officers of his own troops, and that ſuch as are not on foot may be placed *en ſeconde*, the better to enable the troops to do their duty on all occaſions.

Marginal notes in King James's own hand. To be done.

That all the Scots and Engliſh may be put in bodys and the officers named for regiments, ſo that, in caſe of more coming in, it may be known, who is to have the 1ſt regiment, who the 2d, 3d, &c.

To be done.

That till there come in more to form theſe regiments, theſe officers ſhall ſerve on the head of the troops already formed, as reformed of their reſpective qualitys.

That all regiments be ſo divided, as to bring them on the Engliſh foot as ſoon as can be, by which means a great many more officers will be employed, and the regiments will be better looked to.

That

That ſpecial care be had to entertain their arms in good order; and that the ſoldiers and officers may be under exact diſcipline, nothing in the world being able to giv ſo much reputation to his Majeſty's affairs, as the good order the army keeps at their firſt landing, which cannot be expected, if it be not eſtabliſhed amongſt them before they paſs the ſeas. 1692. January. To be done.

That for this reaſon all the field officers ſhould be ſent to their reſpective commands in time, and ſhould be enjoined to ſee diſcipline exactly eſtabliſhed among theſe under their command, and examples ought to be made of ſuch as are not regular, to terrify others. Done.

That it may be known what this diſcipline is, articles and rules ought to be printed and diſperſed amongſt the troops, that they may timely begin that regularity, which muſt hereafter carry them through all their difficultys. To be done.

Whilſt this is doing amongſt the King's troops, there ought to be a perſon of eminent quality and conduct, named by the moſt Chriſtian King, to command under the King; as likewiſe ſome other general officers, who ought to be fully informed of what may be neceſſary for them to know of England in relatione to theſe affairs, that they may take their meaſures more juſtly when it comes to the time of executione: and the moſt Chriſtian King ſhould lay his commands upon them, to liv well with the King and all his officers, that all diviſions may be avoided, and the like of what befell in Ireland prevented. To be done.

That if the moſt Chriſtian King think fitt to ſend any ambaſſador, it may be one of a peaceable temper, reaſonable and bold, of ſober and virtuous principles, and zealous for his religione and honour. Very fitt.

That there be a ſum of money prepared, over and above what the moſt Chriſtian King will giv, it being neceſſary, at the firſt, to have money to giv to ſuch as come in, and to pay the new formed troops, as thoſe whom we carry alongſt with us. To be done.

That all the matter be as long concealed as poſſible: but that the true deſign be never named but in the cloſeſt councills, and that no queſtions be publickly aſked of the places convenient for ſuch an attempt, leſt, thereby, people ſhould form notions prejudicial to the deſign, and, that ſpying may be prevented. To be done.

1692. January. To be done. That horſes for the trayne and bread waggons may be ſent over with the King, and, that they may be ſome other way provided, if the moſt Chriſtian King will not giv them; for in two or three days, (the ſhorteſt time we could provide them in) an occaſione may be loſt, not to be again recovered. So it is of importance, that the King be always in a conditione to march, the moment that the troops, &c. are landed.

To be done. The plan of the landing to be, as in a paper apart condeſcended on, by the advice of the general officers, by ſea and land.

To be done. That every man may know his duty the moment of the landing, it is neceſſary, that there be provided a provoſt marſhall and guards belonging to him, whilſt the King is on this ſide.

To be done. That there be a compleat body of artiliry and ſtores provided, and in a readineſs to act, in and after the landing; and, that they be provided with all things neceſſary for their employments.

To be done. And, becaus it will be neceſſary to incampe, there muſt be a ſufficient quantity of carts and tools, &c. fitt for them, that they may march with the army.

That there be a company of miners and an able captain of them, with inſtruments, and all their tools and inſtruments for mining.

To be done. That there be a ſufficient number of engineers and all things belonging to them.

All done but petards. That, beſides the trayne of artiliry, there may attend the two mortars lately come from Limerick, and if poſſible, four 24 pounders, leaſt any of the ſmall towns in the weſt ſhould make any reſiſtance; and there moſt be ſtore of bombs and ſome petards.

To be done. There ſhould be ſome long fuſills to each battalion, for taking off of officers, &c.

To be done. There moſt be a munitioner general for the bread, and a ſufficient number of commiſſarys under him, as likewiſe caiſſons, &c. So that, from the moment of the King's landing, he may go and prepare bread for the army.

To be done. There muſt be a ſufficient number of armourers and all things belonging to them.

There

There muſt be a ſufficient number of horſe-ſhoers, and all things belonging to them; marſchalls prepared, and every trooper muſt carry his proportione. 1692. January. To be done.

The horſe-men muſt be provided with averſacks, forrage-ropes, tents, &c. and the foot, with tents and what elſe is fit for them. To be done.

There muſt be ſome *chivaux de frize* prepared againſt landing, in caſe any body of horſe ſhould appear. To be done.

That there be a ſufficient quantity of ſpare arms, for horſe, foot, and dragoons, with ſadles and bridles, &c. To be done.

That timeous advertiſements be given to all the King's party, not to ſuffer themſelves to be trepanned into a riſing, till the King advertize them, either by his publick declaration or by private meſſages; but that, in the mean time, they ſhould be providing what's fitt, with all the ſecrecy and caution imaginable. To be done.

That the King ſend into Scotland, to advertize his faithfull ſubjects there to be in readineſs on the firſt good news from him, to riſe as one man, and to put themſelves in poſſeſſion of the government, to ſeize all who ſhall opoſe them, and to make the greateſt diverſione they can. To be done.

That ſome light frigates ſhould ply, betwixt Ireland and England and on the North of Ireland, to hinder any tranſportation of troops from Ireland, either into Scotland or England; and theſe to be in their ſtatione before the King part from France. To be propoſed.

That ſuitable declarations, for both the kingdoms of England and Scotland, ſhould be made publick before the King's leaving France, and at ſuch time, as his friends ſhall think moſt for their ſafty. To be done.

That the place of landing be well conſidered, and the conveniencys and inconveniencys of all places and diſtances from London well weighed, and the conveniency of ſubſiſting conſidered, in caſe, as God forbid there ſhould, be any conſiderable force to oppoſe the King in England. To be conſidered.

That there be a muſter-maſter, and as many commiſſarys of the muſter named to attend him, as may be fitt for the occaſione. To be done.

That there be a number of commiſſarys of war named, to ſerve in the army, as they ſhall be commanded. The ſame.

1692. January. That a quarter-maſter general of great experience be named.

The ſame. That there be inſpectors named and adjutants, for the general ſervice,

The ſame. for the horſe, foot, and dragoons.

To be propoſed. There muſt be a ſufficient number of artificers, for the uſe of the army and ordnance, with all tools belonging to them.

Abſolutely neceſſary. That there be a printing-preſs, with its attendants and neceſſarys, for proclamations and orders, &c.

To be done. That there be a conſiderable number of commiſſions of all kinds, ready wrote on parchment, that no time be loſt, after the people begin to come in.

To be done. That, beſides the general declaratione, ſuch proclamations as are neceſſary, may be in a readineſs to be diſperſed amongſt the people, as there ſhall be occaſione for them, ſuch as for horſes, providing the camp, and ſuch like.

To be diſcourſed of. That thes, and all other things being in a readineſs and the wind ſerving, if there ſhall be a ſquadron of the enemy at ſea, the French fleet chaſe them off the ſea, or fight them. If there is not that, in that caſe the wind being favourable, they weigh and ſtand to windward, and giv time to the ſhips of burden to come up to the windward of them, ſending in a ſquadron, to make a vanguard and ſome ſhips to bring up the rear and gather in the ſtraglers, that all endeavour to come together as much as poſſible, to the coaſt of England, to the place appointed, which is to be, where the wind moſt conveniently favours; there being more danger in tacking at ſea, with ſo many ſhips and boats, than in landing a day's march or two, nearer or farther from London.

To be conſidered. The van arrived on the coaſt, in a convenient place for landing, to come to an anchor ſo near the ſhore, that their cannon, in caſe of need, might favour the landing of the troops.

The ſame. The firſt ſquadron having taken their ſtation, the ſmall boats with the advanced party of foot, under the command of a lieutenant general, to ſtand in to the ſhore and to land their men in good order, being followed, as near as can be, by all the foot, who, immediately on their landing, are to draw up in their order of battle.

The quarter-maſters, with their piquets, to ſet out the camp, and the engineers the lines, at ſame time.

A com-

A commanded party of every regiment, with a major, to go and receive the tools for caſting up the lines, and to march to the places marked, and to caſt them up accordingly; that theſe partys be named on this ſide, and tools given them. 1692. January. To be conſidered.

That, in the mean time, the empty boats make place for the others, and that, whilſt the lines are making, the horſe and dragoons may be landed, and a conſiderable party, under the conduct of good officers, be ſent out to diſcover and diſperſe the neceſſary proclamations, in the neighbouring towns and villages. The ſame.

That a park be made for the artillery, and the cannon placed where they are moſt uſeful, according to the intelligence of the enemy's motiones. The ſame.

That horſes, carts, and proviſions be brought in for the uſe of the army, and that all things be moſt punctually paid for. To be done.

That ſuch gentlemen or men of quality, as come in to join the King's army, may be perfectly well rewarded; and that the King may rather ſpeak kindly, than much to them; converſatione, at theſe occaſions, being dangerous, with men of ſo changeable tempers. The ſame.

That care be taken, that none but the general officers or aids de camps hav leav to go along the lines; that ſo neither our friends nor enemys may come directly to know our ſtrength. To be conſidered.

That, if any of the proteſtant biſhops and clergy come in, his Majeſty uſe them extremely well, and order all conveniences for their worſhip, where there are no churches: that all reſpect be paid them: that fair words be given them by all concerned in the King's affairs: but that no long audiences be given them, that they may not have the time to enter into particulars; a thing ſo dangerous, that it is by all means to be avoided by the King himſelf; whilſt we his ſervants giv them all opportunitys, and enter [into particulars] with them, if needfull; ſince that is of leſs conſequence to the King's ſervice, than what he might ſay. To be done.

That they hav all reſpect from the army, tho' of a different religione, and that all the healing things be done; that, if we cannot gain them, at leaſt, they may hav no juſt ground of diſguſt from us.

That, except ſome extraordinary cauſe ſhould hapen, that the King ſhould not giv any place or preferment, till his coming to London; but To be done.

refer

1692. January. Reaſonable. refer all till that time; and, till that, all the government ſhould rather be military than other; the circumſtances will excuſe it, and his Majeſty's affairs require that it ſhould be ſo.

To be done. That, at the ſame time, the declaratione is diſperſed in England, there ſhould be copies ſent, with particular encouragement, to the fleet, armys, both in England and Flanders, and to all forts and caſtles, to invite them to return to their duty again; and propoſing ſuitable advantages to them.

To be done. That declarations for Scotland ſhould be, at ſame time, ſent with the juſt differences, if need requires, which ſhould be timely conſidered.

To be endeavoured. That a ſtock of money be prepared, beſides what the moſt Chriſtian King will giv, by all the ways can be invented; and, by getting the King's friends to lay out what they collect, near the ſea-ſide, to be ready on a call.

To be done out of hand. That the Pope ſhould be ſent to; yet ſo, as that it may not be in his power to diſcover any thing may do prejudice to his Majeſty's affairs.

To be preſt. That the affair of the deſerters be vigorouſly gone about immediately, that we may have the more officers and ſoldiers to carry over.

Neceſſary. That the officers be commanded to furniſh their men with all things neceſſary for the camp; as pots, pans, &c.

Neceſſary. That there be a ſufficient quantity of bayonetts for the foot, as well as dragoons.

Very fit. That, before the affair be ready to break out, the King's friends hav ſome underhand advertiſement to be in a readineſs; and, in the mean time, to keep out of the hands of their enemys.

To be done. That a ſufficient number of Scotch officers, with ſome money, arms, and ammunition, be ſent to Scotland, at the time the King is embarking, that his faithfull ſubjects, in that kingdome, may hav time to draw together and to make what diverſione they can, on that ſide; and that letters be writ, and commiſſions, if needfull, be ſent into that kingdome.

Very eſſential. That the ſecret of this affair be intruſted to none, but ſuch as are of uncontroverted loyalty.

Neceſſary. That this thing be never named at St. Germains, even tho' all the world ſhould talk of it elſewhere; things from St. Germains being of more weight than what is ſaid by the reſt of France.

That ſome fit perſon be thought upon to ſtay with the Queen, and to carry her commands to the court of Verſailles, from time to time. 1692. January. To be done.

That there be a ſufficient number of theſe, whom the King entertains, employed in the matters of the ſecretary, that things in that office may go eaſily and without embarraſs. This may be done without any additional expence; and if there is, I will bear it myſelf. The project to be made.

That there be a ſufficient number of ſhips or barks provided, for ſuch as belong to the King, over and above theſe which are for the troops, and for ſuch perſons of quality and their equipages, as will be allowed by his Majeſty in the expeditione. To be done.

That the King be well informed of all the troops deſtined for that ſervice, that he may be in conditione to form his order of battaile on this ſide; and, that, from the firſt ſtep on Engliſh ground, he may be ſerved without confuſion, each knowing his poſt. To be done.

That the ſheriffs and lord lieutenants and deputy lieutenants may be conſidered, and orders ſent to the well-affected, how they are to behave themſelves in caſe of a landing. This to be diſpatched whilſt the troops are at ſea, or juſt landed.

To have ſome conſiderable town behind us, from whence to draw proviſions of ſuch things as may be neceſſary, and where we may have ſuch things in magazines as might embaraſs us, if we be obliged to march ſpeedily not to loſe time. To be inſured.

To try, by all means, to get the Tower ſurpriſed, near the time of the landing; that being of vaſt uſe to hector the city, and favour our party in it. To be endeavoured.

That it be thought upon how his Majeſty will have ſuch citys or countys governed, as to become maſter of; that is, if he will repone ſuch magiſtrates as were elected at his leaving England, or appoint new elections; and if the ſame ſheriffs be left, or appoint others; the ſame of lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace.

Liſts to be made of ſuch as are moſt proper to be employed in the court, country, or in Weſtminſter-hall; that, tho' nothing be determined, yet his Majeſty may have ſuch in his eye as may be moſt for his purpoſe.

That

1692. January. That there be a ſufficient quantity of hay and oats put on board, for the maintenance of the horſes ſome time after the landing, as well as the time they are at ſea.

James, impatient for a favourable anſwer to the preceding memorials, preſented another to the King of France, containing an account of the intelligence he had received from his friends in England. It confirms the confeſſion of lord Preſton, and the truth of the conſpiracy, which was diſcovered in the papers found on him and Aſhton when they were ſeized.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 97.

"*A memorial delivered to the King of France, the 27th January*, 1692."

A Tranſlation. The Original is in Melfort's hand.

"IT is now ſome time ſince I gave your Majeſty a memorial concerning a deſign which might be formed againſt the prince of Orange in England. I doubt not but your Majeſty has conſidered it. I am confirmed in the ſame ſentiments, by ſeveral gentlemen ſent expreſs from England to intreat me, in the name of my faithful ſubjects, not to loſe this opportunity, when the forces of the prince of Orange ſhall be out of the kingdom.

"To convince me, they ſay that the humours of the Engliſh in general are changed; for, inſtead of treating me injuriouſly, as they formerly did, every one complains of my fate publickly, except thoſe who depend immediately upon the uſurper; and even of them, a great number do not fail to do ſo in private, when they find any of my friends to whom they can ſpeak.

"That, at firſt, the prince of Orange was beloved. But that now he is much hated and deſpiſed; and that they publickly ſpeak ill of him every where.

"That his army is diſſatisfied, having been very ill paid; and that the fleet is ſtill more ſo, having demanded their pay, in a very mutinous manner: and that the diſcontent is ſtill greater, ſince he refuſed their requeſt.

"That a great part of the army will come to join ME, if I had wherewith to maintain them as they are in the ſervice of the prince of Orange.

But

But that, at all events, ſome will come: that the church of England and the non-conformiſts are the two great parties of which the kingdom of England is compoſed: that the non-conformiſts are near the half of them, and entirely for me; becauſe the prince of Orange has diſobliged them. Although they had a great hand in the revolution, yet, nevertheleſs, they have not been employed by him ſince: that they remember it was I, that gave them liberty of conſcience: that I would never conſent to abandon them to the perſecutions of the church of England; and that they will find their intereſt in my re-eſtabliſhment. 1692. January.

"The church of England, which compoſes the oppoſite party, forms more than the half of the nation. But they are divided into thoſe who have not taken the oaths for the prince of Orange, and thoſe who have taken them. Thoſe who have not taken them, are entirely in my intereſt; and, moderately ſpeaking, form more than three-fourths of the church of England: for there are ſome who will have them to be nine-tenths. Theſe have ſent to offer me money for my urgent neceſſities in England; which they declare to be a great proof of their zeal, and of their hopes that I may be ſoon re-eſtabliſhed.

"The party which have taken the oaths are again divided into thoſe who have taken the oaths from motives of affection to the prince of Orange, and thoſe who have taken them in order to live at peace, and who have explained them away at the ſame time. Theſe laſt will be for me, when the occaſion offers.

"They ſay, that if it had not been for the troops which the prince of Orange has in England, and the militia which are in the hands of his creatures, they would chaſe him from England infallibly. But the troops, which are between ſix and eight thouſand men, joined with the militia, which, otherwiſe, is good for nothing, are ſufficient to hinder the King's friends from uniting; and, beſides, though they are tired of their preſent government, the Engliſh are ſo much at their eaſe, that there are but few among them who will riſque their fortunes and their lives, without ſeeing a body of troops ſufficient to give them hopes of conquering; and then the friends, and even the officers of the prince of Orange ſwear, that they will not ſuffer a civil war in the kingdom, and they will join me as quickly as they joined the prince of Orange on his arrival.

1692. January.

" They ſay, that the people are generally diſſatisfied, ſeeing that there is no end of their miſery. For if the war continues, they will be ſubjected to heavy taxes; if the peace was made, they will be ſlaves.

" That an univerſal deſire of my re-eſtabliſhment appears among all good men. They call it univerſal, becauſe there are but very few who depend upon the prince of Orange, that do not declare, in public and in private, that it is their deſire. They intreat me not to loſe this ſeaſon; becauſe there are no hopes of having another like it. For, if the prince of Orange ſhould obtain any advantage, which God forbid, the Engliſh would be ſo intimidated, as not to dare to undertake any thing againſt him. If, on the contrary, he ſhould receive any conſiderable check, he would draw back his troops to England; and then it would be neceſſary to conquer by force, which is no eaſy matter. Whereas, on the contrary, I could now remount my throne, as it were, without ſtriking a blow, in caſe your Majeſty would ſend me over ſuch an army as I ſpecified in my laſt memorial.

" They aſſure me, that the naval force of the Engliſh will not be near ſo ſtrong this year as the laſt: that it will not be at ſea before the month of June: that the veſſels will be ill equipped and very rotten: that the maritime is a corps very much divided in their intereſts, and without any union among the officers; and the ſailors make frequent reflections upon the difference between their treatment now and in my time.

" That all the land army will be in Flanders; and that there will not remain in England but very few troops, even not ſufficient to garriſon the forts; and that there will not be ſuch numbers in Flanders as they give out: that the Engliſh and Dutch begin not to love one another ſo well now as formerly; and that the prince of Orange, by preferring the Dutch, had ſhagreened the Engliſh in ſuch a manner, that they openly ſpeak ill of him, and ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them will not ſerve him any longer.

" All this is ſo firmly believed by my friends in England, that they think it impoſſible we can be ignorant of it here; and they blame me, as if it was my fault, that I do not come to their relief.

" They ſay, that the earl of Danby boaſts, that he has found means of ſupporting the prince of Orange, whoſe prime miniſter he is; which is, to

ſend

to ſend all the troops abroad, to attack your Majeſty, and to aſſiſt the allies; judging of the future by the paſt, that you will not attack them at home, without obtaining ſome conſiderable advantage abroad. This has put it out of their power to make any reſiſtance at home. 1692. January.

" Although there is a difference between the accounts which emiſſaries give me of the number and rank of my friends, &c. yet they all agree, that if I could land in England with, at leaſt, five and twenty thouſand men, I would become maſter, without difficulty, in the preſent conjuncture.

" As all this depends upon the time which the fleet will be ready to ſail; and as it is of the utmoſt importance to ME, that I ſhould not be deceived, and that my friends ſhould not flatter themſelves in that reſpect, which would be of infinite prejudice to your affairs, and the entire ruin of mine, I intreat your Majeſty to ſend two or three, who may inform you of the truth of all that regards the naval preparation; and, if you find the conjuncture favourable, I doubt not but you will reſolve to finiſh this war, by a blow the moſt glorious and advantageous which can be ſtruck."

The following letter, in Melfort's hand, has no addreſs. But it appears to have been ſent to ſome Dutch man in the French intereſt. It is intituled on the back, and at the top, in Nairne's hand, " *Lord Melfort's reflections on the affairs of England, in a letter, dated the 8th February*, 1692." It ſhews what arguments Melfort employed, to vindicate the conduct, and promote the intereſts of his maſter. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 96.

HE begins with obſerving, " That James wanted only to govern by the laws, as interpreted by the ordinary judges; having never taken any ſtep, without their explicit or implyed conſent; and, as he was obliged, in the private concerns of his conſcience, to truſt himſelf to eccleſiaſtics, and, in the concerns of his health, to phyſicians, he had nothing to do in the concerns of law, but to truſt himſelf to men of the profeſſion; and they never adviſed him to any thing, without ſhewing to him, at the ſame time, examples of ſimilar inſtances in the conduct of his predeceſſors, who were ſovereigns of his kingdoms: and it is very evident, that the diſpenſing power is neceſſary, as the parliament of

1692. February. England has not condemned it ſince the prince of Orange uſurped the crown.

" His Majeſty found his people, in a great meaſure, languiſhing under the yoke of a ſevere perſecution, which tended rather to inflame the rage of particular miniſters, than to unite them, in matters of religion; and, to remedy this evil, he granted a liberty of conſcience to all without exception; as he wanted that virtue and vice, and not different ſentiments of religion, ſhould be the diſtinctions to determine his favour. This irritated the church of England againſt him.

" His Majeſty conſidered the great advantage of which it would be to the church of England, that the Roman Catholic youth ſhould not be ſent, for their education, to foreign countries, which carried annually conſiderable ſums abroad; and deſigned to have a college or claſs for thoſe who profeſſed that religion; imagining that that would leſs alarm the Proteſtants, than to mix Roman Catholics with Proteſtants in each college, by his own mandate, as he might have done without ſcruple, by the laws of the kingdom. His Majeſty was ſo far from intending to accompliſh all this by force, that his deſign was to have it confirmed by act of parliament, in order that every one might live in peace."

Melfort ſays, he thought it unneceſſary to ſhew the fallacy of the other charges againſt his maſter, as the prince of Orange did not attempt to prove any of them, though he was obliged to do ſo by his declaration; and that, though Charles the Second was guarantee of the peace of Nimeguen, his brother was not obliged to aſſume that character, unleſs he found it was his intereſt. He endeavours to ſhow, upon the ſuppoſition that James, as ſucceſſor to his brother, was obliged to guarantee the peace HE had made, that that prince had done every thing which his allies could in equity require of him.

" With regard to the States-general, he was ſo thoroughly perſuaded of their ſincerity, that, notwithſtanding he was convinced it was reaſonable to arm, conſidering the great armament which was preparing in Holland, yet he would never believe that that armament was intended againſt him; becauſe monſieur Van Citters, the ambaſſador of the States, ſwore to him, in the name of the States, that they were determined to maintain the treaty of alliance inviolable; and that they could not even think

think of an action ſo baſe, as to attack their ally, without the leaſt reaſon of complaint. His own innocence, and his good opinion of the States, hindered him from entering into that ſalutary alliance, into which he might have juſtly entered, with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and for which he has been ſo much blamed by the allies; though it is very certain, that he is ruined, becauſe he did not conclude it, and truſted ſo much to the States general." 1692. February.

Melfort obſerves, that the prince of Orange dared not attempt to prove the ſpurious birth of the prince of Wales, though he obliged himſelf, in his declaration, to do ſo, "and juſtly," ſays he; "for we were, to the number of ſixty-ſix or ſixty-ſeven perſons, in the Queen's apartment at her delivery; the greateſt part of which were proteſtants, and even the neareſt to the Queen's perſon; and they have all teſtified, upon oath, what was indeed clear as day-light, that the prince of Wales is the Queen's ſon."

Melfort infers from all this, that it was not the conduct of James and his Queen, but the ambition of the prince of Orange and of his own children, which has been the cauſe of their misfortunes; and that his conduct toward the States-general in particular, was always blameleſs.

"It is certain, that the King never intended to overturn the government of the States; and, although letters have been counterfeited, of which ſome copies were ſent to myſelf from Holland, it is certain, that his Majeſty was always of opinion, that it was as much a heinous treaſon in the prince of Orange to uſurp any thing over the States, his lawful ſovereigns, as in a ſubject of England to uſurp any thing over his King; which Balconier, penſionary of Amſterdam, might teſtify, if he was alive." Melfort hopes, from theſe and ſeveral other reaſons, that the States will, at length, act prudently. "For it is evident, that the King will be re-eſtabliſhed, in ſpite of men and devils; and it will depend upon him to revenge the injuſtices which have been done him. But he will be much better pleaſed to have reaſon to commend the friendſhip and repentance of the States, however late, than to revenge their perfidy in the time paſt." Melfort labours, through the remaining five pages of this letter, to convince his correſpondent, that it is the intereſt of the States to humble the prince of Orange, and to contribute to the reſtoration of his rival.

Lewis

1692. March. Lewis XIV. complied with what James requeſted, in the ſeveral memorials he preſented to him. Preparations for the intended invaſion of Britain were carried on with vigour during the winter and ſpring; and James, in the mean time, made ſome further additions to what he had formerly propoſed. There is a copy of theſe additions among Nairne's papers, in Melfort's hand, and is intituled by him, on the back,

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 12.

"*Propoſitions for Scotland, given to the moſt Chriſtian King, the 29th March, 1692. St. Germains.*"

Two frigates to be ſent to Scotland.—A liſt of the ſtores and ammunition to be ſent by them.—The ſum of money neceſſary.—The names of the officers to be ſent.

Tranſlation.

"AT the ſame time that I ſail for England, it would be neceſſary to make ſome proviſion for Scotland. For though it will always follow England, and I have there a party for me much ſtronger, in proportion, than that which I have in England, yet it is neceſſary to encourage them well, in order to induce them to riſe in arms, againſt a corps of troops which are already in arms, and the fortified towns which are in the hands of the enemy.

"What I propoſe is, to ſend them two frigates, with officers, arms, amunition, and money to be employed for raiſing men.

"As to the number of arms, it is certain that the more that can be ſent, the better. But, not to propoſe any thing difficult, it will be proper to ſend them two thouſand fuſees, ſix hundred piſtols, two hundred fuſees for dragoons, three hundred bridles, ſaddles, &c. two thouſand two hundred belts, &c. according to the number of fuſees, and amunition in proportion, for three months.

"The money to be ſent ſhould be two thouſand piſtoles, at leaſt, with which they may make a great buſtle, and, conſequently, a conſiderable diverſion; and, thereby, acquire reputation to my affairs in England; where, at firſt, the affair will be magnified, and paſs for another deſcent; and the more ſo, that I ſhall, at the ſame time, order my loyal ſubjects in the low country to take arms, and join their cavalry to the infantry of the Highlanders, and to come immediately to the capital to eſtabliſh my authority.

"It

"It will be proper to ſend away theſe two frigates, the moment that the fleet ſails from Breſt, in order that the news of their arrival may be known throughout England, before I land. 1692. March.

"The officers whom I intend to ſend, are major general Buchan, major general Cannon, colonel earl Dumfermlin, colonel Sir William Wallace, colonel Sir Alexander M'Lean, brigadier Charles Berkley, Holmes major of cavalry, and all the officers which are come from Scotland, and all the gentlemen of that kingdom."

Notwithſtanding all the perſuaſions of James, and even the inclination of Lewis to comply with them, the French fleet was not ready early in the ſpring. James did not leave St. Germains till the twenty-firſt of April; and he was detained, by contrary winds, four weeks upon the coaſt of Normandy.

While he remained at that place, he addreſſed a letter "to the officers and ſeamen on board our fleet, which is at ſea, or going to ſea, by order of the uſurper, the prince of Orange." It is dated, at Queneville in Normandy, the twelfth of May, 1692. There are likewiſe, among Mr. Nairne's papers, copies of different "Projects of a declaration for La Hogue," by the earl of Melfort. A ſhort account of one of them, which is in Nairne's hand, may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 19.

James declared he had no deſign of a conqueſt. He brought only ſuch an army as he was deſired to bring by all ranks of his ſubjects, and which was too ſmall to give jealouſy. He was reſolved to call a free parliament, to eſtabliſh the peace of the nation by its advice, and a thorough liberty of conſcience by its authority. He would protect the church eſtabliſhed by law, and fill up all vacancies with the moſt deſerving men of its communion. If, after eſtabliſhing liberty of conſcience, the parliament judged any further laws neceſſary for the ſecurity of the church, he would conſent to them, and never diſpenſe again with any laws relating to religion. As a proof of the future lenity of his reign, he offered a full pardon and indemnity to ſuch of his ſubjects as, after a certain day, ſhould declare for him, "excepting . . . . . and ſuch others of our ſubjects, as our parliament ſhall think fit to except; by which we are reſolved to be adviſed in this matter; reſolving not to Ibid. No. 104.

follow-

1692. March. follow the dictates of our own juſt reſentment, but ſuch meaſures and methods of law as they ſhall adviſe us, for the weal of our people; reſerving always our undoubted right of pardoning even the worſt of offenders, if they ſhall do what may merit it from us."

He ſummoned all his good ſubjects to take arms and to aſſiſt him, by bringing the prince and princeſs of Orange, and their abettors, into his power, or by driving them out of the kingdom. He promiſed his protection to ſuch ſtrangers as declared for him. "But to thoſe who ſhall remain obſtinate againſt us, we ſhall ſhew the treatment due to invaders of a lawful King, without declaring war, under the command of one who, being a ſubject himſelf, had no power to declare it." By no other means, he affirmed, but by reſtoring him to his throne, could his people hope for an end of the miſeries which they had drawn on themſelves, by too eaſily believing the calumnies which were invented by his enemies, and which they were not able to prove. The legitimacy of his ſon, the prince of Wales, could not, he ſaid, be a queſtion. His Queen being then with child, and near her time, gave him hopes of another; and he was always ſure of the powerful aſſiſtance of his deareſt brother and moſt generous ally, the moſt Chriſtian King.

April. While James was taking all the meaſures which prudence could ſuggeſt to ſecure the ſucceſs of his expedition in the ſpring of this year, he ſent Sir John Lytcott to Rome, to obtain ſome money from the Pope. Lytcott correſponded with the earl of Melfort, about his journey and the object of his embaſſy, from the 21ſt of April to the 5th of Auguſt, 1692.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 2. He writes concerning his journey from Lyons on the 21ſt, and from Antibes on the 26th of April.

He arrived at Rome the 3d of May; and in his letter from thence on the 6th, he gives an account of his reception from cardinals, ambaſſadors, &c. He had been introduced to the Pope.

"I Was introduced, the ſame afternoon, to No. 400 [the Pope], to whom, after all due and proper preambles, I ſignified the cauſe of my coming; and humbly begging all ſecrecy, (which he promiſed) I gave him 300 [the King's] letter, written, as I ſignified, all with his

own hand. He immediately opened and read it; and could not but expreſs real ſurprize and joy. The 530 [deſigns] I explained to him, as well as I could, at large; ſhewing how well all was prepared, and what hopes of good ſucceſs; and added, that, ſince the 552 [glorious] 554 [enterprize] ſeemed reſerved to make his time memorable, it could not be doubted, but he would exert himſelf, ſo as to have a conſiderable ſhare therein, and that proportionable to his own character, the cauſe, and the merits and ſufferings of 300 [the King]; all which ſpoke ſo loud and clearly of themſelves, that there needed no words to expreſs them, eſpecially to him, who was ſo well acquainted and touched with what was laid before him. 1692. May.

He really ſhewed his good nature and inclinations, and a great regret, that he was ſo exhauſted that he could not do what he would. However, the iſſue of all was, that, before I ſtirred, he promiſed he would forthwith 188 [ſend] 46. 48. 18. 34. 46. 52. 46. 24. 36. 48, 44. 10. 34. 16. 350. [twenty thouſand crowns]. 138 [I], with all humility and earneſtneſs, preſt further, that all extraordinary means and efforts might be made uſe of, for ſo extraordinary a cauſe and end; nor do I think, I omitted ſo much as one argument in my inſtructions, beſides what occurred of my own. But diſability was ſtill urged, with allegations, that every body would be on his back; nay, even 38. 36. 30. 10. 34. 16. [Poland,] which, without he would 528 [aſſiſt], ſhould be forced to make up with 502 [the Turk]. The truth is, I find, on the whole, he has been ſo teized and even threatened, by 514 [the houſe of Auſtria, &c.] that he is in a manner forced to trim, even *contre cœur*, nay ſo far, that even the 430 [money] mentioned is, he ſaid to paſs as 432 [ſubſiſtence] for the poor 456's [Catholics and churchmen]. Further, he has given a kind of promiſe, he will ſtill uſe all efforts, as ſoon as the news comes of the 444 [deſcent].

" This morning, 416 [Howart] was with 400 [the Pope]; and did, with a very good heart and his uſual zeal, preſs to the utmoſt, for ſome addition for this preſent extraordinary exigence. But nothing, it ſeems, can yet be further done. 414 [Cardinal Forbin] is ſcandalized at the little ſum, and will ſpeak home too on Thurſday next. But every little muſt be welcome, till it pleaſe God to ſend more.

1692. May. " 'Tis now paſt 9 at night, and juſt now a meſſenger brings a note hither for the 430 [money], which, I reckon, amounts to above 5000 ſcudi, more than 400 [the Pope] promiſed me yeſterday; and 416 [C. Howart] ſends now the ſaid notes under a letter of his own to 302 [the Queen]."

May 20th, 1692. " Since my arrival hither, I have, according to my duty, given, every poſt, a full account of my proceedings to 302 [the Queen], 406 [cardinal D'Eſtè], and yourſelf; and, I hope, my next will be my laſt from hence. For, in purſuance of my orders, which I ſhall critically obſerve, I only expect the news from 318 [England], and the final operation it may make on 400 [the Pope]; who, leſt he might prove too free, has been plied with aſtringents, eſpecially ſince his laſt bleſſing took air; yet cannot he retain the expreſſing, at leaſt, his inward affection; nay he has already directed ſeveral private devotions for his incognito intention, though every body knows it as well as they do: a cardinal with his curtains drawn, and SENZA FIOCCHE."

June. June 10th, 1692.

" The contrary winds in your parts have alſo put a great many to a ſtand here, and though at preſent, every one almoſt is in a running dreſs, their ſhirt and drawers, yet go they ſtill in their old *piano* pace. But when I can get once more out of their enchanted circle, I hope to find my legs again, and make all haſte to your lordſhip; and that, as ſoon as poſſible, after the longed-for news of your having paſt the Rubicon; for then there may be ſome other ground to go upon even here. In the mean time, there are in this place, who ſeem to fear, that whatever bleſſing is perhaps ſprinkled from hence, it may fall on the wrong ſide of the channel."

June 17th, 1692. " God knows where this may find your lordſhip, ſince there have been hopes ſtill above theſe five weeks here, of the advice of your being happily landed. But the ſame winds which have retarded you, have alſo put almoſt every body here to a ſtand; nor have I power to ſtir neither, my orders for returning, with all ſpeed, being reſtrained by the clauſe of " After the news of the landing ſhould come hither;" according to the circumſtances of which, meaſures may likely be taken here.

" However,

" However, my lord, after I have done my part, I ſhall haſten back again, I hope, as faſt as I came. 1692. June.

" No. 400 [the Pope] I am confident, will ſtill do what he can, tho' with all his power, he cannot always do what he would; no not ſo much as lie on t'other ſide of the river, becauſe it incommodes thoſe about him.

" No. 356 [the declaration] was here juſt fitted for the preſs; but No. 418 [M. Caprara], after the advances he himſelf made to get it finiſhed, alledged, in fine, very unexpected difficulties, urged by thoſe who were to paſs it: ſo that it is now laid aſide. Many here pretend, at leaſt, great inward zeal in their prayers for 300 [the King]. But, if they do pray, they indeed do it ſo as not to be ſeen of men, either in their cloſets, or, perhaps, the primitive grottoes and catacombs."

June 24th. " I took occaſion to ſhew myſelf, laſt week, to 400 [the Pope]; who, having been prepoſſeſſed by 514 426 [houſe of Auſtria], in ſome points of news to 324's diſadvantage, he aſked what my letters ſaid; expreſſing, at the ſame time, ſome diffidence, as to 420 338 [the French]. I anſwered the beſt I could; but all my conjecture, having, my lord, not had, I ſay, the leaſt word of any thing ſince I came hither: nor indeed was it well to be expected, ſince your lordſhip, I know, reckoned I had but a very few days to ſtay.

" Laſt week, a petition for prayers in the 318 [Engliſh college] for 300 [the King] was granted for three days; yet would it not be allowed, that 300 [the King] ſhould be explicitly named in the Invito; but all was expreſſed in the uſual general form; nor will I trouble your lordſhip now to tell how few of the grandees appeared on this occaſion, whoſe pitiful politics and puſillanimity are incredible.

July 22d. Sir John Lytcott gives an account of an audience of the Pope; and writes, that James's diſappointment at La Hogue had cooled the zeal of his friends at Rome, and even of his Holineſs himſelf. July.

July 29th. He ſends an account of his audience of leave. He had preſſed the Pope to relieve James and his Catholick ſubjects. His Holineſs " reiterated his promiſes, that he would, *In ogne Punto*, do whatever he could. Quickly after, to prevent, perhaps, a further addreſs, he

1692. July. rang his bell, and called for a little plate, on which was a chaplet, two gold and two ſilver medals of his own *impreſa*, which he was pleaſed to give me out of his own hand, with 200 indulgences, and a gracious kind of embrace, whilſt I did *inginochiarmi* to receive his laſt bleſſing; after which, and returning humble thanks for all, and leaving him to his own piety, I retired in form; and truly, whatever comes from him ſeems to proceed perfectly from the bottom of a moſt ſincere heart.

It is uncertain, whether William knew any thing concerning the treaſonable correſpondence which was carried on, at this time, between ſome on whom he had conferred employments, and the court of St. Germains. But it is remarkable, that men who were conſcious to themſelves that they were engaged in intrigues againſt him ſhould complain that he diſmiſſed them from his ſervice. It will, perhaps, give ſome entertainment to the reader to compare the following letter and memorial with the journals of both houſes of parliament in the winter of this year.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 15. The letter is in lord Melfort's hand and indorſed in Nairne's, "A letter to England, 5th Sept. 1692, by D. Fl. concerning Ruſſell;" and marked by him at the top, "*To be wrote by D. Floyd to Ruſſell.*" It is

Ibid. vol. viii. 4to. decyphered according to doctor Hicks's and colonel Sackville's cyphers, in lord Middleton's copy-book of letters.

SIR,

September. I Am glad to find, by yours of the 9th, that myn of the 1ſt of Auguſt was come ſafe to your hands. We are ſtill of the ſame mynd hear, as to the purchas of the bayle No. 668 [admiral Edward Charey]; and, therfore, we doubt not but, as ſoon as it can be come at, you will let us kno the terms we can hav it upon; and, becauſe it is ſo tender ware, you will take all imaginable care it be gently and carefully handled, that, if after all it ſhould not anſwer expectatione, you ſhould not be to blame, who are the factors. But we know, that you are uſed to trade, and ſo confide on your ſkiſl and dexterity.

As for theſe two bales you mention, No. 251 [lord Godolphin] and No. 722 [lord Shrewſbury], for all I can yet learn, there is not much more clearneſs here, than you hav ther; and therfore, I can ſay nothing of poſitiv concerning them as yet. I am glad you think we may do good

good with the goods No. 31 [Engliſh army in Ireland], and I find the Hamborou merchant [a member of the houſe of commons] will get the factory to deal in them as deſired; and, if it be ready, I will incloſe the tenor of it to you, by this poſt, tho' perhaps it cannot come this way. My uncle is reſolved in that point. I am ſory that you ſhould have ſo ſmal hopes of the boxes No. 215 [the fleet], and No. 551 [the parliament of England], at a time when they would yield us ſo much profite. We muſt endeavour to make the beſt we can of them; and tho' they be much ſpoiled, yet if great paynes and care be taken, and right ingredients be applied, we hope they may yet turn to account; and therefor, you muſt kno, from all the factory, what may be the beſt way to recover them, and becauſe what can beſt do it, you kno, is the product of this place. I ſhall ſend you a ſufficient quantity of ſuch as we have, which, if rightly applyed, may go a great way in the affair. The bale, No. 231 [David Floyd], ſhall ſtill be ready to mix with that No. 27 [Samuel Atkins], when you and the partners ſhall order it; and I find our partners here much inclined to mix mor of our beſt goods on both ſides, if they could be ſent without damage. For they think it will be impoſſible to adjuſt the prices and the different ſhares, without there be ſome mor goods mixt, that the good and bad may go together. But the danger is, by ſeeking a better market, to loſe all, and that we are loath to ventur. 1692. September.

The ſettlement you mentione was the reſult of the good inclinations of our debitor, who thought he could not oblige you mor than by leaving it entirely to your own honour to draw a model; for this was no more, it having never been delivered by him. He knew he would ſee many of his creditors, before he had uſe for that ſettlement; and he was reſolved to take their advice in it; and, if he had not pleaſed them, he would have changed it upon the place, having all things prepared for that intent, as it appeared to you it was unwarrantable, and there is nothing he aims at more, than to pleaſe, in all that is juſt for him to inſert, and all the matters in diſpute are ſuch as he thought he had granted in the ſettlement: for ſuch was his intentione. If they have not, it was his lawyer's fault, not his; and, if you peruſe that letter to your partner better, you may boldly aſſure all the creditors, it is our debitor's true ſenſe, to which he will ſtand, and which he will ſtill be ready to declare, as often as he ſhal be required to do it. As for the ſettlement, it fals

of

1692. September. of courſe, never having been delivered: for you know delivering is as neceſſary as ſigning and ſealing is, to make a valid ſecurity. All this rightly uſed may go far towards ſettling of mens minds, who aim at nothing but having their juſt debts paid; and I muſt tell you, that, having particularly informed myſelf from the book-keeper, he aſſures me, that this is our debitor's real intentions; and that he is moſt aſſured, that, if the moſt rigide of his creditors knew the honeſty of his heart, and the truth of his intentions, as to theſe points, they would ſoon agree to let him come and poſſeſs his own eſtate, tlll he could bring in his debts to pay them. There were a great many miſtakes, in relation to particulars, which proceeded on letters from ſome idle partners there; but, if any ſuch ſettlement be again made, there will be no ſuch overſight, nor will there, I am confident, be any, or, at leaſt, few particulars, ſo much as named. But all will be left to the general meeting of the creditors, both as to the nature of the payment to be made and debts to be excepted, and I believe all the creditors wlll mor willingly ſubmit to the whole meeting, than to any ſeparate number. However, they muſt be conſulted there, before it can be determined here, if the creditors you know have ſkill. Were they aſſured of conſent, it might engage them to ſhew their ſkill on the boxes No. 215 [the fleet] and No. 551 [the parliament of England]; and, if they ſhew all they can do, I queſtion not, they might be made marketable goods.

You muſt not think, that the bale No. 38 [lord Bath] is forgot or under-rated. Our partner will try and give fairly for it, twice more than the laſt merchant bought it at, and better payment, and the laſt half of the bale No. 149 [lord Duras] into the bargain, or what he may chooſe in lieu thereof of the ſame value; and, if this is not fair, judge you; nay, if ſome more will do, it ſhall be had one way or other. But this is a matter ſo delicate, that you muſt handle it very prudently, leaſt it wrong our credit, on the exchange, which is no hard matter, as things ſtand. I am affraid we hav not right underſtood the price demanded, becauſe it conſiſted in goods and money, and, it may be, the inventory of the goods was not right ſet down: ſo the beſt, in my opinion, will be to give good words and continue the ſecurity, till you can ſend over a copy of the propoſition, after you hav brought the price as low as ever you can; that is, ſtill offering fair, as an honeſt man ought, the true value

value of the goods No. 573 [Plymouth]. This, you ſee, is not to neglect the merchant; but, if you find it better to offer as above, it will be entirely left to you, and the partners there. 1692. September.

As to what you deſire to kno, from France, in relatione to the ſea, it is impoſſible for us, in this country, to penetrate, they keep their matters ſo ſecret. But, if there be any appearance of what you hav uſe to know, I ſhall endeavour to giv you timely notice; only lay not out your money, till I ſend you word. I am ſorry to hear the kingdom is in ſo bad a conditione; and I am of opinion, the failing of all our deſigns this campaigne, when we have gained a ſea-fight eaſier than ever we can hope to gain another, by which we were maſters of the ſeas all the ſummer long, will make the parliament think the conduct has not been good, and conſequently their money not too well beſtowed. Beſides, this bruſh in Flanders, were, without exaggeratione, we hav utterly loſt 10,000 men, and of our beſt troops the moſt, will not be an argument to convince them we ought to truſt any more to future promiſes; and beſides, our loſſes by ſea, our harveſt ſpoil'd, our money tranſported, our plantations deſtroyed by earthquakes and plague, may, I am afraid, put it in the heads of thinking men, that God is not ſatisfied with our conduct or cauſe. Theſe begin to be the diſcourſes in this place; and that ſo much the rather, that the people begin here to be affraid for their priviledges and libertys, ſince Torgoes, for ſtanding to theirs, has been blocked up, by the Stadtholder's orders, and forced, by military power, to ſubmitt to his will; upon which a moſt violent manifeſto is come out, publiſhed by the town; and we kno not yet, but it may breed ill blood, which nothing but mere force reſtrains, at this time. We wait the event.

From France, where you know I have a good correſpondent, which neither of the Kings there could ever diſcover, I am informed, that the affair of Dauphiné, ſo much talked of, is a mere trifle; which, in the main, does not ſignify any thing. Ambrun is in the middle of the hills, and could not be relieved. It is of no ſtrength, and they are going to burn it again. There are great heats betwixt the D. of Savoy and Caprara. The firſt is for coming farther into France; and the other, an old cunning ſoldier, knows it impracticable. For, if he came out amongſt the hills, he would have the French horſe before him and the

1692. September. the foot behind him, and the paſſages ſtopped; ſo that he will not conſent to loſe the army, for his R. H. hot-headedneſs. His R. H. has wrote hither to preſs the deſcent and action in Flanders: for he ſees a ſtorm gathering, troops marching againſt him from all quarters; and that without there were a powerful diverſione, he could do no good, nor ſtay any longer where he was. This we are not, I am affraid, in a condition to perform; and that will, in all probability, make the end of the campaigne, by the duke of Savoy's retreat, as ſhamefull as the begining has been on this ſide.

I muſt tell you, before I end this long letter, that my unckle is perfectly well ſatisfied with the true honeſty of the father and ſon you mentione; and, if ever he hav it in his power to do them any kindneſs, you may aſſure them of it from him: for it is his real intentions. As likewiſe to Mr. G. [ſuppoſed to be lord Godolphin] you mention, of whoſe friendſhip to him he has many proofs, and will repay him his favours, to his own content. The box, No. 27 [Samuel Atkins], proves ſo good ware, that our partner is perfectly pleaſed with it, and will hav mor of it, and keep it ſtill in his ſhop. I entreat you to make the right uſe of this, to ſhew the owner of it, that he may expect ready payment of it for all he has of that commodity, to his ſatisfactione, and that he ſhall have my uncle's thanks over and abov the price. He has a real eſteem and value for that commodity, as the beſt in its kind. I think this is ſufficient trouble at once.

The goods, No. 699 [Sir Edward Seymour], have proved ſtark naught, for all we know here, and you may judge of them accordingly, if you find not reaſons there to the contrary; and we have but faint hopes of the bale, No. 656 [lord Rocheſter]; yet, if you find them of uſe, you may endeavour to purchaſe them, having ſtill the neceſſary circumſpectione in ſo tickliſh a bargaine. You know, that I was always of the opinion, that, ſo long as you ſtand at a diſtance amongſt yourſelves, you will not be able to do any very conſiderable good; and, therefor, it is the deſire of others hear, that you ſhould endeavour as cloſe an union as can be, betwixt the creditors and debitors, that you may come to a right underſtanding, and fall on methods of compounding the differences ſo hurtfull to us both; which, having proceeded from miſtakes and falſhoods, and having been purſued with malice, I doubt not, but the

animoſity, tho' high, will fall, ſo ſoon as you can come but to under- 1692.
ſtand one another; which you never can do, ſo long as you keep at a diſtance.

Before the defeat of the French fleet at La Hogue, King James had excepted ſeveral perſons in his offers of pardon; ſome indeed were excepted at their own deſire; but he limited himſelf in his future conduct by very general promiſes, and, of conſequence, gave little ſatisfaction to ſuch as were not very ſanguine for his reſtoration. This and ſeveral other reaſons, which he himſelf communicated to Lewis XIV. in a memorial, convinced him, at laſt, that it was improper to ſend any written explanations at all of his intentions. But in the mean time, there were ſeveral projects of letters and memorials to be addreſſed to his ſubjects laid before him by the earl of Melfort and others. The firſt of them is in Nairne's hand. He names it at the top; "E. Melfort's project of a letter from his Majeſty to the parliament, 2d Nov. 1692." And it is indorſed in Melfort's own hand: "Project of a letter from the King to the Lords and Commons to be aſſembled at Weſtminſter the $\frac{4}{15}$ November, 1692; at St. Germains, the 1ſt day of November, 1692." November. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol i fol. No. 101.

My Lords,

THE royal care and paternal affection, I think myſelf bound to have for my people, by that character which God Almighty has given me, tranſmitted by the long ſeries of their lawful monarchs, my royal anceſtors, has ever made me watchful of all occaſions of doing them good, however ill I have been uſed, by a conſiderable part of them; which ill uſage was grievous to me, upon their account as well as my own; ſince, from the firſt moment of their defection, I foreſaw the cauſes they would have to repent the change of my government, for an uſurpation which could not be maintained but with an infinite expence of blood and treaſure, beſides the other judgments of Almighty God, they had cauſe to fear, for the wrongs done to me, his vicegerent.

My circumſtances gave time to all my people to make reflections, on the condition they had brought me and themſelves into, to find out the falſeneſs of the accuſations againſt me, and to conſider the hardſhips they had drawn upon themſelves and their poſterity, which had ſo good an

1692. November. effect, with many of all ranks and qualities amongſt them, that, by their moſt earneſt prayers and repeated inſtances of the miſery they lay under, they invited me to come to their relief, which made me lay hold on the firſt opportunity Almighty God put into my hands, to endeavour their relief, with ſuch force, as leaving no ground to fear a conqueſt, might yet protect my loyal ſubjects, and compel my enemies to hear that reaſon they had ſo long oppreſſed by violence; intending, after the troubles at home, and fears from abroad, were over, to have ſent away all ſuch foreign troops, as I was obliged to have brought with me, for my defence. And, as I have always been ready to explain my gracious intentions to my ſubjects of all qualities and perſuaſions, I thought myſelf more particularly obliged to do it upon that important occaſion; and, for that purpoſe, had an eſcroll of a declaration ready to conſult with my friends, at my arrival; and, by their conſent and advice, and no otherwiſe, was reſolved to publiſh that or any other form, more expreſſive of my royal and moſt ſincere intentions; for which end, I had a preſs and all other things neceſſary brought alongſt with me. For I was reſolved to ſhow plainly my intentions, which, however they were diſguiſed or ill expreſſed, in that form, were, and ſtill are.

That, immediately after my reſtoration, I will call a free parliament, in which my ſubjects ſhall be repreſented, by ſuch as they ſhall make choice of, by their free election.

That, to the parliament ſo called, I will leave the ſecurity of the church of England eſtabliſhed by law, ſo as that it may not be encroached upon, in its livings, dignities, ſchools, univerſities, or whatever elſe it is now in poſſeſſion of.

And that I will recommend to that parliament the caſe of Diſſenters, and the ſettlement of liberty of conſcience, in ſo good a way, that men of all perſuaſions may be reconciled to the government, and not look upon it as their enemie, but may all of them think themſelves highly concerned in its preſervation, upon the conſideration of the good treatment and protection they get from it, in the full enjoyment of their birthrights.

To this parliament, I will recommend the care of the liberty and property of the ſubject, as well as my own prerogative, which I ſhall ever uſe for the defence of that liberty and property; and it ſhall not be my

fault, if all things be not ſo adjuſted there, as that I and my people may have peace and plenty, a good underſtanding at home, and that ſhare we ought to have in the affairs of the world abroad. 1692. November.

All, who have ever known me, have obſerved my innate inclination to mercy, and the pleaſure I take to forgive my enemies and all the injuries done to me, of whatſoever kind they are; ſo that the many exceptions I ſuffered to be made in that eſcroll, were for terror, and to make my mercy, in forgiving moſt of the excepted, more conſpicuous.

But now, to give the world and you a full proof of my natural inclination, I declare, that I am ready to forgive all, who ſhall not oppoſe my reſtoration, excepting ſome few of the moſt obnoxious, whom I will leave to my parliament to name, as my royal and deareſt brother did, in the like caſe; it being fit that ſome ſhould fall, as a warning to poſterity of the danger of ſuch unwarrantable practices. After which, I will give an act of grace and full indemnity to be paſt in both houſes of parliament *.

And, ſince reward is as neceſſary to encourage the good, as puniſhment is to fright the bad, I was, and am ſtill of the ſame mind, to beſtow my favours on ſuch, as ſhall be inſtrumental, either ſecretly or openly, in my reſtoration; and that, according to the quality of the ſervice they ſhall render me, whether done by Engliſh or ſtrangers, by ſea or by land.

And being reſtored, I do promiſe to govern according to law: to have frequent and free parliaments: to regulate elections to parliament ſo as that it ſhall be highly puniſhable to make falſe or undue returns, either for counties or corporations: that my miniſters and counſelors ſhall be ſuch, as may be entirely truſted by my people; men of integrity and reputation, capable of the employments I ſhall give them.

And I ſhall do all that lies in my power, to make my people happy, under my juſt and legal reign; which happineſs they cannot hope for, ſo long as this unjuſt uſurpation continues, nor from any other form of illegal government their hearts can imagine; which, if they endeavour

* There is, in lord Melfort's hand, a marginal note to a French tranſlation of this letter, in theſe words: "This article is earneſtly deſired by moſt of the King's ſervants, but I am againſt any exception."

1692. November. to continue, I foreſee, with grief, the ſad and diſmal conſequences their unjuſt actions will bring upon themſelves; whilſt, if they would open their eyes, they cannot but ſee the many and great advantages muſt neceſſarily attend my reſtoration.

The vaſt expence of blood, treaſure, and reputation, they have been at, theſe four laſt years, is enough to give any reaſonable ſort of men warning of what is to come, and to convince them, that all the promiſes of future advantages are as vain as their cauſe is bad; which, hitherto, has been ſupported by falſehoods, as it was founded upon untrue and malicious circumſtances, among which, none of the leaſt has been to aſperſe me with want of ſincerity or good-will to my people.

To obviate which, I now think fit to declare, in the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of hearts, that what I have here ſet down is my true meaning and deſign, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to reſtore me to my own kingdoms; and that, if any thing be omitted or obſcure, I am ready to explain the ſame to any, having warrant from any conſiderable party of my ſubjects to deſire it. And, if, at preſent, I knew any thing my ſubjects could juſtly deſire, for their further ſatisfaction and our joint intereſt, I would have inſerted it. But that being only poſſible, when they are, by their repreſentatives, aſſembled in parliament, I promiſe, that, in the firſt I call, which ſhall be as ſoon as ever it ſhall be poſſible for me, I ſhall be ready to grant them whatever may tend to our joint happineſs and tranquillity, and which may eſtabliſh a good correſpondence and legal preſervation of the rights of the crown and the liberty and property of the ſubject. And I will do whatever may tend to the advancement of trade and ſetting up of manufactures, and what may make the nation happy at home and reſpected abroad.

I need not tell you the injuſtice done me. There is not one of you, how hardened ſoever in the proſecution of his way, but is convinced of the illegal and unwarrantable proceedings againſt me, as well as of the falſeneſs of the moſt material grounds they proceeded upon: and though, by their violence, I have been incapacitate from proſecuting my right with that vigour and force I inclined, for the relief of my people; yet Almighty God has, in his juſtice, taken care to ſhow, by their ſufferings, and particularly of ſuch as had the greateſt hand in driving me out of my dominions, how little he approves of your proceedings. Nor can

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the cleareſt ſighted amongſt you make any reaſonable conjecture, where theſe ſufferings will end, except you be ſo wiſe as, in time, to lay hold on the gracious offers I make you, and which you might have had, before my leaving England, when I was convinced, that I had been miſled by the evil counſel of ſome now amongſt you, to do ſome things as much againſt my own intereſt, as they were diſpleaſing to my people, had not the exorbitant ambition of the prince of Orange hindered all the effects of my royal and gracious intentions, at that time, as is known to many of you, who well ſaw, that it was my crown, and not the reformation of bad counſel that he came for; which is evident by this, as well as many other demonſtrations, that he careſſes the authors of theſe counſels, he ſo much cried out againſt. But he knows, and they have ſince confeſſed, that they were given me for his ſervice and my undoing. 1692. November.

The not embracing the offers I made, before my being driven out of England, when the prince of Orange refuſed all treaty, has coſt you dear; and, therefore, I hope you will be better adviſed, than to neglect this opportunity, when I offer you ſecurity for all your rights, religious and civil, and to reſtore you peace, plenty, and proſperity, under the ancient, legal, and hereditary monarchy, your predeceſſors and yourſelves lived happily under. I am confident all your fellow-ſubjects, in the army and navy, will concur with you, in ſo good a deſign; and I ſhall always be ready to aſſiſt you, to drive out ſtrangers from among you, and to recover your juſt legal rights, as well as my own, with a force which may protect and not fright you; any thing tending towards a conqueſt or diminution of the juſt rights, liberty, and property of the people of England, being what never entered into my thoughts.

If there be any thing further you would be ſatisfied in, upon ſending ſuch of your number to me, as you can beſt truſt, I doubt not but I will give them full ſatisfaction; and I promiſe, that they ſhall come and return with all ſafety.

If you embrace theſe offers I make to you, and, by you, to all my people, you ſee it will depend upon yourſelves to be as happy as you can wiſh for. But, if you reject what I have ſo propoſed, I do not doubt but that Almighty God, the avenger of injured princes, will do juſtice to me and to my deareſt ſon, the prince of Wales, and it may be.

1692. November. be with circumſtances of more ſeverity to the obſtinate amongſt you, by making the nation in general, and you in particular, account for the innocent blood of my faithful ſubjects, loſt in the defence of my undoubted rights, and thouſands of my ſubjects ſlain, in the defence of rebellion and treaſon; which blood muſt needs be heavy on the land, and on you, till, by a ſincere repentance and full reſtitution of what you have violently and unjuſtly taken from me, you appeaſe the Divine Juſtice, and obtain his, as you do the full offers of my, mercy; by which only you can hope for happineſs.

The next letter is likewiſe in Nairne's hand. It appears that Lewis XIV. adviſed James to communicate his intentions in a public letter or declaration, addreſſed to his ſubjects in general; and that he deſired the marquis de Croiſſy to write one in the moſt unexceptionable terms. It is marked on the back in the earl of Melfort's hand, "Propoſed by M. de Croiſſy, the 23d of November 1692, St. Germains."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 103.

"*Project of a letter to be ſent to England, 23d November 1692; propoſed by Mr. de Croiſſy.*"

"WHEN we reflect upon our own age, and the condition of our poſterity and kingdoms, we cannot be without earneſt deſire of bringing things to the ſpeedieſt iſſue. But what we ought to do, in order to it, has been hitherto very difficult to us to find out. It has been our misfortune to be miſtaken, in our applications to our people, tho' we can appeal to God for our own ſincerity. But, however, we will not be wanting in thoſe methods we think moſt likely; and, therefore, we ſend this to you, wherein, according to the moſt natural ſignification of the words, we aſſure you, that we are ready to agree to any laws, that ſhall be deſired at our hands to ſecure the proteſtant religion, as now eſtabliſhed by law in the church of England; and to ſettle, with the concurrence of our parliament, a liberty of conſcience. And we are alſo willing and fully reſolved to ſecure liberty and property, not only from any male adminiſtrations, that may fall in during our reign, but likewiſe againſt any invaſion may be deſigned by our poſterity; and we ſhall take effectual meaſures for doing of it, in the very firſt parliament which can be got together; and we ſhall, during our reign, delight to meet our

our people frequently in parliament, as the beſt and ſureſt expedient to beget that mutual confidence, which renders the King truly great and the ſubject perfectly happy: ſo far we are from deſigning or attempting to introduce an arbitrary power in the crown. We hope we have expreſſed ourſelves plainly and we mean honeſtly; and we are ſenſible the nation (beſides the violence they have done to their own conſciences) have not found their account in the injury they have done us. We know there are ſome, who are rather looking after other projects for redreſs, than wiſhing our reſtoration. But we alſo know, that they cannot ſtart any, that ſhall be either a better eſtabliſhment for the future, or can relieve them in their preſent circumſtances, than calling us home. And, if you will depute any to come to diſcourſe us more at large, we do not doubt to give an entire ſatisfaction to any you commiſſion for that purpoſe; and let nothing, that is paſt, continue any miſunderſtanding betwixt us, ſince we are deſirous and ready, on our part, to forget and pardon all the miſcarriages of all our ſubjects, without any exception, and to enter into any new meaſures, ſuch as may, according to the beſt judgment we can make, cloſe with the united intereſt of our people; and we wiſh more of them would let us know their minds, without the leaſt degree of flattery, which has had too fatal influences, upon the councils of moſt Kings."

1692. November.

There is another copy of this letter, which is likewiſe in Nairne's hand. It is marked in lord Melfort's hand on the back, "Project of a letter to be ſent to England; thought more proper than the other, propoſed by the moſt Chriſtian King, the 23d Nov. 1692, St. Germains." Nairne marks it at the top:

"*Project of a letter to be ſent to England, Nov.* 1692.—*Thought more proper than that of Mr. de Croiſſy.*"

WHEN we reflect on the miſery we and our people ſuffer, and the danger our poſteritys are in, it cannot be thought ſtrange, that we uſe all expedients, how extraordinary ſoever, to make our intention known to our people; being ſenſible, as we are, that our having been ſo much miſunderſtood hitherto is the great occaſion, that we have not been ſooner happy, in the mutual enjoyment of one another. That we may, therefore, have nothing to reproach ourſelf with, we ſend this to aſſure

you,

1692. November. you, that, as ſoon as we are reſtored, we will call a free praliament, to which we will leave the ſettlement of the proteſtant religion, as it is at preſent eſtabliſhed by law, in the church of England. That we ſhall endeavour in parliament an impartial liberty of conſcience; and we are willing and fully reſolved, in our parliament above mentioned, to ſecure the liberty and property of our ſubjects, not only from any preſent, but likewiſe future, encroachments. And we ſhall, during our reign, delight to meet our people frequently in parliament, as the beſt and ſureſt way to beget that mutual confidence and correſpondence, which renders the King truly great and the ſubjects perfectly happy; ſo far we are from deſigning or attempting to introduce an arbitrary power in the crown. We know, that the nation, beſides the violence they have done to their own conſciences, have not found their account in the injurys they have done us; and yet, ſome of them, rather look after other more uncertain projects for redreſs, than wiſh our reſtoration. But we know likewiſe, that they can never find any that can either be a better eſtabliſhment for the future, or a ſpeedier relief from their preſent hard circumſtances, than the calling us home; and, that no man may be hindered from ſo good a work, by the fear of our reſenting the wrongs done us, we further aſſure you, that we will pardon all our ſubjects, without exception, who ſhall not oppoſe our reſtoration. Having thus ſhewn our intentions to you, as far as it is poſſible for us, with the information we yet have of our people's deſires, we ſhall ſtill be ready further to explain them to ſuch as you ſhall ſend to us for that effect; by whom we ſhall be glad to be informed of our people's deſires, wiſhing nothing in this world more earneſtly, than to ſee the happineſs of our people eſtabliſhed upon the true and legal foundation.

James, however, declined to ſend over any written explanation of his intentions at this time, and gave his reaſons to Lewis XIV. in the following memorial, which contains ſeveral intereſting particulars, concerning the ſtate of affairs, and the views and conduct of parties in England at the time.

1692. November. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 102.

"*A Memorial.——November*, 1692.—*After the affair of La Hogue.*"

There are two parties among the Engliſh Proteſtants, the church of England and the Republicans, i. e. according to the late King's notions, the Nonjurors *and the* moderate Tories.——*The firſt are not diſpoſed to limit the prerogative, the laſt deſire conceſſions; but both are againſt any explicit declarations at preſent.—Their reaſons.—Among the Republicans, James mentions the Earl of Middleton, Major General Sackville, and the Earl of Shrewſbury.—The laſt lays down his office of ſecretary of ſtate, at the deſire of James.—A third party demand a declaration, addreſſed to both houſes of parliament.—The advantage and diſadvantage of ſending one, conſidered.—The diſadvantage is greater.—It was as a previous ſtep for recalling James, that the Earl of Marlborough moved in parliament, to diſmiſs all foreigners from their employments. Some of the party who were ignorant of his intentions, ſuſpected it was to ſerve the princeſs of Denmark; and made a diſcovery to the Earl of Portland.*

Tranſlation.

I Always imagined, that a more ample explanation of my intentions, than was contained in the laſt project of a declaration, was neceſſary; but that I muſt wait for a proper time of ſending it.

The two oſtenſible parties of proteſtants, who are for me in England, are the epiſcopals and the republicans, who are ſo named, although many among them are not for a republic. The firſt have good intentions, but little power, in the preſent conjuncture; although, if there was an opportunity of their taking arms, my enemies would find them formidable. The ſecond are more powerful, having all the employments and authority of the prince of Orange in their hands. But they are more to be ſuſpected.

The firſt abſolutely think, that I ſhould not ſend a declaration, till I am ready to go over to England; and their opinion is, that I ought not to make any conceſſion, which may be of any prejudice to the crown.

The ſecond are for conceſſions. But they oppoſe, as much as the firſt, my ſending any explanation or any other paper, until they give me

1692. December. notice, and have had time to prepare the people to receive it. I have, accordingly, followed a middle courſe till now, and ſent nothing written in my own hand. But I have made the earl of Melfort write to both parties, in terms which have given a general ſatisfaction, as appears by the letters which have been written to him on the ſubject.

The reaſons, which the republican-party have always alledged againſt my ſending any thing in writing at this time, are, that a great part of the people being prejudiced by the artifices of the prince of Orange againſt whatever I may write, it is not only neceſſary to wait, until theſe prejudices are removed by degrees, but that it is likewiſe neceſſary they ſhould be removed, by the means of thoſe very perſons, who guide the opinions of the people. That endeavours were uſed to accompliſh this; and that notice would be ſent to me in proper time. It is very certain, that this party, being eſteemed by my enemies as their deliverers, will have more credit with them than any other.

Secondly, they ſay, that if I ſent any kind of explanation of my intentions, before they had time to prepare the people to receive it, it would induce my enemies to write againſt it, and to put falſe conſtructions on it, and the generality would believe them rather than me; and, therefore, ſuch a writing would not only have no good effect, but, on the contrary, would have a very bad one, while I was not in a condition to ſupport it with a good army, which, undoubtedly, would make it produce a due effect. That, to diſpoſe the people in my favour, thoſe rich noblemen, and gentlemen, who live at their eaſe, and are not willing to riſque much, muſt exert themſelves, and contrive, in an indirect manner, the means of exciting the people, to chace away the prince of Orange, when they ſhow that they have nothing but the public good in view; and, under that pretext, they will be followed by the people, and may thereby promote my deſigns, with ſecurity, and without riſquing any thing. Whereas, if the prince of Orange and his creatures were once alarmed, by a declaration which would render them vigilant, in diſcovering my friends, and oppoſing their deſigns, theſe great men would not chooſe to riſque any thing, for fear of being ſuſpected by the people as well as by the prince of Orange; and, perhaps, they would be obliged to favour his deſigns, in order to conceal their real

inclinations, which would enable the prince of Orange to obtain from the parliament, whatever he would demand at preſent. 1692. November.

A third reaſon they alledge is, that whatever I could ſay is already well known to them; that is to ſay, to the moſt powerful men among them. For, as they did not chooſe to correſpond with me, until I had informed them of my intentions; I have done ſo, and they have been perfectly ſatisfied with them: and, as they are men of quality and members of parliament, who have a great deal of influence, there is no doubt but they have made them known to others, and that my ſentiments at this time, are ſufficiently known to this pretended parliament.

Theſe are the reaſons which this republican party have laid before me, and for which, they have intreated me not to ſend any thing in writing at this time: and four days ago, the earl of Middleton has urged the ſame thing, by a courier, which my friends in England ſent on purpoſe to me, aſſuring me at the ſame time, that great pains were taken with the parliament, with the fleet, and with the army, and that I ſhould have news of this very ſoon.

It ſhould be remarked, that all thoſe who are of this party, have not been traitors. For the earl of Middleton, who was my ſecretary of ſtate, when I came away, never did a falſe ſtep: major general Sackville never failed in his duty; and the earl of Shrewſbury, who was ſecretary of ſtate to the prince of Orange, laid down his employment, by my orders. Theſe men are too clear ſighted to allow themſelves to be duped, and they have too much intereſt in my reſtoration, to allow themſelves to be corrupted.

It was from a regard to this party, and from the weight of their arguments, that I have been induced to delay to ſend any paper, until I ſhould be adviſed by them, or until I ſhould ſee, at leaſt, their conduct in this pretended parliament, from which I might judge of their ſincerity.

Although I mention only the proteſtants here, the catholicks are unanimouſly of the ſame way of thinking. But as they are leſs employed, their advice has the leſs weight. But there are, at this time, ſome private perſons who, I have all the reaſon in the world to believe, are of ſo

1692. November. little conſequence, that they dare not declare themſelves, for fear their characters ſhould inſtantly deſtroy all their influence. Theſe have propoſed to ſend ſuch a paper, as the others, who are of the firſt quality, have ſo ſtrongly diſapproved of at this conjuncture.

Upon which, the firſt thing to be conſidered is, why theſe unknown perſons have not made their propoſal directly to myſelf, and whether it is not for fear I ſhould know them for ſuch as they are. Whereas, they paſs themſelves for very different perſons from what they really are, upon thoſe who cannot know them ſo eaſily as I do.

It is to be conſidered likewiſe, whether the opinion of theſe unknown perſons is to be preferred to the opinions of thoſe other men of quality, intereſt, and weight in the kingdom, who have it in their power to act themſelves and to employ others. Whereas, on the contrary, theſe unknown perſons, who, for any thing I know, are as much traitors as others have been, do not pretend to any other power or credit, but that of preſenting the paper, nor to any other merit, but what that deſign will procure them. But, ſetting all this aſide, let us conſider the good and the harm which this writing will produce. Firſt, though I ſhould write it, and place it in the hands of theſe unknown perſons, addreſſed to the lords and commons aſſembled at Weſtminſter, it is certain they would not receive it. For they would not dare to receive it, when it comes from me without the conſent of the prince of Orange, which he certainly will never give, unleſs he ſees that he may derive ſome notable advantage from it. So that all I would gain thereby, would be a freſh affront, which would diminiſh my reputation among the people, and be a reproach to my conduct, for having tried an expedient, which I might naturally imagine to be uſeleſs, not to ſay entirely contrary to my intereſts.

But, ſecondly, making the ſuppoſition, that what I write would be received and read, all the good I could expect from it is, that, as what it contains is ſufficiently conformed to the deſires of a conſiderable part of the people, it might in time, and in proportion as the miſery of the people induces them to make reflections, ſoften their minds, and incline them to conſider, how little they gain by the continuance of the war, and what advantages they might expect from me. What I write, thus ſoftening the

the rough humours of the people, might, by degrees, diminiſh their malice againſt me; and, when they would find a favourable conjuncture, for taking a ſide, it might encourage them to chooſe mine preferably to that of the prince of Orange, when they would find an equal probability of ſafety on my ſide, as on the ſide of the prince; that is to ſay, when they would ſee me at the head of an army as ſtrong as his, and not ſooner. 1692. November.

This, I think, is all the good, which what I could write would produce, even were the conjuncture favourable for ſending it, and did all my friends conſent to it, which, after all, is but a ſlow remedy, when it is not ſupported by a force ſufficient to induce the people to take a ſide. I call it a ſlow remedy, becauſe it is not to be believed, that the people of England, hardened as they are, will be influenced miraculouſly at the ſight of a paper, of which they have already had the ſubſtance in ſo many others; and that they will change all at once from black to white, before they have the fleet or army in their power, or are anywiſe prepared for it. The laws which they themſelves have made in favour of the prince of Orange, hinder them from declaring againſt him, even in parliament. Therefore along with ſuch a paper, a negociation and intrigues would be neceſſary; and this is what I call a ſlow remedy, and what would be of no avail, in hindering whatever the prince of Orange ſhould demand from the parliament; on the contrary, it might contribute to advance his deſigns.

The diſadvantages which ſuch a paper might produce, appear to me to be of another nature. For they would be great and immediate. Firſt, it would excite an infinite number of people to write againſt me, who would not fail to blacken me, and who would not miſs to be believed now as formerly.

Secondly, it is to be conſidered, that the humours of the people are viſibly changed: that many among them, tired of the war, and of the heavy taxes which they are obliged to pay, begin to return to my intereſts, and to look out for a remedy to their misfortunes; and, though I am not, perhaps, more beloved than I was, yet it is certain, that the prince of Orange becomes daily much more odious, and that a great part of my ſubjects begin to be very wearied of him. They, in fact, deſign

to

1692. November. to oppoſe him ſtrongly in parliament. Some in order to break the alliance with the confederates, as a thing uſeleſs to England, which exhauſts itſelf for them without pretending to draw any advantage from it. Others in order to quarrel with the Dutch, being unwilling to have any thing further to do with them; and all, in general, exclaim againſt an army in Flanders, ſaying, that it exhauſts the kingdom, and that a fleet would be ſufficient for their defence; that the money which that army coſts would be ſpent in the country, and that an infinite number of men would be ſaved, of which England ſtands much in need, being greatly depopulated by the number of inhabitants who go to the colonies. Thus my party, covering themſelves with the maſk of patriotiſm, will join with the diſcontented to diminiſh the credit of the prince of Orange; and, if they allow it to go on, will do every thing they can againſt him. But if, in the midſt of their conteſtations, a writing under my name is produced which diſcovers the manœuvres of a third party, immediately all thoſe who are againſt me, and againſt the prince of Orange, would unite themſelves rather to him than to me for the preſent: his friends would redouble their zeal: the populace, who are for him, would likewiſe interfere; and even my friends would be obliged to appear the moſt zealous for him, in order to conceal their real ſentiments, and to ſave themſelves from his vengeance. So that it appears from this conſideration, that ſuch a writing would tend rather to make the parliament concur with the prince of Orange, than to embroil them together.

It muſt be conſidered likewiſe, that the prince of Orange ſees clearly the deſigns which will be carried on againſt him, if the parliament continues long. He therefore uſes every endeavour to diſpatch buſineſs as ſoon as poſſible, and to hinder them from ſpeaking of any thing but the ſupplies which he aſks, until he has ſecured them; and it is for this reaſon, he has, at this time, changed his language. For, inſtead of continuing to ſay, that France is exhauſted, he ſays now, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is in a condition to carry every thing before him; and that the war is at their gates, unleſs they grant immediate and ample ſupplies, for maintaining both the fleet and army. The Dutch gazettes and the news from England are full of this. For they write, that he ſtations his troops along the coaſts. That he ſtill ſends ſhips to ſea, and circulates reports

reports in London, that I am ready to go over to England, and all this, in order to intimidate the people, and to engage them to grant him what he aſks. So that if, in the midſt of all this, they ſaw any thing appear at this time in my name, which might be interpreted to be a declaration, it would ſerve only to be a farther confirmation of the prince of Orange's argument, and to induce the parliament to grant him money inſtantly. For his party in parliament would cry aloud, for the good of the kingdom, and the ſafety of the prince and princeſs of Orange; and, in that general ardour for the good of the country, whoever would ſhow the leaſt coolneſs, would run a riſque of being torn to pieces by the populace; and in that way the prince of Orange would obtain ſpeedily and plentifully, what there is great reaſon to think he will not obtain ſo ſoon, nor ſo proportionate to his wants, if the malecontents and my friends in parliament are allowed to do what I expect from them. 1692. November.

Further, the prince of Orange would ſoon diſcover, that the alarm given by that writing was groundleſs, and he would conſider it as an advice given by France, which he would ſuppoſe to be reduced to extremities, and obliged to have recourſe to ſuch an expedient. That would elate him and the confederates with pride, and make them look upon the moſt Chriſtian King, my deareſt brother, as if he was not any more in a condition to ſupport the war, which might produce very diſagreeable conſequences.

It muſt be laſtly conſidered, that, when a parliament in England votes to raiſe a ſum of money, it is properly but a compliment, until the ſum is aſſigned upon certain funds capable of paying it, inſomuch that ſcarcely any one oppoſes this firſt vote, unleſs they want to quarrel openly with the government. But the manner of oppoſing it and of ſecuring themſelves, when they do ſo, is by hindering the funds from being named, or by introducing preferably ſome other buſineſs, which may embroil the prince and the parliament, as happened laſt year, when they conſented, by a general vote, to give five millions and a half for continuing a vigorous war againſt France. But when they came to name the funds, they protracted the affair to ſuch length, that the prince of Orange was not able to make the preparations he intended; and, inſtead of five millions and a half, they gave him in reality but three millions, inſomuch, that

1692. November. that his debts now amount to nine millions, which appears ſufficiently from the promiſe he makes to the ſailors, who will ſerve this winter on half-pay, of paying them in the beginning of next ſummer their arrears to the month of September laſt, as a particular favour. This ſhows, that the proper time for acting againſt the prince of Orange in parliament, is after the firſt vote is paſſed. For it is not to be imagined, that I have yet friends enough to act openly in oppoſing this firſt vote, which is always paſſed with eclat, in order to intimidate their enemies who do not know the conſequence, and who believe that the payment of the money depends upon it, which is far from being the caſe.

My friends deſigned laſt year to recal me by the parliament. The plan was concerted, and lord Churchill was to propoſe in parliament, to drive all ſtrangers out of the council and army, and even out of the kingdom. If the prince of Orange had conſented to that propoſal, they would have had him in their power. If he had rejected it, he would have made the parliament declare againſt him: and, at the ſame time, lord Churchill, with the army, was to declare for the parliament; the fleet was to do the ſame, and I was to be recalled. They had already begun to execute this project, and had gained a conſiderable party, when ſome loyal ſubjects, who were indiſcreet, believing that they ſerved me, and imagining that what my lord Churchill did was not on my account, but on account of the princeſs of Denmark, had the imprudence to diſcover the whole to Bentinck, and thereby diverted the blow.

This deſign is ſtill in agitation, and managed by thoſe who are againſt the ſending the writing in queſtion. It is therefore to be conſidered, if it is proper to interrupt the deſigns of men of that conſequence, who are capable of doing ſuch great things, and that for a project of unknown perſons, who propoſe an expedient as dangerous as it is uncertain, and who promiſe nothing but to deliver the writing.

Therefore, all things duly conſidered, I cannot hinder myſelf from thinking, that ſuch a writing, ſent without the conſent of my friends, might produce very great and immediate diſadvantages; and that even though it ſhould be ſent in the beſt manner and at a proper conjuncture, it could not produce, at moſt, but advantages which are ſlow and uncertain.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1693.

JAMES, at length, perceived that a French army was a more powerful argument to perſuade the Engliſh nation, than letters and declarations. Accordingly, inſtead of writing to England, he endeavoured to perſuade Lewis XIV. to invade that kingdom, or to convince him, at leaſt, that it was his own intereſt to ſeem to act with ſuch an intention. This appears from a memorial in the earl of Melfort's hand, which was intended to have been preſented to the French miniſtry. 1693. January.

"*A Memorial in November or December* 1692, *or in January* 1693 †." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 106.

HE repreſented, that nothing but contrary winds defeated the deſign of the laſt armament: that, however, as the French King loſt conſiderably by the burden of his fleet, it was not intended now to propoſe any thing, which would expoſe him to hazard or expence. But that the fear of an invaſion would always embarraſs the prince of Orange. In ſuch circumſtances, he would find it difficult to raiſe money; and though after the late alarm he had ſeized ſeveral perſons who were diſaffected to him, and "a great many men of quality, he did not preſume to inflict the leaſt puniſhment upon any of them. Such affection had the people for them, that they would not be evidences againſt them, although it is certain, that more than twenty thouſand men, had been inliſted by them, which rendered them highly criminal towards him; and there is reaſon to believe, that if the fleet had not fought, while affairs were ſo circumſtanced, the prince of Orange, in a little time would have been reduced to the laſt extremity, for want of money; and his government

† Mr. Nairne wrote on the margin: "I believe this was only a project of a memorial not ſent."

1693. January. ſhaken in England: ſo little did his friends think themſelves in ſafety, and ſo much did the King's intereſt gain over the minds of the people, though more from intereſt than from ſentiments of conſcience or of duty."

The remaining part of the memorial was intended to ſhow, that it was the intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to begin again the ſame game, in appearance, by ſending a ſufficient number of troops, particularly Iriſh, into winter-quarters on the coaſt of Normandy: that this would alarm the people of England, prevent the parliament from granting money to the prince of Orange, induce his creditors to urge the payment of their debts, and oblige him to recal his army from Flanders.

"If the men of rank," continues the memorial, "who are in the prince of Orange's intereſt, and, at the ſame time, correſpond with the King of England, are ſincere in their profeſſions, which, though difficult to be believed, is, however, very poſſible, this will give them an opportunity of making their propoſals more boldly in parliament, in caſe they find they are as much maſters of the army and of the fleet as they expect to be. At any rate, great advantages may be derived from it; and the ſecret being well kept, nothing can be loſt by it; more eſpecially as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, if he does not ſend a fleet to ſea in the winter, will have the appearance of troops upon the coaſt, to repel the inſolence of the Engliſh and of the Dutch, who otherwiſe may have it in their power to inſult and to alarm."

Naîrne's papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 107.

The late King, in a declaration which he intended to ſend to the fleet in the month of February this year, aſſured them, that if any captain of a ſhip, commander, or officer of the fleet, brought over any ſhip of war to his ſervice, by repairing with it to any port in France, or by joining the French fleet, they would have a full pardon for all they did againſt his authority, until the day of their return to their duty; and that, from the moment they arrived, he would give them the ſame commiſſions in his ſervice, which they had in the ſervice of the prince of Orange, and the ſame pay from the date of their arrival, or the pay of the officers, ſailors, or ſoldiers of the French fleet, who had the ſame rank, according to their own choice.

"We declare likewiſe," ſays he, "that, when we ſhall return to England, all the ſaid officers, ſoldiers, and ſailors will return with us, without

any hinderance; and, in order that all our faithful ſubjects may know, that we have it in our power to perform what we promiſe here, we declare, that all that is promiſed by us, is with the conſent and approbation of our very dear brother, the moſt Chriſtian King." 1693. January.

He concludes, with promiſing, when he ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, beſides recompenſing them for their ſervices, to pay them their arrears from the beginning of the war.

The earl of Middleton gave an account of his reception at St. Germains, upon his arrival there, with propoſals from the late King's adherents in England, in the following letter to a correſpondent in London. The letter is decyphered by colonel Sackville's cypher.

"Rotterdam [St. Germains], April 19th, 1693.

"THough, dear couſin, I am preſſed in time, yet I cannot forbear complying with the earneſt deſire [my own earneſt deſire] of 78, in aſſuring 45 * [you], that ſhe has [I have] and will do her [you] all the ſervice ſhe [I] can, which is, indeed, but common juſtice; and that ſhe [I] was overjoyed to find 215 [the King] and 55 [Queen] fully convinced how kind and uſeful ſhe [I] had been to them. She [I] can only tell you, in general, that the indenture is ſigned, which you may ſee at the place you uſed to go to in a morning, where you have often met 540 [me, lord Middleton,] to whoſe letter ſhe [I] muſt likewiſe refer. You will not be ſurpriſed to hear, that lies have been already ſtarted at 7 [St. Germains] concerning 78 [Middleton]. But, perhaps, you may too hear, that from 3 [London] cautions have been given of her [me], as a 579 [Preſbyterian] and 581 [Republican]. Excuſe my not writing to 39 [lord Churchill]. But let her [him] know, that, by the next, ſhe [he] ſhall hear from 540 [Middleton]; and that her affairs are in as good a poſture as we could wiſh. Poſt-haſte. Adieu." April. Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. or lord Middleton's Copy-book of Letters, p. 1.

* 45 ſignifies likewiſe Mr. Brickley in colonel Sackville's cypher.

1693. April. The letter to which lord Middleton refers his correſpondent, in the preceding, is as follows:

Rotterdam [St. Germains], April 19th, 1693.

THIS being the firſt opportunity I have had of giving you an account of your affairs, I muſt tell you, in the firſt place, that the only diſappointment I have met with is, that Mr. Milles [lord Melfort] had nothing from you, that could ſufficiently enable me to do it as I would and ought. But I hope the bundle, that is ſent by the truſty carrier you know, will explain the main matter to your ſatisfaction. It was neceſſary to cut out the firſt part of it here, to ſhow them for what purpoſe it was deſigned. But, if it does not fit exactly, I am fully impowered to tell you, that it may be mended by the tradeſmen upon the place, provided nothing be done to pinch them within or without, which cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed. The alteration muſt ſtand as it does, leſt the workmen who are to be employed, ſhould deſpair of their wages. As to what concerns Wilſon [Middleton], he has reaſon to be ſatisfied, being entertained by the good farmer [King] and his wife [the Queen], better than he could expect; nor can I omit telling you, that the bold Briton * ſurpriſed me with joy, being infinitely above what has been reported of him.

But what ſurpriſed Wilſon [Middleton] moſt, was the lord of the manor [French King]. He leſs admires his fortunes, ſince he was acquainted with him, and received civilities from him, which he cannot modeſtly repeat. Both he and his truſtees [miniſters] ſeemed ſatisfied with the particulars of the eſtate; and are reſolved to go on with the purchaſe, coſt what it will; but cannot determine the time, till it appears whether this ſeaſon proves more favourable than the laſt. The greateſt rub in this matter is, the high value they have for him [King William], who keeps poſſeſſion; and, by the glaſſes they have uſed, the leech appears to be a leviathan. But nothing has been omitted to undeceive them. It is not to be doubted, but the propereſt means will be uſed to perſuade the tenants of their intereſt to induce them thereby to turn to us. It will be neceſſary, therefore, that they ſhould be informed of what is deſigned. But the preciſe time is left to the lawyers who are to manage the ſuit, whoſe merits I have repreſented as I ought; and there are no acknowledgments

* The prince of Wales.

they

they may not expect in particular and punctual performance. In the main, Mr. Milles [lord Melfort] and Wilſon [Middleton] are in perfect friendſhip; and, indeed, the firſt is entirely diſpoſed as you could wiſh; and I doubt not but you will do him juſtice, both here and there. The only thing that lies heavy upon me, is my concern for the ſplenetic widow and poor orphans, whom I am confident you'll cheriſh, as much as poſſible. We are all undone, if you remove. But more of this hereafter. Adieu. I long to hear of Yaulden. Direct your anſwer to John Dorrille. 1693. April.

The late King conſented to eight propoſitions, which his friends in Britain, who wanted to reſtore him on conditions, and were known by the name of compounders, ſent over to him by the earl of Middleton, who went to France in the beginning of this year. On the 17th of April, N. S. James publiſhed a declaration, which was ſoon diſperſed over all England, where ſome of his adherents were ſeized for making it public. It was couched in terms which his friends imagined would have given general ſatisfaction; but it ſeems it gave great offence to the Iriſh faction, who were exorbitant in their expectations, and rated their ſervices too high. King James declared his intention of calling together the repreſentatives of the kingdom, and of conſenting to the ſeveral regulations and ſecurities he mentions. "And in that parliament," ſays he, "we will alſo conſent to every thing they ſhall think neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the late act of ſettlement of Ireland, made in the reign of our deareſt brother; and will adviſe with them, how to recompenſe ſuch of that nation as have followed us to the laſt, and who may ſuffer by the ſaid re-eſtabliſhment, according to the degree of their ſufferings thereby; yet ſo as the ſaid act of ſettlement may always remain entire." June. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 109. and D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 17.

The earl of Mountcaſhel, who ſupported biſhop Malone and the Iriſh faction, againſt James in France, being offended with this part of the declaration, received the following anſwer to a letter which he had written to the earl of Middleton on the ſubject.

The

1693. June. Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. p. 25.

The Earl of Middleton to the earl of Mountcaſhel, Lieutenant General in the French King's army, commanded by the Mareſchal Duke de Lorges, in Germany.

My Lord, St. Germains, 15th June, 1693.

I Should have thanked your lordſhip ſooner, for the honour you did me, if I had not waited till I could return you ſome good news for yours. The King was pleaſed to declare yeſterday, that his declaration had been diſperſed, by his order, in England. I ſuppoſe none will be ſurpriſed to hear, that the people of England ſhould have ſo juſt a value for the kingdom of Ireland, as never to be induced to reſign the intereſt they had in it. The reaſons are too many and too obvious to trouble your lordſhip with them. I ſhall only tell you, that the King promiſes, in the foreſaid declaration, to reſtore the ſettlement; but, at the ſame time, declares, that he will recompence all thoſe who may ſuffer by it, by giving them equivalents. I mean thoſe who have ſerved him; and not only thoſe here, but all who are included in the capitulation of Limerick, which will be a better ſecurity for them, than what they have by the acts of the Dublin parliament, conſidering the many circumſtances. I do not doubt but your lordſhip is fully convinced of this truth; and it will be a great ſervice to the King to convince others of it, which I hope, will be no difficult matter. For there is no man of common ſenſe but will think himſelf engaged, by intereſt as well as duty, to contribute to his Majeſty's reſtoration: which, without the concurrence of the greateſt part of his ſubjects, is impracticable. This I have ſaid by the King's command; and I ſhall only add from myſelf, that I have been, theſe twenty-three years, moſt ſincerely,

My Lord,

Your lordſhip's moſt faithful humble Servant,

MIDDLETON.

Though James entertained ſome hopes, from his promiſes and conceſſions, that his reſtoration would be ſoon accompliſhed, with the conſent of his former ſubjects, he was ſtill deſirous of ſupporting his pretenſions with an army; and he endeavoured, in a new memorial, to engage Lewis

Lewis XIV. to aſſiſt him in an invaſion of England. There are two copies of this memorial among Mr. Nairne's papers, and one of them in Nairne's own hand, with additions and corrections in that of the earl of Melfort. 1693. July.

"*A Memorial to the King of France*, 14th *July*, 1693." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 110.

The advantages of an invaſion to Lewis.—Reaſons for it.—The number of men neceſſary, and the time proper for it.—The probability of ſucceſs.—All founded on the preſent ſtate of affairs in England.

Tranſlation.

AS all the memorials which have been preſented to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, concerning the affairs of the King of Great Britain, have no other view but the common intereſts of their Majeſties; and as it is juſt, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſhould conſider, in the firſt inſtance, his own advantage; this gives more courage to repreſent, from time to time, to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, with all the humility and ſubmiſſion imaginable, what is uſeful for his ſervice, and for the intereſt of his Britannic Majeſty. All the advantages which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has obtained over the confederates, however great they have been, have not yet been able to oblige them to aſk for peace, or diſſolve their alliance. The prince of Orange is the author of this war, and the chief of the union of the confederates.

The moſt effectual means of breaking this alliance is to attack the prince of Orange, on his weakeſt ſide, which is England. The probabilities of ſucceeding, in this undertaking, are the little good underſtanding which ſubſiſts between him and the people of England; the contempt of the Engliſh for his perſon, and their little reſpect for his government; the great change which has taken place in the minds of the people; the great inclination which appears for reſtoring the King, and the daily increaſe of both the one and the other; the great number of men of quality who engage every day in his Majeſty's intereſts, and even of men who have influence, and who are employed by the prince of Orange in the higheſt offices; the great diſcontent which prevails in the fleet and army; the intelligence which the King has in garriſons, in the

1693. July. the army, and alſo in the fleet; and, above all, the condeſcenſion which his Majeſty has had to promiſe to his people whatever they aſk, for the ſecurity of their religion, their fortunes, and their privileges, with which the ſubjects, generally ſpeaking, are highly ſatisfied. Theſe are the general reaſons for believing that his Britannic Majeſty might ſucceed, if he was in England with an army of thirty thouſand men, to protect his friends, and to give the well-affected liberty to declare themſelves.

The great utility of this, as well to the moſt Chriſtian King, as to his Britannic Majeſty, is ſo inconteſtible, that it is unneceſſary to mention it. The conjuncture ſeems favourable for finiſhing the war, conſidering the great ſuperiority which his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has over the maritime forces of the enemy this year. During which, if nothing is attempted, there is reaſon to fear, that the next year, the prince of Orange, by applying himſelf to operations at ſea, may make it more difficult to tranſport the troops hereafter, than it appears to be, at preſent. Beſides that, the delay will diſcourage the King's friends in England, who expect him, and encourage his enemies, who fear him.

The end of ſummer is more proper for this attempt, than the ſpring or autumn. For, in ſummer, the prince of Orange will be obliged to abandon England to his counſellors or to leave Flanders. If he does the firſt, we have for us the principal counſellors of the princeſs of Orange, who governs; and the commanders of the fleet, who will be encouraged, by his Majeſty's approach, and by the abſence of the prince of Orange, to execute more boldly what his Majeſty ſhall demand of them. If the prince of Orange leaves Flanders, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may take advantage of this, and drive the confederates before him; which he cannot do either in ſpring or in autumn, on account of the forage and roads, &c.

The expence will not be conſiderable, becauſe the expence of the fleet, which is the greateſt, is already laid out; the magazines are at hand, and the troops, which are already along on the coaſt, are ſufficient for the purpoſe; and would be then unneceſſary on the coaſt. The affair may be done, with the conſent of the Engliſh admirals, if they mean to contribute to the deſign; and, in ſpite of the Engliſh fleet, if they will not

conſent

conſent to it. The ſureſt way is to prepare for the worſt, notwithſtanding their promiſes. His Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is to conſider, if it would not be proper to make the neceſſary preparations inſtantly; and, by making them publickly, without declaring any thing, to leave others to judge, that he is to ſend back the King of England to his dominions; which, when publicly believed, may have very good effects. 1693. July.

Firſt, It would be no ſooner publiſhed in Holland and in England, than the expectation, which the people have of a deſcent in France, would turn to the prejudice of the prince of Orange, who has hitherto derived great reputation therefrom, throughout all Europe.

Secondly, It would encourage the faithful ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty in England, who have always objected to us, that if there was any likelihood of what year and ſeaſon his Majeſty would come, they would prepare themſelves. But, to prepare themſelves, without ſeeing any appearance of being ſupported, and to expoſe themſelves thereby to all the rigour of the laws againſt them, was not reaſonable either for them or for us. Beſides that, many would declare themſelves, when their deliverance is near, who would not do ſo, when they ſaw it at a diſtance, and that would greatly interrupt the peace of England, which is already much diſturbed.

Thirdly, It would encourage the Engliſh officers and ſoldiers, who are irritated againſt the prince of Orange, both in Flanders and on board the fleet, and would encourage the admirals to execute their deſign.

Fourthly, It would oblige the prince of Orange to pretend either to believe actually, that the King is to return to England, or not to believe it. If his affairs are in ſuch a bad ſituation as we believe, he will have a difficulty in ſeeming to believe a deſcent in England, becauſe he will diſcredit himſelf, by acknowledging that he had threatened a thing, which he was not in a condition to perform; and that France, even by his own confeſſion is in a condition to do what he could only threaten, and thereby he will give us time to execute the deſign.

If, on the contrary, he pretends to believe the deſign is real, he muſt ſtill abandon either England or Flanders, as has been obſerved already. If he ſends the Engliſh to England, there is reaſon to believe we ſhall have as ſtrong a party there as he will, conſidering the diſcontent of

1693. July. ſome, and the correſpondence which we hold with others, who are well affected. If he ſends ſtrangers to England, he muſt, in ſome meaſure, evacuate Flanders; and the Engliſh will not ſuffer them in their country. In all events, the prince of Orange will be ſo embarraſſed, that it cannot fail to produce an effect very favourable to us.

What may be objected is, that this would deſtroy the King's friends: for they would be haraſſed, impriſoned, &c. But, to this, it is anſwered, that it is not credible, that the prince of Orange would do ſo, if he did not believe the deſign was real. For that would augment the diſcontent which is already very great; and he will do ſo ſtill leſs, if he pretends not to believe the deſign; for he would thereby give a convincing proof of the reality of his apprehenſions.

If he believes the deſign, and prepares himſelf to oppoſe it, we have his counſellors to adviſe him not to provoke ſo many families of rank; and, at the worſt, he can hurt only friends who are known, and have taken oaths, and who compoſe but a ſmall proportion of his Majeſty's party.

The beſt of all is, that preparations do not oblige his Majeſty to proceed. For, if the conjuncture is not found favourable his Majeſty may delay the affair, without any inconveniences; and, if preparations were not made, one could not ſeize the moſt favourable conjuncture that could offer. By a favourable conjuncture is underſtood, ſome great ſucceſs, by ſea or by land, in Germany or in Flanders, which might furniſh an opportunity of detaching the neceſſary number of troops; a thing, which will be publickly known, before the very firſt preparations can be made.

It is now the fourteenth of July; and in a month or five weeks hence, the preparations may be made; and before that time we ſhall know, if the conjuncture is favourable on this ſide, as well as on the other, with regard to the armies both by ſea and land; and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may avail himſelf of this, as he ſhall find convenient. In the mean time, his Britannic Majeſty may concert with all thoſe who are in correſpondence with him, what he ſhall think fit, and give them proper directions, engaging neither himſelf nor his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to promiſe any thing, leſt any one ſhould be diſappointed in his expectations.

It

It is of importance not to allow another parliament to meet. For there is reaſon to fear, that it will grant money to the prince of Orange, though not enough, perhaps, for his exigencies, as happened this year. He will, however, have enough to continue the war; for he will not want means of corrupting ſome; and improving upon the conceſſions of his Britannic Majeſty, he will cajol others, which may be the means of continuing the war; and, perhaps, they will grant him a general exciſe, with which he will not only be in a condition to continue the war ſeveral years, without burdening the people, but likewiſe to augment his forces very conſiderably by ſea and land. 1693. July.

The Smyrna fleet may furniſh another favourable conjuncture, and likewiſe ſupply, as is hoped, ſome tranſports.

When his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty intends to make a deſcent, the more troops he ſends, the more will the ſucceſs of the whole be ſecured.

The other copy of this memorial is in the earl of Middleton's copy-book of letters, where there is likewiſe a copy of the letter in which he incloſed it to Monſieur de Pontchartrain. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. vii. 4to. P. 30.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Ponchartrain, Miniſter and Secretary of State at Court.

Tranſlation.

SIR, St. Germains, 15th July, 1693.

AS I cannot hope to have the honour of ſeeing you this week, I take the liberty to ſend you a memorial of what hath been frequently repreſented to you, concerning the intereſts of the King, my maſter. Amidſt the embarraſſment of ſo much other buſineſs, I imagine it will not be diſagreeable to you, to have the reaſons in writing, in order that you may the more conveniently make a report of them to the King; and when I ſhall be permitted to have a converſation with you, I ſhall endeavour to ſatisfy you, the beſt way I can, in all the doubts and difficulties which may occur. With regard to myſelf, I entreat you to be ſo good as to believe me to be,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

MIDDLETON.

1693. October. Notwithſtanding the confidence of ſucceſs with which James ſpoke to the King of France in his memorials, he was anxious to have proofs to convince his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty of the truth of all he advanced concerning the number and the attachment of his friends in England, and ſent ſeveral perſons with inſtructions to negociate his buſineſs, and to procure intelligence in that kingdom. The following papers, concerning this ſubject, and the intrigues of the times, are all of the ſame date, and in the earl of Melfort's hand. They appear to be the firſt draughts of his diſpatches, containing the key and the cypher into which they were to be copied. The firſt paper is endorſed in Nairne's hand:

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 18.

"*To the Biſhop of Norwich and Doctor Hickes, to be communicated to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the non ſwearing Biſhops and Clergy.*"

"South's cypher, 16th Oct. 1693.—Biſhops."

"IT is his Majeſty's deſire, that the biſhops and non-ſwearing clergy ſend one or two of their number, eſpecially one of the biſhops, to him, with all convenient ſpeed, inſtructed, by the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury and the reſt of the moſt conſiderable of them, to inform his Majeſty of the readineſs they were in laſt year to hav joined him, at his landing and to hav preached loyalty and due obedience to the people; and to bring aſſurances, under the lord archbiſhop of Canterbury's hand, that they are in the ſame diſpoſition ſtill, and will join his Majeſty whenever he ſhall land. For the ſame end, to encourage the people to come into their duty; and becauſe that there may be ſome danger in inſerting of names, ways of writing in white muſt be found out, and the paper ſent by the boat, and not be brought by any of the perſons who are ſent, This is of the laſt importance, for the King's ſervice; and, therefore, tho' difficult in appearance, muſt be complied with: and it's hoped, that there may be no danger, conſidering how ſafe al things come. The King is ſorry he cannot put his own hand to this. The King's affairs depend upon the punctual doing of what he deſires, as you ſhall kno in due time. The perſon ſent may come ſafe by Holland. He muſt likewiſe bring as good an account as he can, of the number and names of the non-ſwearing clergy; and likewiſe, how the non-ſwearing clergy ſtand affected,

affected, and what the King may expect from them, with the beſt account he can of the ſtate of the King's affairs in general." 1693. October.

Ch. of England.

16th October, 1693.

"IT is the King's pleaſure, that you endeavour to get as exact an account as you can what may be the number, names, and qualitys of ſuch as you kno to be in his intereſt; and what they may probably do, in caſe his Majeſty land with a ſufficient force for them to come to: by a ſufficient force, it is meant 30,000 men.

That you endeavour, by all the ways you can, to hinder the prince of Orange from getting money, eſpecially the general exciſe; and that if it be not poſſible to hinder him from getting money, that you endeavour to retard it, that it may make all his preparations for the next campaigne as late as may be.

That you inform the King what may be proper for him to do, on his part: if he is to do any thing more in purſuance of his declaratione: if he is to addreſs any thing to the parliament; and, if he be to ſend any thing, what the nature of it ſhould be: and if it may not be neceſſary for the Moſt Chriſtian King, now that his arms are ſo victorious, to ſend ſomething to ſhew the people, that he deſires no more but to ſee the King re-eſtabliſhed; and that he will not meddle with their religion, rights, or libertys; but leave them to be governed by their own laws; and, therefore wiſh them timely to think of what is the only expedient of ending their troubles, to witt, the King's reſtoration.

That, by no means, you yield to let whigs get the whole government into their hands; but endeavour, by all means, to keep the church of England in poſſeſſione of the power, ſince ſhe is the moſt able, and, by principle, the moſt obliged to aſſiſt his Majeſty *.

That you inform the King of what paſſes, from time to time: that you let him kno all changes of partys, alterations in the government or of meaſures, that his Majeſty may better kno how to take his meaſures.

* The pen is drawn acroſs this paſſage in the MS.

That

1693. October. That exact accounts be ſent of the fleet, how the preparations go on weekly, that his Majeſty may kno when they can go out, and how ſtrong, which is of great importance: that his Majeſty know, who commands at ſea, the winter; what ſhips are out, and their ſtations.

That you make as near a calculatione of the militia as you can, how it ſtands affected in the reſpectiv countys; who are the lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and juſtices, how affected, their influence in the counties, and their inclinations to the King; how to gain them, or, if that cannot be done, whom to put in their places reſpectively.

That you inform the King of the citys and towns corporate, how they ſtand affected, and what may be the beſt way to manage them, in caſe of the King's landing; who ought to be changed, and who put in their places; who are to be put out, and what elſe may be for his Majeſty's ſervice, in that particular.

That you endeavour, by all means, to embroile the prince of Orange's affairs in parliament, and that his Majeſty's friends join heartily together to croſs his inclinations, and his intereſt, in all things; and that they be ready to joyne with any party which ſhall appear againſt him, in ſo far as they can, without doing injury to his Majeſty's intereſt. But this is left to the prudence and zeal of ſuch as ſhall have theſe opportunitys.

That you endeavour, by all means, to gain as many to the King's intereſt as poſſible, eſpecially of the members of parliament, officers of the fleet and army; aſſuring all who ſhall do him any ſervice, that they ſhall have a reward ſuitable to the ſervice they ſhall do to him.

That you give moſt conſtant accounts of your diligence, and ſend him, as ſoon as you can, exact anſwers to all theſe particulars, and what elſe you ſhall find for his ſervice. And, as ſoon as you can give him any diſtinct account, you are to ſend *over ſome perſon, conſiderable by his quality and intereſt*, to convince the Moſt Chriſtian King of the truth of what ſhall be ſent, *and find ſome ſafe way to ſend ſomething to meet him here to give him creditt. This is, at this time, of the laſt importance.*

" *Inſtructions*

1693.
October.

"Inſtructions to Wilſon, returning for our ſervice to London."

16th October, 1693.

"YOU are to let the biſhop of Norwich kno from us, how much we are pleaſed with his zeal and faithfullneſs in our ſervice, to aſſure him of our favour, and to return him our moſt hearty thanks. You are to give him that notte, written with our own hand, containing ane authority for him to act for us, and ordering all other of the clergy to truſt him, as empowered by us.

You are to let him kno how well we are ſatisfied, with the return of the ſwearing clergy; that we receive them into our favour and forgive what's paſt, and will encourage them in time to come, as they ſhall deſerve from us.

You are to let the ſaid lord biſhop and ſuch other of our friends, as you hav acceſs to kno, that they are, to truſt no pretended meſſenger or others, who does not ſhew his credentials under our hand, except it be ſuch as they themſelves ſhall ſend to us, with orders not to hav any.

You are to inform him, that, ſometime ago, it would have been of importance to have had a biſhop here, to have atteſted the truth of what informations we had of the clergy of England. But that now it is not, for the preſent, of that uſe, and that therefore, we think not fit to hazard any of them, in ſo dangerous a jurney; but that, ſo ſoon as any thing occurs, which may make the ſending of a biſhop uſefull, we ſhall ſignify our pleaſure to him, that he may prevail with one to come. You are to remember us kindly to all our faithfull friends, and return them our hearty thanks, for the ſervice they hav done us reſpectively, as you laid them befor us, and aſſure all of them, that we ſhall never be unmindful of their faithfulneſs and zeal for us.

To Parker.

16th October, 1693.

HIS Majeſty approves of what colonel Parker, brigadier of his armie, has done in order to the forming of ther regiments of horſe and dragoons, in perſuading them to provide arms and other things neceſſary.

1693. October. His Majeſty returns his moſt hearty thanks to all his loyal ſubjects, the Gentlemen concerned, and deſires them to continue in the ſame diſpoſitione and readineſs for his ſervice; and deſires further, that they may ſend over one of their number, with power from the reſt to inform the moſt Chriſtian King of the conditione they are in, and their zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, to whom his Majeſty ſhall cauſe deliver all the commiſſions yet wanting, and what elſe may encourage them to ſerve him to the utmoſt of their power. He who comes muſt have a power from the reſt to ſho to the moſt Chriſtian King, which muſt be ſo contrived, that it may not do harm, tho' it ſhould, as God forbid, miſcarry.

"*E. Ely.*"

16th October, 1693.

BESIDES the general inſtructions, his Majeſty deſires, that you may proceed in the affair with Garret; and that you may let his Majeſty kno what he can do for his ſervice, now that the fleet is laid up. His Majeſty is moſt ſenſible of all your care and zeal in his ſervice.

To Mr. South himſelf, to be uſed with great care and cautione.

16th October, 1693.

YOU are to endeavour, by Mr. Philip's means, to get plans of all the ſtrong poſts on the weſt and ſouth of England, as Pendennis, Plymouth, Torbay, Weymouth, Portland, Iſle Purbeck, Pool, Portſmouth, Iſle of Wight caſtles, Rhey and its bay, or what other places can be eaſily made ſtrong for an army to camp in.

You are to ſend over the full collectione of Collins's maps of the coaſt of Great Brittain, two copies for the King.

"*Inſtructions by the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, to the Earl of Shrewſbury, and Lord Churchill, and Ruſſel.*"

16th of October 1693.

"IT is his Majeſty's pleaſure, that you let admiral Ruſſel kno, that his Majeſty deſires him to endeavour to get the command of the fleet from the prince of Orange: that his Majeſty truſts in what the admiral

miral ſent him word of, by earl of Middleton and Mr. Floyd; and aſſures him that, on his part, he is ready to perform what he has promiſed at his deſire; that he is ſo far from giving any ground to any to write the contrary, that, of all things, he deſires, that they will let him kno the authors of the calumny, that he may ſhew them his diſlike, by the puniſhment he will inflict upon them. 1693. October.

That you inform yourſelves, how admiral Ruſſel can beſt ſerve his Majeſty, and when, that things may be timely adjuſted to the ſatiſfactione of all concerned, and that you endeavour, by all means, to keep Mr. Ruſſel to theſe ways, which may ſecure him the command of the fleet; and let all their reſentments if poſſible, ſtop, ſince upon this occaſion, the fewer enemys he raiſes to himſelf, his affairs will go the ſmoother on, which is much to his Majeſtie's intereſt.

"This is to be given to 39 [lord Churchill] and 33 [lord Shrewſbury], concerning 36, [admiral Ruſſel], ſigned, *this is my deſire*, and dated Oct. 16, 1693."

His Majeſty likewiſe deſires, that you may, from time to time, let him kno how this matter proceeds, and that without delay, ſince his affairs require haſte."

"*Inſtructions to the Earl of Danby, Lord Godolphin, and Churchill, by the Counteſs of Shrewſbury.*"

16th October, 1693.

"IT is his Majeſtie's pleaſure, that you deſire the earl of Danby, to endeavour to gayne admiral Killegrew to his ſervice, ſince his Majeſty knows, that he has an intereſt on him; that is, if he be to be employed.

That his Majeſty expects, upon this conjuncture, that the earl of Danby will do him what ſervice he can, and moſt particularly, by giving him time how to act againſt the prince of Orange, and by letting him kno, as near as he can, what the ſaid prince's deſigns may be, and his opinione how to prevent them; and that, if he can anſwer for his ſon, he, by no means, permit him to lay down his employment at ſea.

Earls Shrewſbury, Danby, Godolphin, Churchill, Ruſſel, &c. that they do, what in prudence they can, to hinder money or retard it, and hinder the going out of the fleet, ſo ſoon as it might do otherwiſe.

1693. October. That they ſend the King their advice, if it be for his ſervice to ſend any thing to parliament, in purſuance of his declaratione; and, if it will not be fitt that the moſt Chriſtian King emitt ſome declaratione now, that he is ſo victorious as to give terror to all his neighbours, and it may be, to England, ſhewing, that he has no intention in relatione to England, but the re-eſtabliſhment of their lawful King upon his throne; which done, he will not meddle in their concerns, but leave them to be governed by their own laws, and to enjoy their religione, libertys and propertys, which, by theſe laws, they have right to.

And that, in all other things, wherein his Majeſtie's intereſt may be concerned, it is his Majeſtie's deſire, that they ſend him their advice.

The Inſtruction to Earl Danby here above.

This is for yourſelf and No. 6 alone.

That for Earl Shrewſbury, E. Danby, Lord Churchill, Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Ruſſel, and

This for yourſelf, and No. 33 [Lord Shrewſbury] to be communicate to his friends, both ſigned by the King, *This is my deſire.*

On the back, for M. S. Harbord all three.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 112. There is a letter in an unknown hand among Nairne's papers, which is neither ſigned nor addreſſed. But from the concluſion, it appears to have been written by one of King James's adherents to ſome of the French miniſters. It conſiſts of 26 folio pages; and contains a full ſtate of the affairs of Europe in general, and a very intereſting account of the affairs of England in particular, with the names of James's friends. It is dated at the top, in Nairne's hand; "In the beginning of the Winter, after the campaign of Nerwinden *, towards the months of October, November, or December, 1693."

The writer of this letter, from a general view of the ſtrength and diſpoſitions of the different powers of Europe, concludes, that the war

* The French call the battle of Landen, by that name.

cannot

cannot be finiſhed ſoon with honour and advantage to France, without carrying it into England. He then proceeds to conſider the people of England, as divided into four parties, viz. King James's party, the prince of Orange's party, the Republicans, and thoſe who were not attached to any ſyſtem of government; and infers from a particular view of the number and ſentiments of theſe parties, that James muſt ſucceed now, if he attempts an invaſion. He proceeds in the next place, to mention the King's friends by name. 1693. October.

Tranſlation.

"THE King of England believes he may hope good ſucceſs from his enterpriſe, becauſe it is inconteſtible, that he has for him, the earl of Danby, prime miniſter to the prince of Orange, lord Godolphin, a lord of the treaſury and a member of the privy council, the earl of Shrewſbury, who has been his firſt ſecretary of ſtate, Ruſſel, who is of the cabinet council and has been an admiral, Churchill, who is firſt lieutenant general, the ſon of the duke of Beaufort and the ſon of the duke of Bolton. All theſe have ſerved the prince of Orange with zeal, as long as they believed he could maintain himſelf in England, and have deſpiſed all ſort of correſpondence with the King. This ſhows, that they are not of the ſame ſentiment at preſent, and conſequently, that his Majeſty has more hopes than ever.

"His Majeſty has for him, beſides, the dukes of Beaufort, Northumberland and Southampton, the Marquiſſes of Hallifax and Worceſter, the earls of Lindſay, Huntington, Exeter, Saliſbury, Peterborough, Cheſterfield, Kingſton, Thanet, Scarſdale, Clarendon, Cardigan, Carliſle, Aylſbury, Litchfield, Feverſham, Radnor, Yarmouth, Clare, Abingdon and Derventwater; the viſcounts Montague, Weymouth, and Hatton; the lords Abergaveny, Ferrers, Sturton, Petre, Arundel of Wardour, Gray, Carrington, Wetherington, Griffin, Farnham, and Huntingtore, and all the catholicks of England.

"His Majeſty has likewiſe for him, ſix proteſtant biſhops, and 600 miniſters who have not taken the oaths, and almoſt all the miniſters of the church of England who have taken the oaths; that is to ſay, as one of their biſhops writes to me, four parts in five are ready to join the

1693. October. King, or to preach in their churches to ſtir up the people in his favour; 500 of them having been ready to join him laſt year, in order to convince proteſtants, that their religion was in no danger, and in order to preach their ſentiments to the inhabitants of the country, through which the King ſhould paſs.

" His Majeſty has the cities of Exeter and of Briſtol, two of the largeſt in the kingdom, in readineſs to declare for him. He is aſſured of the garriſons of Hull, Tilbury, and Languard. He has already formed and armed from 3 to 4000 horſe and dragoons, a number of the nobility and of the richeſt merchants in London, and the militia of ſeveral countries; all theſe are ready to declare themſelves, on the firſt notice.

" Beſides, his Majeſty has the two admirals, who command the fleet, and who are in correſpondence with him, and from whom his Majeſty may expect every advantage. Firſt, they have been trained by his Majeſty and owe their fortunes to him, and expect more from him than the prince of Orange will ever give them, and therefore, they have greater expectations from his Majeſty; moreover, they hate the prince of Orange, on account of the inſolence, of which they think he has been guilty towards the nation; and laſtly, they have reaſon to fear they will be ſacrificed to the parliament, in order to ſave the prince of Orange, who will not fail to blame them for the loſs of the Smyrna fleet. Delaval depends entirely upon the King, and Killigrew, the ſecond in command, depends on the earl of Danby, who is for the King.

" I do not enter into a particular detail of his Majeſty's hopes of having a conſiderable part of the prince of Orange's army, as the ſecond company of the body-guards, the royal regiment of cavalry, a part of the Queen's regiment, the firſt regiment of guards, Bath's regiment of Infantry, Selwin's regiment, &c. beſides a great number of officers of all the other corps; when it is to be again conſidered, that if a deſertion is once begun among the Engliſh troops, they will all come over to his Majeſty, as they all abandoned him.

" The earl of Danby, who is entirely for us, is lord lieutenant of the county of York, which is the largeſt county in England. He is governor alſo of the town and citadel of Hull, of which, conſequently, his Majeſty is maſter whenever he chooſes.

" The

" The earl of Abington is lord lieutenant of the county of Oxford, and he is entirely for the King, and conſequently the militia of that county will be either for the King, or of no advantage to the prince of Orange, and will not hinder the paſſage of his Majeſty's friends, who will chooſe to join him. The earl of Lindſay is in the ſame ſtation, in the county of Lincoln. 1693. October.

" It is true, there are not convincing proofs of all this; but as his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty does not think proper to hazard any thing in this affair without having a greater ſecurity, it is neceſſary, that he ſhould let us know the ſtate, in which he chooſes that England ſhould be, to induce him to make a deſcent; and, at the ſame time, it is neceſſary to condeſcend on the proofs which his Majeſty would chooſe to have to convince him, that England is in the ſtate in which he would have it, in order that his Britannick Majeſty may urge his friends in England, to put affairs in the poſture required, and to furniſh him with the proofs that will be neceſſary for him: for it is impoſſible to continue the manœuvres we have practiſed in time paſt, of taking the proper meaſures in England, during the winter, for receiving the King in the ſpring, and not being then in a condition to take advantage of the conjuncture, to employ the ſummer in making preparations for the autumn, and the autumn and winter for the enſuing ſpring; at leaſt, unleſs we know that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will be then in a condition to avail himſelf of our preparations; for it is impoſſible but the prince of Orange will diſcover his Majeſty's friends at laſt, and ruin them."

From hence the writer of the letter infers the neceſſity of concerting the plan and fixing the time of the invaſion. He ſhows, at full length, that the preſent conjuncture is favourable, and that the deſign is as much for the intereſt of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty as of the King of England; and, that the execution of it hath been hitherto prevented, by the artful miſrepreſentations of the prince of Orange, who concealed his weakneſs, and publiſhed ſuch falſe accounts of his forces, by ſea and land, as might render the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe uncertain. He ſhows likewiſe, that England, unleſs it is invaded, will be able to continue the war.

" Scotland," he ſays, " being more oppreſſed by the prince of Orange, is more ready to take vigorous reſolutions, and is now in the moſt favourable condition that can be imagined, to riſe in arms. More than a hundred

1693. October. hundred perſons of the firſt quality in the country, have choſen rather to pay their revenues for a year, and be priſoners to the prince of Orange, than to take the oaths of allegiance, which he aſked. Therefore, far from furniſhing any aſſiſtance to the prince of Orange, Scotland would revolt and make a conſiderable diverſion."

The writer of the letter mentions ſeveral ſymptoms of a general diſcontent in Britain, ſince the loſs of the Smyrna fleet and the battle in Flanders, which he infers from the complaint of the merchants to Queen Mary, and from the city of London's refuſing to advance money to King William in his greateſt neceſſities. "Moreover, thoſe who have moſt credit with him, want now to capitulate with his Majeſty, and thoſe who have a conſiderable ſhare in the government, have entreated the King to pardon them; foreſeeing, as they ſay themſelves, that his government cannot laſt."

He, in the next place, obviates all the objections, againſt ſending an army of 30,000 men to England, particularly on account of the quantity of ſpecie, which would be ſent to maintain them, in caſe the King ſhould be defeated as ſoon as he landed. "But," ſays he, "if the King has time to join his friends, there is great reaſon to hope, that he will have money to pay his troops; ſeveral of the prince of Orange's collectors having promiſed him to keep conſiderable ſums, provided they can know exactly, when his Majeſty will come. There is one of thoſe collectors at Briſtol, who, laſt year, had 100,000 *l.* ſterling, in ready money to give the King, if he had gone over from La Hogue; and he kept that money as long as there were any hopes of his landing. Therefore, although his Majeſty cannot venture to make a deſcent, without having ſubſiſtence for his army for ſix weeks after his arrival in England; yet it is to be hoped, that he may ſave the money of France and return it in ſpecie directly."

The remaining part of the letter concerns the proper place for landing; and after ſome further arguments for an immediate invaſion, concludes in theſe words: "I have now told you, Sir, a part of what I had to ſay on the ſubject, to engage his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to turn his attention a little towards England. But it is impoſſible for me to ſpeak on the ſubject, ſo as to perſuade, unleſs I knew the objections. I therefore beſeech you to contrive, that we may ſpeak freely and at leiſure with the

French miniſters, in order that they may debate the affair, and tell us their objections, and that we may be inſtructed by their knowledge; becauſe it is not only our intereſt, with regard to his Britannick Majeſty, whoſe re-eſtabliſhment is our firſt and principal motive; but alſo becauſe all our hopes, our families, our poſterity, and, what is ſtill more dear to us, our reputation, depend upon the ſucceſs of this affair. Therefore, it may be eaſily believed, that, if we cannot ſurmount difficulties, we ſhall be very well pleaſed not to engage ourſelves in danger." 1693. October.

The writer of the preceding letter wrote according to the information which was ſent to James from his friends in England, as appears from the account given of the opinions of ſome of them in the following paper. It is indorſed in the earl of Melfort's hand, "A draught of the memorials of Sir George Barclay and captain Williamſon, 28th December, 1693, St. Germains." It appears to be the firſt rough draught of a French tranſlation, corrected by Melfort, who probably intended it for the information of the French miniſtry. The paper itſelf is in Nairne's hand.

Sir George Barclay's Memorial to King James, 28th December, 1693. December. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 111.

Tranſlation.

"THE earl of Clarendon has commiſſioned me to tell your Majeſty, that, at any time within three months, your Majeſty may make a deſcent with ſucceſs. But that your affairs will ſuffer by a longer delay, your friends will be ruined, and it will be difficult to find again ſuch a favourable conjuncture.

"The earl of Litchfield ſays, that he anſwers to your Majeſty for the county of Oxford, as lord Lindſay does for the county of Lincoln, and that your Majeſty may depend upon colonel Brewer's regiment; that there is no time to be loſt, and, that people in general are not willing to engage themſelves in your Majeſty's cauſe, but in the hopes that your Majeſty will come ſoon.

"The earl of Yarmouth ſays, that the proper time for your Majeſty to come, is after the departure of the fleet for the Streights and of the troops for

1693. December. for Flanders. He ſhewed me a liſt of the principal perſons of the county of Norwich, who have promiſed to declare for your Majeſty. He has likewiſe ſecured the city of Norwich for your Majeſty; and he wiſhes, if it be poſſible, that your Majeſty may have the Mareſchal de Luxembourg to command the army you bring along with you.

Lord Mountgomery affirms, that the moſt proper time for a deſcent is, between this and the month of March; and that, if your Majeſty puts it off to a more diſtant period, the delay may be of dangerous conſequence; but, that your Majeſty coming then, with 30,000 men, cannot fail of ſucceſs, the nation in general being well diſpoſed, and if they are not for, they will not, at leaſt, be againſt your Majeſty.

Colonel Graham ſays, that your Majeſty muſt infallibly ſucceed, if you come any time before the month of March.

Sir John Friend ſays, that he anſwers to your Majeſty for two regiments of militia, in the Tower Hamlets, and, that he will join your Majeſty with a regiment of cavalry, and that he does not doubt, but your Majeſty will accompliſh the deſign of your enterpriſe, if you come with 30,000 men.

Sir John Fenwick, Sir Forreſter, and ſeveral other gentlemen, are unanimouſly of opinion, that your Majeſty may delay your coming too long, and can never come too ſoon; and it is their opinions in general, that it is not proper to come with leſs than 30,000 men, a good train of artillery, and ſome arms for your Majeſty's ſubjects, who will join you at your landing. Lord Arran believes, that your Majeſty never had ſuch a favourable opportunity as at preſent, providing you come with an army of 30,000 men, and he adviſes to ſend ſome troops to Scotland likewiſe, if it can be done.

The earl of Breadalbin believes, that the parliament will take the management of the fleet into their own hand, and that they will render it very formidable, in order to be in a condition to obtain a favourable compoſition for themſelves, in caſe the confederacy ſhould be diſſolved. He is likewiſe of opinion, that it is proper to ſend ſome troops to Scotland, and entreats your Majeſty to acquaint him, if you chooſe that he ſhould go to Scotland.

Lord Forbes believes, that the preſent is the moſt favourable conjuncture for your Majeſty to come.

Ferguſon

Ferguſon told me, that the Engliſh will have this year a very powerful fleet, commanded by men in whom the prince of Orange places confidence; that they will change their lord lieutenants of counties, and particularly the lieutenancy of London and the officers of the militia, and that all the power will be placed in the hands of the preſbyterians, who will adhere to the prince of Orange, and, that their intention is to have this ſummer, a fleet of ſixty Engliſh, and forty Dutch ſhips of the line; and he intreats your Majeſty to beware of thoſe, who adviſe you to come with leſs than 30,000 men. For they are not your friends, nor men whom you ſhould truſt. 1693. December.

St. Germains, the 29th of December, 1693."

Captain Williamſon's Memorial.

Tranſlation.

"THE earl of Clarendon intreats your Majeſty to take the proper precautions for making a deſcent before the Spring, as the prince of Orange deſigns to ſend a powerful fleet to the Streights, and to leave the channel unguarded all Winter, which will facilitate your Majeſty's paſſage; and your Majeſty may depend upon finding, after you land, ſufficient ſuſtenance for your troops every where in the barns of the farmers, and your Majeſty needs not to doubt, but your ſubjects will chearfully return to their duty, provided your Majeſty comes with a force ſufficient to protect them: a ſufficient force is ſuppoſed to be 30,000 men.

The lord Mountgomery beſeeches your Majeſty not to loſe the opportunity which now offers, of making a deſcent, as ſoon as you can be ready; ſince there is no winter fleet in the channel, which can oppoſe your Majeſty's paſſage, and your Majeſty will find a people well diſpoſed to receive you, providing you come with a force ſufficient to protect them. Thirty thouſand men is the number which we earneſtly wiſh your Majeſty may bring along with you, with arms for ſeveral of your Majeſty's ſubjects, who will infallibly join you; and the ſooner your Majeſty undertakes this expedition, the more certain you will be of ſucceſs; for the prince of Orange will have a powerful fleet next Spring, and will ſend it early to ſea.

1693. December. The earl of Ayleſbury intreats your Majeſty not to let ſlip this Winter ſeaſon; but to endeavour to prevail with his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to aſſiſt you with his troops, in order that you may be able to make a deſcent in the Spring, at the lateſt. This expedition will, in all probability, break the league, which is ſupported, in a great meaſure, by the men and the money of England. Your majeſty's ſubjects are extremely well diſpoſed, and will, undoubtedly, return to their duty, providing your Majeſty comes with a ſufficient force. Thirty thouſand men is all they demand, with ſome arms for thoſe who will join your Majeſty upon landing; and the ſooner your Majeſty comes, when the wind and the ſeaſon permits you, the better.

The earl of Yarmouth beſeeches your Majeſty, to obtain from the moſt Chriſtian King, troops for making a deſcent, before the prince of Orange's fleet can be ready; which will be very early in the Spring. His opinion is, that it will be more ſafe for your Majeſty to come after the parliament is finiſhed, than when it is ſitting, leſt the prince of Orange ſhould oblige them to take ſome ſteps, which might be prejudicial to your Majeſty; but, as this is only his private opinion, he ſubmits it to your Majeſty's better judgment *. He wiſhes your Majeſty may land with 30,000 men; the people being ſo diſpoſed at preſent, that, with that number, your Majeſty cannot poſſibly fail to ſucceed.

The earl of Arran intreats your Majeſty not to delay, by any means, to make a deſcent, later than the Spring. It is his opinion, that your Majeſty will meet with very little reſiſtance, if you land with 30,000 men; the Engliſh being now ſo well diſpoſed, that he believes it is impoſſible the enterprize can fail.

Sir Theophilus Oglethorp wiſhes your Majeſty may make a deſcent, at the lateſt, in the Spring, with 30,000 men, which will be a ſufficient force for vanquiſhing all your enemies, for protecting your friends, and for conducting your Majeſty in ſafety to Whitehall. That number of troops will oblige both the fleet and army to return to their duty; the latter being already well diſpoſed, and wanting only a ſuperior force to put it in their power to join it.

* The pen is drawn through the laſt ſentence, in the manuſcript.

Sir

Sir John Friend deſires, with much earneſtneſs, that your Majeſty may make a deſcent, at fartheſt, in the Spring; your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, who have been very active in your ſervice, and who are ready to join you, the moment you arrive, being in great danger of being ruined, and of wanting the power of being of further uſe to your Majeſty, if you delay to come at this time. As for himſelf, he engages to bring to your Majeſty a good regiment of cavalry, at your landing; and he has great influence over the two regiments of the militia, deſtined for the defence of the Tower; and he has great hopes, by theſe means, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Tower of London; as he does not doubt but the prince of Orange will withdraw all the veteran troops from London to oppoſe your Majeſty. He will join to his regiment a company of clergymen of the church of England, who are determined to ſerve as volunteers in this expedition, as are in fact the majority of the clergy, who have not taken the oaths, and alſo many of thoſe who have taken them. He hopes alſo, by a ſtratagem, to ſeize the prince and princeſs of Orange, and to bring them to your Majeſty †. Thirty thouſand men is all that is neceſſary for this expedition, which will re-eſtabliſh your Majeſty and your poſterity: but, with a ſmall number of troops, your Majeſty is adviſed not to hazard your perſon, and the lives and fortunes of your faithful ſubjects. 1693. December.

Mr. Louton, likewiſe, has given me in charge to repreſent to your Majeſty, not to neglect this conjuncture, which was ſo little to be expected, and is ſo very favourable, that the like, perhaps, may never occur again: the coaſt unguarded, and the people, by your Majeſty's declaration, and by the taxes with which the prince of Orange oppreſſes them, diſpoſed to join your Majeſty, providing you come to them with an army of 30,000 men, which will be ſufficient to protect them: for, as this is an enterprize which cannot be attempted twice, they are deſirous to undertake it with ſafety. With regard to forrage for the troops, all the bars and garrets in the country are full of it at this ſeaſon; and, if the winter is allowed to paſs, it will be impoſſible to undertake this enterprize, when there is forrage in the fields; becauſe the Engliſh fleet will put to ſea early, and be very ſtrong.

† The pen is drawn through the laſt ſentence in the MS.

1693. December. Mr. Stroude deſires, that your Majeſty may make a deſcent, and has given me in charge to aſſure you, that all the county of Somerſet is ready to receive you: that lord Powlet, he himſelf, and other gentlemen of that county, will infallibly take arms and declare for your Majeſty, the moment they receive advice of your landing: that your Majeſty's declaration has diſpoſed the minds of the people of England in ſuch a manner, that this expedition cannot fail to have a happy iſſue: that thirty thouſand men will be ſufficient to accompliſh this great work; and that, with that number, according to all human appearance, your Majeſty will be ſucceſsful.

Mr. Ferguſon wiſhes, that your Majeſty may not let paſs the ſpring, without making a deſcent in England; it being impoſſible that the prince of Orange can ſupport himſelf, when your Majeſty comes in competition with him, the people being already much diſguſted with his government. The Engliſh would chooſe to be quit of him; but that will not be in their power, unleſs your Majeſty comes to deliver them, with an army of 30,000 men, and with arms for ſuch of your Majeſty's ſubjects as will come to join you. And when the preparations for this expedition are finiſhed, if your Majeſty commands him, he will come to give himſelf up, in any place in France your Majeſty chooſes, in order to be ſacrificed, if the enterprize fails; and the ſooner it is undertaken, the more certain will be the ſucceſs.

Mr. Penn ſays, that your Majeſty has had ſeveral occaſions, but never any ſo favourable as the preſent; and he hopes, that your Majeſty will be earneſt with the moſt Chriſtian King not to neglect it: that a deſcent, with 30,000 men, will not only re-eſtabliſh your Majeſty, but, according to all appearance, break the league: that your Majeſty's kingdoms will be wretched while the confederates are united; for while there is a fool in England, the prince of Orange will have a penſioned parliament, who will give him money.

Colonel Graham is of the ſame opinion with all the other noblemen and gentlemen above mentioned; as are alſo all the reſt of your Majeſty's friends, to whom I have ſpoken; for in the preſent ſtate of affairs, it is apparent to all the world, that if your Majeſty comes, with 30,000 men, you may go, without difficulty, to any part of your kingdom

you

you chooſe; your Majeſty carrying along with you arms for ſuch of your faithful ſubjects as will join you at your landing. 1693.

Since Sir John Lytcott's return from Rome, James had none to repreſent him at that court. Cardinal Norfolk and biſhop Ellis, without being inveſted with a public character, took care of his intereſt, and correſponded with his miniſters from time to time.

The cardinal's letters are of various dates, from the 23d December, 1692, to the 17th November, 1693. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 16.

23d December, 1692. HE writes, that the Pope had already laid out a great deal of money to charitable purpoſes. He recommends eccleſiaſtics to be employed in the miſſion.

13th January, 1693. His attempts to get money have been hitherto unſucceſsful. He propoſes the preferment of different miſſionaries, and complains of the Pope's diſtreſſes.

10th March, 1693. "Yeſterday I ſpoke again unto his Holineſs, of his Majeſty and poor faithful ſubjects; but could get only very kind and compaſſionate words, renewing his own poor condition, which renders him incapable of ſending any further ſuccour at preſent. I demanded likewiſe his benediction for your lordſhip and lady and yours, which he willingly granted; as alſo ſome Agnus Dei, which I will get and keep until I receive your commands how to ſend them."

Without a date, but received 16th March, 1693.

"Our good old man ſaith he is ſo bare, that he cannot get for the neceſſities of the ſtreet beggars; but he is endeavouring all he can to get a peace, at leaſt a truce, among the catholic princes, in either of which he will chiefly endeavour his Majeſty's reſtoration." The reſt of this letter regards the nomination of Iriſh biſhops. He recommends biſhop Ellis to be James's agent at Rome.

14th April, 1693. His ſolicitations for money from his Holineſs are ſtill unſucceſsful.

28th April, 1693. "The incloſed is an anſwer of her Majeſty's commands for the tranſlation of St. Margaret's day, as your lordſhip will ſee

1693. ſee by the printed paper, another whereof I ſend to his Majeſty. I hope God and his Saints will look on us and help us, both ſpiritually and temporally, whilſt we find ſo little help in this world." Eccleſiaſtical affairs in Ireland.

21ſt April.—1ſt, 15th, 26th May. Eccleſiaſtical affairs. The preferment of prieſts, deans, and biſhops in Ireland continued. He obtains nothing but good wiſhes for the diſtreſſed Catholicks.

30th June, 1693. He writes his opinion of a declaration which James was to ſend to Britain about this time. "I have acquainted the good old man of the appearance and great probability of his Majeſty's reſtoration ſpeedily; and that although he hath hard articles to agree to, however he will never conſent to the breeding of our prince out of the catholic religion, as was propoſed, or do any thing that he thinketh can be contrary to it; and when he will be reſtored, he hath firm hopes of eſtabliſhing a liberty of conſcience."——"Now that we are in expectation of his Majeſty's ſpeedy reſtoration, ſo many will petition for favours, that I muſt alſo be one of them beforehand, begging of his Majeſty (and your lordſhip's favour in it) that here being two brothers, catholic gentlemen, called Charles and John Draytons, ſons to the famous poet laureat Drayton in London*; one whereof I have, in the interim, got a place of *cameriara di honora*, with our old man; and the other liveth with me. But they always deſiring to ſerve their natural King, and both their father and they having been always faithful, would have gone to ſerve him in France, had it not been to put him to ſtraits, among ſo many others, for their maintenance. Wherefore, my humble requeſt is, that his Majeſty will pleaſe to make them his gentlemen uſhers daily waiters in ordinary in his preſence chamber, or grooms of his privy-chamber, at his return into England; which honour I am confident they will both as faithfully as decently perform; their father being a convert, and their mother a catholic ſiſter to the lord Berkſhire."

25th Auguſt, 1693. The nomination and preferments of Iriſh biſhops. "It is better not to ſtir in theſe points, till his Majeſty be

* "A miſtake of the old cardinal's for Dryden." A Marginal note to this letter in Middleton's hand.

reſtored: then we may hope to get as good a concordate made with this court, as France, Spain, or the Empire hath. If his Majeſty deſires to have any deans, I hope to get ſuch as he will pleaſe to ſignify to me, of his liking, which, in effect, will be the ſame as of his nomination. As for abbots, priors, or ſome other titles, it is thought they may produce jealouſies and other inconveniencies, not only in Proteſtants, but ſeveral catholics, who are in poſſeſſion of theſe lands, &c." 1693.

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1694.

1694. January. SIR George Barclay and captain Williamſon, in their memorials, communicated to James the line which his friends in England adviſed him to follow, and, at the ſame time, informed him of the ſervice which they themſelves were ready to render toward his reſtoration. This ſubject is continued, in the two following papers. They are in Mr. Nairne's hand, and appear to be tranſlations of intelligence from England, which the earl of Melfort intended for the information of Lewis XIV.

Nairne's Papers, vol. i. fol. No. 117. "*The names of ſeveral men of quality in England, who anſwer for the counties, forts, and regiments in which they are concerned.*"

It is marked on the back in Nairne's hand, "Memorial preſented, at Verſailles, the fourth of January, 1694."

Tranſlation.

"THE earl of Yarmouth anſwers for the county of Norfolk, and ſends your Majeſty the following liſt.

"*Liſt of the King's friends in the county of Norfolk.*"

"Two peers of England.

"An Iriſh lord, who reſides in the county.

"Five brothers of earls and lords.

"Seventeen baronets, of whom three are neuter; all the reſt are entirely in the intereſt of the King.

"Eighty gentlemen of rank, who have eſtates from three hundred to four thouſand pounds a year, and of whom there are but ſeven or eight who are neuter.

"Fifty

" Fifty gentlemen of a lower rank, who have eſtates from fifty to four hundred pounds a year. 1694. January.

" All theſe are particularly known to lord Yarmouth, who has ſent this liſt, and who anſwers for their loyalty. He adds, that there are a great number of other gentlemen in that county, who are faithful to his Majeſty; but he has calculated, in this liſt, thoſe only who are known to him; and, with regard to the generality of the people, he affirms, that two-thirds of the county are for the King, and that his Majeſty may depend upon it.

" He adds likewiſe, that the city of Boſton is very loyal; and that he is aſſured of this, by thirty or forty of the principal inhabitants.

" As alſo, that the lord lieutenant of the county of Eſſex has deſired him to aſſure your Majeſty of his own loyalty, and of the loyalty of ſeveral other gentlemen of the county, who promiſe to join your Majeſty, with ſome cavalry, at a proper time.

" The earl of Litchfield anſwers for the county and for the city of Oxford.

" The earl of Lindſay, lord Chamberlain of England, anſwers for the county of Lincoln, and Brewers regiment of Infantry.

" Sir John Friend anſwers for a regiment of cavalry and two regiments of militia in the neighbourhood of the Tower of London; and he gives room to hope that, with theſe two regiments of militia, he may be able to take poſſeſſion of the Tower of London for the King.

" Colonel Selwin anſwers for Tilbury fort and for a regiment of infantry.

" Sir John Knight anſwers for the city of Briſtol.

" Lieutenant-colonel Row anſwers for his regiment of infantry.

" Mr. Greenville anſwers for lord Bath's regiment of infantry, of which he is lieutenant-colonel. He is nephew to the earl of Bath.

" Mr. Stroud aſſures, that the county of Somerſet is entirely in his Majeſty's intereſt; and the lord Powlett himſelf, and ſeveral other gentlemen, will be ready to take horſe to join his Majeſty, upon the firſt notice.

1694. January. "Taunton, a large town in the county of Dorſet, is entirely in the King's intereſt; and in general all the weſt of England, which was formerly moſt valiant againſt his Majeſty, is, at preſent, the country beſt diſpoſed, and moſt attached to his intereſt."

The following particulars are in a ſlip of paper connected with the above.

MR. Crawford, governor of the fort of Sheerneſs, promiſed, ſome time ago, to deliver up the fort to his Majeſty; and, as he is always in the ſame ſtation, although there is ſome time ſince any news have been received from him, yet his Majeſty has reaſon to believe he has not changed his mind.

Mr. Haman anſwers for Languard fort.

In the royal regiment of cavalry there are a hundred troopers, who have acquainted the King, that they have credit enough in the regiment to be able to anſwer for bringing over the whole regiment to him; and that they will cut the throats of ſuch of their comrades or officers who will make oppoſition.

Beſides the above, there are alſo the friends whom the King has in the north of England, who are very numerous; and where there are formed ſeven regiments of cavalry and dragoons, for which commiſſions have been given, and who will be ready to join his Majeſty when he lands. An account of them is expected by an expreſs, which colonel Parker, who is commandant of theſe forces, is to ſend here immediately. We expect likewiſe, by the ſame occaſion, an account of all the counties, towns, and forts in the North, which are in the King's intereſt; and of the diſpoſition of the people of that country.

The following particular is inſerted in the margin.

Captain Criſp aſſures, that the biſhop of Exeter is entirely in the King's intereſt; and that five parts of ſeven in the county of Cornwal are for the King.

1694. January.

" *The Names of ſome of the men of quality, who earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty to paſs over into England.*"

THE earl of Sunderland writes to his Majeſty, that a deſcent is the only means to finiſh the misfortunes of the King and thoſe of the nation; and that if his Majeſty comes now with an army, he cannot fail to carry his point. " He does not enter into particulars, becauſe he fears that his Majeſty does not confide ſufficiently in his advice. But when he is aſſured that the King is ſatisfied with his fidelity, he promiſes to ſend good intelligence, and to contribute as much as he can to his Majeſty's ſervice.

" The earl of Arran aſſures his Majeſty of the ſincerity of lord Sunderland, and that he may be of great ſervice; and he alſo adviſes his Majeſty to go to England, with an army of 30,000 men, with which his Majeſty cannot fail to ſucceed, providing he comes immediately, to take advantage of the diſpoſition of the people, of their contempt for the prince of Orange, and of their diſcontent, on account of the taxes with which they are loaded. The circumſtances are the moſt favourable that can be for facilitating the paſſage, as well as the landing of his Majeſty's troops; ſince the fleet ſails to the Streights, the greateſt part of the troops go to Flanders, and the money which the parliament gives the prince of Orange will not be raiſed in time to put him in a condition to make any oppoſition.

" Lord Churchill adviſes his Majeſty to come, and gives him aſſurances of his own ſervices, and of the ſervices of all thoſe who are of his party, which is very conſiderable *."

Mr. Cholemondly aſſures his Majeſty, that the people of England are very much diſpoſed to receive him, and conjures him to take advantage of the conjuncture.

* In the MS. the pen is drawn through the paragraphs within the inverted commas.

1694. February. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 4.

"*Inſtructions to Mr. Croſs, going by our command into England. Feb.* 1694."

Theſe inſtructions are in Nairne's hand.

YOU are to return our moſt hearty thanks to all our friends, who ſent you to us, for their zeal and conſtancy to our ſervice; and eſpecially for the pains they have taken, in anſwering our inſtructions ſent by you, and afterwards, on the 16th of October. And let them know, that we did not doubt, but that we ſhould draw a benefit from the anſwers, ſuitable to the trouble we gave them, and the danger we made them incur.

You are to let them know, that it was not only for our own information, that we deſired theſe anſwers, but at the deſire of the moſt Chriſtian King, to inform him of the true ſtate of our kingdoms; that, if poſſible, he might lay hold upon the firſt conjuncture to endeavour our reſtoration, if he had found things as we repreſented them to him, and as he found them, by ſuch anſwers as you and others have brought us, and as our friends have ſent to us by other ways.

You are to let them know, that, notwithſtanding that, this good inclination of the moſt Chriſtian King continues, of which we have all reaſon to be ſatisfied; yet the ſtopping of ſo many of the men of war deſigned for the Streights, has left London in ſuch a condition to fit out a ſquadron of ſhips, equal to what he can arm, if not ſuperior, beſides what Holland, upon ſuch an alarm as our preparing to land, might furniſh, that it has put it out of the moſt Chriſtian King's power, at this time, to attempt any thing ſo conſiderable, as the ſending thirty thouſand men out of his kingdom, and hazarding ſo conſiderable a part of his navy in the Channel, where he has no port to befriend him, and may be in danger of meeting a greater force,* not only to fruſtrate his attempt, but ruin the ſquadron he ſhall ſo employ in it.

You ſhall let them know, that this delay is a greater diſappointment and affliction to us, and even to the moſt Chriſtian King himſelf, than it can be to them But that, as they have hazarded themſelves for us, we think it fit to let them know our circumſtances, as they are at preſent that they may be careful not to lay themſelves open to the uſurped government,

government, till a fitter conjuncture happen, of which we doubt not the moſt Chriſtian King will readily lay hold. 1694. February.

In the mean time, you are, by diſcreet and ſafe ways, to inform one of every party, that we deſire them to conſult with their friends what may be done for our ſervice there, and propoſe to us what they would have us do here; and they ſhall ſee, by our readineſs to do what ſhall be fit for us, and in our power, how earneſt we are to come to their delivery and reward their ſervices.

February 8th.

You are to inform our friends, that the moſt Chriſtian King's reaſons for making propoſals of peace was not any weakneſs or inability in France, but to ſhew that he was willing to make peace, at a time when he thought the victories gained by him had let his enemies ſee he ſtood not in need of it; and he has declared, that he will not be obliged to perform theſe conditions to ſuch of the confederates as ſhall not lay hold of them, before the opening of the campaign. And you have to let our friends know, that they have no reaſon to be anxious about them, ſince we, who are principally concerned, are upon the place.

" *Propoſals from the earls of Montgomery, Aileſbury, and Yarmouth, Sir John Fenwick, Mr. Jenkins, and other friends of the King in England, dated the* $\frac{21\ Feb.}{3\ March,}$ 1694, *and addreſſed to lord Melfort, with the ſtate of the fleet and of the army.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 118.

In Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

HAving conſidered Mr. Croſs's inſtructions, and your incomparable letter of the 17th Inſtant, with what Mr. Croſs has beſides told us verbally, we are of opinion that his Majeſty's ſervice and our own duty require of us to ſend you our ſentiments upon the whole.

We know very well the difficulties of tranſporting 30,000 men, the extraordinary number of tranſports neceſſary for ſo large an army, and that the great expence of this expedition cannot fail to be a little burdenſome to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, at a conjuncture when he has ſo many other affairs on hand; yet when we ſent Mr. Croſs, we were then

of

1694. March. of opinion, that we could not, with ſafety to the King, propoſe a ſmaller number of troops.

Firſt, Becauſe we could not then depend altogether ſo much upon the good diſpoſition of the nation, as we have reaſon to do ſince; for the greateſt number of thoſe who do not act from a pure principle of loyalty, were not willing to declare themſelves, until they believed that the expedition was ready to take place; and then they communicated themſelves to us: from which we conclude, that the King's party in England is much ſtronger than we venture to affirm. Beſides, the nation ſeems to expect his Majeſty with impatience, which is an argument of their diſpoſition to join him, which could not appear to us, at that time, to have the force we ſee it has at preſent.

Secondly, We could not foreſee then, that the prince of Orange would refuſe the popular bill concerning impartial proceedings in parliament, which has created a number of enemies to him, and has augmented conſiderably the number of the King's friends.

Thirdly, We could not then judge exactly what number of troops would remain in England; and, in order that the enterpriſe might be the ſafer, we judged it was proper to propoſe a greater, rather than a ſmaller number; and ſo the number of troops we then propoſed was greater than we believed to be abſolutely neceſſary.

"But having conſidered what you write to us in your letter, that there would be hopes of perſuading his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to hazard the enterpriſe, in caſe we would content ourſelves with 20,000 men*," we believe, for the reaſons mentioned above, that if the King can come with 20,000 men, there is, in the preſent conjuncture, a moral certainty of ſucceſs; and, in order to confirm our opinion in this reſpect, we have thought it was proper to ſend you the ſtate of the fleet and of the army.

By the ſtate of the fleet you will ſee, that we cannot have at ſea more than twenty-five ſail of third and fourth rates before the month of April; and even theſe ſhips cannot be compleatly manned. So that, if France could ſend thirty ſhips of war before that time, they would be maſters of the ſea, and, according to all appearances, nothing could hinder them from making a deſcent.

* The pen is drawn in the MS. through the paſſage in inverted commas.

And, by the ſtate of the army, it appears likewiſe, that we have not at preſent more than 7,500 men; and when all the troops deſtined for Flanders are embarked, there will not remain above 4000 in England. Conſequently there is no oppoſition to be apprehended, at preſent, from the land forces; much leſs, when thoſe which are to go abroad ſhall embark. This confirms our firſt aſſertion, that twenty thouſand men will be ſufficient; ſince even a ſmaller number, according to all appearances, cannot fail to ſucceed, from the manner in which things are now arranged. 1694. March.

This is what we have thought proper to repreſent to you, and to intreat you to conſider well; hoping that the King our maſter and his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty will be pleaſed to concert new meaſures together upon theſe reports which we ſend you, and which we certify to be true. At any rate, we diſcharge our duty in ſending them; and we ſubmit them entirely to you.

" Although it is not to be imagined that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty can change, at preſent, the plan which he has propoſed to himſelf for the campaign, yet his Britanick Majeſty has thought it neceſſary to inform him of all the intelligence he receives from England, in order that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty may take ſuch meaſures thereon, as he ſhall find moſt for his ſervice †."

Captain Floyd or Lloyd, a groom of the bed-chamber to James, had carried on the communication between that prince and the earl of Marlborough, and admiral Ruſſel. The firſt made no doubt of ſecuring the army; the latter undertook for the fleet. Floyd alſo carried a letter from the princeſs of Denmark to her father, at La Hogue, in the year 1692; and he afterwards made ſeveral journeys to England; and one in particular to know from the adherents of James, what propoſals he might make to the French King, upon the faith of their aſſiſtance. When Floyd returned to France, the accounts he gave, on the ſubject of his commiſſion, were tranſlated into French by the earl of Melfort, and communicated to Lewis XIV. on the firſt of May of the preſent year.

† The words within the inverted commas are in the earl of Melfort's hand.

1694. May. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 119.

" *Accounts brought by Captain Floyd, lately arrived from England.*"

In Melfort's hand, and marked on the back in Nairne's, " Captain Floyd's account, carried to Verſailles the 1ſt of May, 1694."

Tranſlation.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

BEING arrived in London, I ſent for major-general Sackville and the reſt to whom I was directed by your Majeſty, for facilitating my acceſs to admiral Ruſſel, the earl of Shrewſbury, the counteſs of Shrewſbury, lord Churchill, and lord Godolphin: and the ſaid Sackville, &c. having come to me, I gave them an account of the affairs, with which I was intruſted, and ſhowed them my inſtructions for conſulting with them about the manner I ought to take in treating with theſe noblemen.

They informed me, that I was come in the beſt conjuncture imaginable, becauſe the prince of Orange's party was greatly mortified for the loſs of the Smyrna fleet they lately ſuſtained; whereas formerly they were greatly elevated, believing, with certainty, that there was no deſign of making a deſcent in England this year, which they had much dreaded, and being perſuaded, that France would ſeek a peace with earneſtneſs, and that your Majeſty's intereſt would not be comprehended in it.

The firſt perſon they brought me was lord Churchill, to whom I ſhowed my inſtructions; at the ſame time informing him, that your Majeſty, having heard that he was to have an employment, had commanded me to aſſure him from you, that you was highly pleaſed at this, and gave him your conſent to accept of it, and left him at liberty to employ the propereſt means for obtaining it, having no doubts of his fidelity, &c.

Lord Churchill anſwered me, that it was true, that he had been ſolicited ſome time ago to accept of an employment; but that he did not chooſe to accept it without your Majeſty's conſent, which he had demanded, by the means of major-general Sackville, without whom he did not move a ſtep: that the affair was now paſſed, but, if it occurred again, which might well happen, he would not accept, but from a deſign of ſerving your Majeſty; for whoſe re-eſtabliſhment he was determined to reſign his life, for expiating his crimes, &c.

The

The next evening, lord Churchill gave me an opportunity of meeting admiral Ruſſel, who received me with a great deal of friendſhip. I informed him of what I had to communicate to him from your Majeſty, in conſequence of the offers he had made to you by myſelf, as well as by ſeveral others; and, in order to ſettle the means of executing them, I acquainted him how gratefully your Majeſty would acknowledge it, if he would apply himſelf ſeriouſly to the buſineſs. He anſwered me, that he was always firm in his reſolution of doing all that depended upon him for the re-eſtabliſhment of your Majeſty: but that the thing was very difficult to be accompliſhed; time was neceſſary, which yet he would manage in the beſt manner he could: but that he would conſider the affair, and, in two or three days, give me another rendezvous. We parted then, very well ſatisfied with one another: "I having given him ſome light, which he wanted, in certain affairs that intereſted him greatly †." 1694. May.

I went to wait on the counteſs of Shrewſbury, who was ſick. I made her the compliments I was ordered by your Majeſty and the Queen. In return to which ſhe anſwered me with all the ſentiments of duty and affection for your intereſts. She afterwards told me, how her ſon, the earl of Shrewſbury, had been obliged to accept of an employment; the prince of Orange having ſent for him, to offer him the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, which he refuſed, on account of his bad health. But the prince of Orange ſhowed him, that he had a very different reaſon, by repeating to him a diſcourſe which he had held about your Majeſty. This ſurpriſed the earl of Shrewſbury much, and convinced him of the danger of refuſing the employment; but, as he expected a deſcent in England in a few days, he demanded ſome time to go to the country, on account of his health and other preſſing buſineſs, before he received the ſeals. The prince of Orange having granted this, he went to the country, accompanied by his friends, well mounted, with an intention of joining your Majeſty, in caſe you had come as was expected and wiſhed. But that having failed, to his great regret, he was obliged, on his return, to accept of the ſeals; which, ſhe told me, from him, he did only in order to ſerve your Majeſty more effectually hereafter.

Having met admiral Ruſſell for the ſecond time, I urged him much about the contents of the letter that he had written to me before my

† In the MS. the pen is drawn through the words within the inverted commas.

1694. May. departure, importing that in ten days, he would explain himſelf further to me concerning the time, the manner, and the place. He anſwered me, that that was impoſſible at preſent, things not being quite prepared yet; but that he would accompliſh the deſign if it was poſſible.

I acquainted him, that I ſhould be very ſorry to bring back an anſwer ſo general; that one could not form any deſign upon it; and that it was neceſſary to have a plan of what he was able or willing to do. On which he anſwered me, that he thought he had ſaid a great deal, ſince he had ſaid, that, by God, he would undertake it; that he would endeavour to gain the officers of the fleet, and would communicate to lord Churchill, from time to time, the progreſs he made. But, ſays he, if you was in my place, what would you do? I anſwered him, that there were ſeveral things to be done; viz. to avoid the French fleet, and allow it to paſs. To which he anſwered, that he would not do that, although it was once his intentions: and that he would do the buſineſs, but ſwore he would do it himſelf alone. I propoſed to him, that, ſince ſome deſign would be attempted infallibly upon the coaſt of France, this ſummer, which would neceſſarily draw down troops to Breſt, or to other places on the coaſt, according to the deſigns upon them, he might ſend your Majeſty information of this, and give you time to prepare tranſports this ſummer; and that, towards autumn, when it was neceſſary to diſarm the large ſhips, and to ſend convoys to America, &c. he would be a judge of thoſe which it would be proper to keep in the channel, and accordingly might retain thoſe which he had gained in the ſummer, and either ſend the reſt into the harbours, or employ them as convoys; and being, by theſe means, maſter of thoſe that remained, he might join the French to tranſport the troops, which would be neceſſary for accompanying your Majeſty into England.

He interrupted me ſeveral times. But, at laſt, being unwilling to determine upon any plan, he proteſted to me again in general, that he would undertake the affair, and that lord Shrewſbury and lord Churchill ſhould be judges of his actions. He gave me repeated aſſurances of his reſolution, and of his loyalty to your Majeſty; and we took leave of one another, as I ſaw that I could not draw any thing more poſitive from him.

I gave

I gave an account of all this to lord Churchill, Sackville, &c. who were all of opinion, that he had ſaid a great deal, if one could truſt him; and, if one could not, that all he could ſay would have no more effect. 1694. May.

After this, I waited of lord Godolphin, who explained to me his ſentiments towards your Majeſty, in the moſt affectionate manner imaginable. He acquainted me, that there was too much room to fear a peace would be concluded, this ſummer; and that they were ſorry to believe, from the manner in which the prince of Orange ſpoke of it, that the terms would be prejudicial to your Majeſty, ſince infallibly the prince would endeavour thereby to oblige the moſt Chriſtian King to ſend your Majeſty out of his dominions. That he thought it was his duty to acquaint your Majeſty of this. But that it was his opinion, that your Majeſty, in caſe the peace was not concluded, ſhould come over to England, but with a conſiderable force: that it would not be difficult for the French to make a deſcent in England, even without Ruſſell, who ought, nevertheleſs, to be treated with attention, becauſe, in his opinion, he had ſaid all that could be expected of him, provided one would be ſure, that lord Shrewſbury, whom he believed to be ſincerely in his Majeſty's intereſt, had an entire influence over him: that Ruſſell would infallibly appear before Breſt; the land-officers believing that the place may be inſulted, although the ſea-officers were of a different opinion: that this would give a juſt pretext to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to ſend troops to that place; and that the neceſſary number of tranſports might be prepared this ſummer: that the large veſſels would return about the middle of autumn: that the ſailors would be diſperſed, the convoys ſent to the different places of commerce; and that the Engliſh would have a difficulty in finding thirty veſſels of tolerable force: that your Majeſty, embracing the proper time, might come over; and that he believed a blow would not be ſtruck after you landed, as nine out of ten of the people of England heartily deteſt the prince of Orange. He reiterated his proteſtations, with the greateſt loyalty to your Majeſty.

The counteſs of Shrewſbury informed me, that the prince of Orange would go to Holland immediately after the prorogation of the parliament; that he would leave the government in the hands of the princeſs; but that ſhe would entirely follow the advices of Danby and Shrewſbury.

1694. May. Mr. Noſeworthy † was ſent to France, by the marquis of Worceſter and other noblemen and gentlemen, and ſome biſhops, with an account of the ſtate of affairs in England. The paper, which contains his account, has no date, but it is probable, he went about this time.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 124. "*The preſent ſtate of the affairs of England, according to Mr. Noſeworthy's report.*"

It is in Nairne's hand, in a French tranſlation, which was probably intended for the information of Lewis XIV.

Tranſlation.

MR. Noſeworthy, ſent by the marquis of Worceſter, the earls of Peterborough, Clarendon, Aileſbury, Montgomery, Arran, Abington, Huntington; the biſhops of Norwich, of Bath and Wells, of Peterborough and of Ely; the lords Yarmouth and Fanſhaw; Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, Sir John Fenwick, major general Sackville, and ſeveral other perſons of quality and diſtinction, ſays, That the perſons now mentioned, having made an exact reſearch through all the counties of England, to inform themſelves of the diſpoſitions of the people, have found, that the minds of the nation in general are entirely alienated from the prince of Orange, by the loſſes they have ſuffered at ſea, by the heavy taxes with which they are loaded, the interruption of commerce, both within and without the kingdom, the general diſorder occaſioned by an interruption in the circulation of the coin, and by ſeveral other grievances.

That four parts out of five of the clergy are diſpoſed to declare for the King.

That the King, with an army of 20,000 men, may render himſelf maſter of all England, without the leaſt oppoſition. But they are of opinion, that, rather than let ſlip the preſent opportunity, his Majeſty ſhould come even with 12,000. That they have ſufficient reaſons to believe, that, in that caſe, a great part of the prince of Orange's troops will declare for the King.

That it is certain, the fleet is in a very bad condition: that though they prepare to put to ſea this ſummer, to make a parade, yet the ſhips which returned from the Mediterranean have ſuffered ſo much by worms,

† The ſame perſon called Noiſeworthy in a preceding paper.

and

and otherwiſe, that, being but patched up, they are by no means fit for fighting. 1694. May.

That the King's friends, who have perſevered ſo long, will be obliged to ſubmit, if the preſent opportunity is neglected; and to join the government, which will render the prince of Orange much more powerful and more formidable than he has hitherto been.

It was upon Mr. Noſeworthy's arrival in France the following letter was written by King James.

"*To E. A.* (probably Earl of Arran), *Feb.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 27.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

The ſtate of affairs in Britain; anecdotes of lords Murray, Godolphin, Queenſbury, Tarbet, Breadalbin, Sunderland, and Skrewſbury.

YOURS of January the 15th I have received, wherein I am glad to find, that you are recovered of the illneſs you have lately had. What I mentioned concerning your brother George, his being to be employed, was only a rumour, writ in a news-letter; and, as ſuch, I told you of it. But what you foretold of 322 [lord Murray] was better grounded. I doubt not, but that he enters, in good earneſt, in the Pr. of Or. his intereſt. But how long he will continue ſo, will much depend upon what he ſhall think hereafter to be his own intereſt. But why 253 [lord Godolphin] ſhould take pains to make a convert of him, I am yet to find out the reaſon. What you ſay may well enough come to paſs, that 303 [Queenſbury], 315 [Tarbet,] and 324 [Braidalbine], if they be ſenſibly diſappointed, may turn about towards ME. But I ſhall follow your advice, not to reject their offers, which I ſhall think to be ſincere, when confirmed by their actions.

The veering about and inconſtancy of others confirm me on ſetting a juſt value on your ſteddineſs. Nor ſhall I be moved with wrong judgments of others, who think that, by your influence on *E. S.* you have procured thoſe *ſeeming* promotions, for a friend and for a brother.

Mr. Paſt [Noſeworthy] is at laſt arrived amongſt us, who is the welcomer, becauſe he comes fully inſtructed with your ſenſe of affairs. I eſteem him, as you do, for a man of probity and good underſtanding; and,

1694. May. and, therefore, ſhall rely much upon what he ſays. But you may be ſatisfied, that I ſhall not impart to him what concerns any advances made to me, by 235 [earl of Sunderland]. I find, by him, as well as by others, that diſcontents and diviſions, amongſt all ſorts of people, are as high againſt the government, as any honeſt man could wiſh; ſo that it is to be hoped that 43 [the King of France] will not let ſo favourable an opportunity be loſt. But no certain judgment can be made of a matter, which depends upon ſo great a variety of accidents and of people's minds that muſt all concur in it. However, as no endeavour ſhall be wanting, on my ſide, to bring matters to a good and ſpeedy concluſion; ſo I doubt not but that my friends, and you in particular, will do their part, whenever a happy occaſion ſhall offer itſelf; which is all, at preſent, from

Your old friend,

SKREE KMA LUXNIA, 50.

When the earl of Marlborough and his wife, by their influence with the princeſs of Denmark, were accuſed of fomenting differences between the royal ſiſters, the earl, it now appears, was in correſpondence with the late King. William, probably, though he knew not particulars, ſuſpected in general the ſecret intrigues of Marlborough, when he ſent him to the Tower, in the year 1692. James, from a diffidence of his former favourite, required actions, as the proof of his ſincerity. He had done conſiderable ſervice to the party, before this period. But the moſt capital inſtance of his thorough repentance was the intelligence of the deſign againſt Breſt, tranſmitted, by him, in the following letter to James, incloſed in one, from colonel Sackville. Marlborough is ſuppoſed to have more deſigns than one, in this part of his conduct. He wiſhed to ſerve James with Lewis the Fourteenth, and to ruin general Talmaſh, as well as to be revenged of William. In King James's Memoirs, there is the following memorandum, written, upon receipt of the letter, in his own hand: "May 4th, Lord Churchill informed the King of the deſign on Breſt." Page 521. ann. 1694.

The French tranſlation of colonel Sackville and the earl of Marlborough's letters, from which they are now tranſlated again into Engliſh, is in Nairne's hand.

"*Tranſlation*

1694. May. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 120.

" *Tranſlation of a letter in cyphers from Mr. Sackfield, Major General of his Brittanic Majeſty's forces, to the Earl of Melfort.*"

3d May, 1694.

I Have juſt now received the incloſed for the King. It is from lord Churchill; but no perſon but the Queen and you muſt know from whom it comes. Therefore, for the love of God, let it be kept a ſecret, " even from lord Middleton *." I ſend it by an expreſs, judging it to be of the utmoſt conſequence for the ſervice of the King, my maſter; and conſequently for the ſervice of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. You ſee, by the contents of this letter, that I am not deceived, in the judgment I formed of admiral Ruſſell; for that man has not acted ſincerely, and I fear he never will act otherwiſe.

" *A tranſlation of Lord Churchill's letter to the King of England.*"

I T is only to-day I have learned the news I now write to you; which is, that the bomb-ketches and the twelve regiments encamped at Portſmouth, with the two regiments of marines, all commanded by Talmaſh, are deſtined for burning the harbour of Breſt, and deſtroying all the men of war, which are there. This will be a great advantage to England. But no conſideration can prevent, or ever ſhall prevent me, from informing you of all that I believe to be for your ſervice. Therefore you may make your own uſe of this intelligence, which you may depend upon being exactly true. But I muſt conjure you, for your own intereſt, to let no one know it but the Queen and the bearer of this letter.

Ruſſel ſails to-morrow, with forty ſhips, the reſt being not yet paid; but it is ſaid, that in ten days the reſt of the fleet will follow; and, at the ſame time, the land forces. I have endeavoured to learn this ſome time ago from admiral Ruſſel. But he always denied it to me, though I am very ſure, that he knew the deſign for more than ſix weeks. This gives me a bad ſign of this man's intentions. I ſhall be very well pleaſed to learn, that this letter comes ſafe to your hands.

† " Even from lord Middleton" is interlined in Melfort's hand writing.

From

1694. July. From one of the earl of Middleton's letters, addreſſed to Mr. Appleby, a feigned name for a correſpondent in England, to be delivered to the Hamburgh merchant (that is, a member of the houſe of commons, according to doctor Hickes's cypher), there is reaſon to believe, that, about this time, Marlborough had engaged the prince and princeſs of Denmark to enter heartily into terms with their exiled father.

July 15th, 1694.

Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. P. 55. —and ibid. Col. Sackville's cypher.

I Have received yours of the 23d of May. It is moſt certainly true, that the merchant who owns the goods, 368 [King James] ſtands in great need of money, and indeed it is not to be wondered at, conſidering his great loſſes and his numerous family; and would therefore be glad if any of his friends or old cuſtomers would advance him what they can ſpare, which ſhall be punctually repaid, with intereſt, as ſoon as he is in a condition to appear on the exchange. In the mean time, he might be put in a condition to maintain his poor workmen, who are in great miſery.

I muſt tell you now, that 368 [King James] has agreed to what was propoſed to him by 129 and 130 [the prince and princeſs of Denmark], in the main; that is, your wife [his wife, according to Mr. Mordant's cypher, means Queen Mary] ſhall have a jointure well ſecured to her, &c.

The meaning of the reſt of this letter is not obvious.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 123.

From the repreſentations of the late King's adherents, one would be apt to imagine, that the nation to a man would join him, as ſoon as he landed. But an anonymous letter to a friend at Paris, bearing date the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1694, gives a very different account of the ſtate of things in England.

The writer of this letter, which conſiſts of ſeveral folio pages, was induced, by the different opinions which prevailed, concerning the power and number of James's friends, to travel round the kingdom, that he might be able to give a juſt and ſatisfactory account to the court of St. Germains; and he ſent it in this letter, as he himſelf was prevented, by an indiſpoſition, from going to France. He found, in general, he ſaid, that, if all who wiſhed James upon the throne were his friends, he had undoubtedly more friends than foes in England; and that their number was likely to increaſe every day, on account of their heavy taxes and other

other grievances, and their averſion from the reigning prince. He diſco- 1694.
vered this, from remarkable inſtances of indulgencies ſhown to the Jacobites, by the lords-lieutenants and juſtices of the peace, in the ſeveral counties, and from the converſation of the gentlemen over all the kingdom. "But, for the common people," ſays he, "they are ſtill venomous; and the magiſtrates, in moſt corporation towns round the nation, no leſs malignant. They own their preſent burdens very heavy; yet profeſſed openly, that they would rather carry it on and on, than let popery, by reſtoring the King, ſteal in upon them; and, when aſked, how they can read the King's laſt declaration, and obſerve the promiſes therein made, and yet doubt either of the eſtabliſhment or tranquillity of their own church; they anſwer, that, being certain ſome of theſe promiſes will be broke, they find reaſon to doubt whether any of them will be kept; and they give for inſtance that clauſe, in which his Majeſty is pleaſed to ſay, that, over and above what hath been promiſed, if his parliament, when it ſits, can find out any expedient, for the better ſettlement of the nation and ſecurity of their religion, he ſhall aſſent to it."

After enumerating the ſeveral objections, which were made to James's reſtoration, on account of his religion, he gives ſeveral reaſons to ſhow, that neither the number nor the power of his friends was ſo conſiderable, as he was made to believe; and he inſtances what he himſelf had obſerved. "About two or three weeks," he ſays, "after his Majeſty's declaration was publiſhed, being in the country northward, I found all the King's true friends employed to know who, if occaſion were, would take up arms for him; and in all Lancaſhire and all Yorkſhire, where I then was, there could be found but very few proteſtants, that would contribute to our King's reſtoration, with any other aſſiſtance but that of their good wiſhes. Nor could I find in other counties I paſſed through, that there was any conſiderable endeavours made uſe of to learn either what would or what could be done. So that, had his Majeſty followed his declaration, as was believed he would, and landed with a ſmall army, 'tis to be feared, he would have found himſelf at a great loſs, and upon a dangerous pin."

He proceeds to give an account of a converſation he had, upon his return to London, with "a perſon of very great quality, and a proteſtant.

1694. I told him," he continues, " our King was informed many thouſand of his proteſtant ſubjects were in arms, and ready upon his landing to join him. His reply was, that he did both believe and hope our King would not truſt to ſuch ſtories; that Roman Catholics were apprehended to calculate wrong, as to the number of his Majeſty's true friends; believing, hands, when time ſerves, will be as forward to fight for him, as tongues are to wiſh him back."

This was confirmed to him, by " another perſon of note, a lieutenant colonel of horſe, under our King at Saliſbury." This perſon " was very frequently with the chiefs, and moſt part of thoſe proteſtants, who had promiſed to hazard both their lives and fortunes for the King, when he was at La Hogue;" and he found that nothing was ever determined upon, at all their meetings, though he had often propoſed to them, to determine, " whether, when the king landed, they ſhould attempt to break through the enemy and join him, or ſtay till he had engaged them on the one ſide, and then fall on the other. But he proteſted to me, that, though they met daily, nothing was agreed on, even to that very day news were brought, that the French at ſea were defeat and their ſhips burnt."

" I took," ſays he, " the confidence to aſk him (the man of quality) yet further, if thoſe, who put him upon his laſt declaration and engaged him in ſuch large promiſes, did not aſſure our King, that he ſhould be reſtored to his crown, without any hazard of his perſon? To which, anſwer was given, that our King is not the firſt confiding and ſincere prince, that hath been wrong biaſſed, by a deſigning people; who now, by virtue of his declaration, being ſure, whenever he comes (for ſo it ſpeaks), both of their pardon and their privileges, provided only that they fight not againſt him, who can rationally believe, that they will unneceſſarily hazard both their lives and fortunes, by fighting for him?" His opinion, therefore, was, that James ſhould come over with a powerful army; and, immediately, upon his landing, " iſſue a new menacing declaration. For they muſt be taught to live and fear, before they will learn to do their duty."

He told his friend, that it was believed, that thoſe who framed the declaration in England and ſent it over to St. Germains, had aſſured the

King, that they would free him from his promiſes, by authority of parliament. His friend anſwered in the negative, and adduced ſeveral reaſons to convince him, that the Roman Catholics behaved imprudently, and that there was no room to expect the hearty concurrence of the proteſtants, in replacing James on the throne. 1694. Auguſt.

The following paper has no date, but is inſerted in the earl of Middleton's copy-book of letters, between letters dated on the 21ſt and 26th of Auguſt this year.

"*Mr. Mac Adam's meſſage, and the King's anſwer to every article.*" Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. p. 64.

"1. THE jealouſies and fears the generality of your friends have, that the King of France had no mind to reſtore your Majeſty, having had ſeveral opportunities, and made no uſe of them, the daily ruin of their country, and the little hopes of relief, it is to be feared, that moſt of them will join with the preſent government, to prevent the total ruin of their country; and thoſe, either in or out of the government, that have given intelligence of the deſigns and out-going of the fleet, and the intercepting of the merchant-men, will do ſo no more.

The King's anſwer.

In the firſt place, you are to aſſure thoſe you come from, and all the King's friends in general, that his Majeſty is very ſenſible, both of their actings and ſufferings for him, and hopes they will continue, when the occaſion deſerves it, to give him their advice and informations, whereby to regulate his own proceedings here.

His Majeſty has no reaſon to miſtruſt the friendſhip and frequent promiſes of the moſt Chriſtian King to reſtore him, whenever he is able; and, ſince it is both his intereſt as well as for his honour to do it, it cannot be thought that he will let ſlip any opportunity, which he thinks a good one, to do it.

2. Whereas there was a bill brought in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament of the oath of abjuration, they are in a more eaſy way to oblige the generality to join in the war with them againſt France, which is an oath of fidelity to the preſent government, without taking notice of your Majeſty

1694. August. or the prince or princeſs of Orange's uſurped titles. It is not doubted, but they will go a great length.

Anſwer.

It is to be ſuppoſed the prince of Orange will not conſent to an oath, that ſeems to eſtabliſh a common-wealth; and it is to be hoped, that nobody can be ſurpriſed with a new one, that ſeemed to ſcruple the old.

3. In the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, there was a bill brought in for a general exciſe, but could not paſs. It is not doubted but it will in the next; that, with the general revenue of the crown, will amount, at leaſt, to ſix million, and will certainly be paid to carry on the war againſt France.

Anſwer.

The King expects, that his friends will uſe all their endeavours to oppoſe a general exciſe; and, if it cannot be prevented, to make it as onorous and clamorous, and for as ſhort a time, as may be.

4. They are daily alarmed, with a general peace, and that your Majeſty is to be excluded; which does ſtartle moſt of your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects to that degree, that a great many of them are deſigning to leave the kingdom, and ſome of the better ſort has already ſent to Hamburgh to know the conſtitution of that place. If there be not ſome ſpeedy courſe taken to prevent this, it will be of ill conſequence to your Majeſty's ſervice.

Anſwer.

That the King has no apprehenſions of a general peace to his prejudice; and that he has reaſon to believe there is no treaty in agitation at this time. So that the prince of Orange's brags are no more to be believed, upon this, than his promiſes upon other matters.

5. They deſire, that your Majeſty may commiſſion ſome of theſe that you think moſt proper for the management of your affairs; and that they may not be left to the indiſcretion of the generality of pretenders.

Anſwer.

That the King approves of their advice, and that he will give directions accordingly, with which they ſhall be ſpeedily advertiſed.

6. If

6. If your Majeſty thinks fit, they deſire to know whether you have any confidence in any of the court-party. Some of them has been heard ſay as much, though others dare not truſt them, without your Majeſty's orders, with which they are ready to comply, and to join with them, or any others for your Majeſty's ſervice. 1694. Auguſt.

Anſwer.

That the King thinks it extreamly for his ſervice, that they ſhould endeavour to gain people to his intereſt, eſpecially, ſuch as are employed by the prince of Orange, as far as they can do it with their own ſafety; and they can beſt judge whom they can treat with in ſuch nice matters.

7. They deſire, that your Majeſty's inſtructions may be more early ſent this ſeſſion of parliament than they were the laſt.

Anſwer.

That beſides what is herein contained, and what has been formerly ſaid upon that occaſion, the King does not ſee, that there is any more directions to be given: but in caſe they, upon the place, have any thing to offer, they ſhall know the King's mind immediately thereupon; and that, upon the whole, he remits this and all other things to their prudent management.

8. They earneſtly beg, that your Majeſty may think on ſome way how to reconcile the church party and theſe of the diſſenters, that are in parliament. It would contribute much to your Majeſty's ſervice.

Anſwer.

If they cannot prevail to reconcile theſe parties in parliament as to their own diviſions, the King recommends, both to them and you, that endeavours may be uſed to reconcile them to him and to the cauſe in general.

9. They beg, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed to admit of the chancellor of England into your councils. Your enemies take advantage of his not being in it.

Anſwer.

The King will be, on all occaſions, ready to expreſs the juſt value and eſteem he has for his lord chancellor.

10. They beg, that your Majeſty may return me, or whom your Majeſty thinks more fit, with inſtructions what your Majeſty will have them

1694. Auguſt. them do; for, at preſent, they are at a ſtand, and do not know what to do.

Anſwer.

This article is anſwered already by the former.

11. They deſire, that your Majeſty may adhere to your laſt declaration.

Anſwer.

The King has never given any reaſon to believe that he will infringe his declaration, and he is reſolved not to do it.

12. They deſire, that if your Majeſty thinks fit to call any of the biſhops, that it may be the biſhop of Ely. They think it would be for your ſervice, and he is in a condition to live without being burthenſome to your Majeſty.

Anſwer.

The King approves of their opinion, and when he calls any it ſhall be him.

13. They deſire, that your Majeſty would acquaint the King of France with the condition of colonel Parker and Croſbey. They are afraid it will go hard with them.

Anſwer.

The King of France has been informed of Parker and Croſbey's condition; but his appearing for them would do them prejudice.

14. They deſire, that what orders or inſtructions they are to receive may be from your Majeſty, or from your ſecretaries only, and not from particular perſons, who pretend to have private inſtructions from your Majeſty; and what they ſend ſhall be directly to yourſelf and to your ſecretaries.

Anſwer.

That the King approves of their advice, and has given particular directions about it, according to their opinion, and that you are not for the future to give any credit to any perſon, who ſhall preſume to act to the contrary."

There were two parties in James's cabinet, the compounders and the non-compounders. Middleton was at the head of the firſt; and Melfort of the laſt. The compounders adviſed him to offer a general pardon, in his

his declarations, and propoſed to bring him back only upon certain conditions: the non-compounders were willing to receive him, without any reſtrictions, and to except ſeveral perſons in his offers of pardon. Theſe probably were James's favourites. But, to pleaſe the other party, Melfort was diſmiſſed, as if under ſome diſgrace, and ordered to withdraw from court; and Mr. Caryll was made ſecretary of ſtate, in his room. Caryll, in a letter to his predeceſſor, demands the very copies of memorials, which are now extant, among Mr. Nairne's papers. 1694. September.

Mr. Secretary Caryll to the Earl of Melfort.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 128.

September 6th, 1694.

"I Am commanded by his Majeſty to deſire your lordſhip to ſend ſpeedy orders, that the copies of the memoirs relating to the deſign of his landing in England, and particularly that which was given in laſt year to the French miniſters, at Fountainbleau, may be looked out amongſt your papers at Paris, by Mr. Nairne, or by whom you ſhall pleaſe to appoint, and delivered immediately to his Majeſty, who has preſent occaſion for them. I am alſo commanded by his Majeſty, in anſwer to what was contained in the letter you were pleaſed to honour me with, of the 25th Auguſt, concerning your return to Paris, to ſignify to your lordſhip, that he ſtill perſiſts in the ſame mind and opinion, which he imparted to you upon leaving St. Germains; which is, that he would not command you not to reſide at Paris, but that he did adviſe and counſell you not to make your reſidence there, which he ſtill doth, and ſo much the more, becauſe he has acquainted the King of France and Monſ. de Ponchartrain with what he ſaid to your lordſhip, upon that ſubject; who were both of them very much of his Majeſty's opinion in this matter. Having thus obeyed his Majeſty's orders herein, I have nothing to add, but that I am with much reſpect,

My lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
and moſt humble Servant,
J. CARYLL."

1694. September. It appears from another letter which Caryll wrote to Melfort, on the firſt of the enſuing month, that the latter complied with his maſter's advice, and retired from Paris. He correſponded with Nairne, who was his under ſecretary, and occupied the ſame place under Caryll. Nairne has preſerved ſome ſcores of Melfort's letters; but they contain nothing material. Though Melfort was diſmiſſed, he continued his quarrel with Middleton, of which the latter complains in the following letter, in cyphers, to an unknown correſpondent under a feigned name.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 35.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Charles Donton.

Decyphered by Colonel Slingſby's cypher, in the ſame vol.

Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. p. 66.

22 September, 1694.

"YOUR parcells marked 19 [the King] and 10 [lord Middleton], were ſafely delivered to the owners. The firſt was received with that juſt ſenſe of your friendſhip, which it deſerved, and the other, with the moſt grateful thankfulneſs imaginable. The owner of the goods No. 19, [the King] denies that he ever ſaid any ſuch thing to ZXWSQN, as what he writ to you, and deſires you would write by any other way but that. He earneſtly deſires, that you and others of the company, would entertain no jealouſie of his trading with interlopers. He aſſures you of the contrary, which I could ſafely vouch upon oath. It has been ſtarted, at firſt, to breed diſſention and to ſerve ſome private turns, particularly to load the owner of the goods 10 [lord Middleton]. We ſhall do all that's poſſible here to procure the goods that are uſeful; and it muſt be left to their judgments, on the place, to proceed as they ſee cauſe. You ſhall have an account of our diligence, as often as there is a good opportunity; nor ſhall you want directions, when they are requiſite. The owner of the goods No. 10 [lord Middleton] aſſures you, that he never writ any AOSY [whig], except ſometimes to XWVPHE, if he is thought one. We go to-morrow to a country-houſe *, for ſome few days; therefore, I am now preſt in time, and muſt beg leave to refer to the perſon that was here, not doubting but you will give entire credit to what he tells you, eſpecially, when he aſſures you, that I am, with all imaginable eſteem,

Your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

10" [MIDDLETON].

* Fountainbleau.

Melfort

Melfort was as obnoxious to the French miniſtry as to James's friends in England; for, on the third of October, Middleton writes to Mr. Carryll, from Fontainbleau, "I wiſh the lord Melfort does not come to ſpit in our potage: for if the miniſters believe, that he will be acquainted with what hath been propoſed, we need think no more of it." 1694. September. Ibid. p 65.

The French miniſtry, at this time, were not very ſanguine in the late King's intereſt. They conſulted it only, when they thought it ſubſervient to the cauſe of their maſter, as appears from the following extract of a letter from the earl of Middleton, who had followed the court to Fontainbleau, to Mr. ſecretary Caryll, who remained with his maſter at St. Germains. In this letter, he informs him of the reception the French miniſters gave to a memorial preſented by himſelf. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. vii. 4to. P. 67.

Fontainbleau, September 30th, 1694.

I Dined this day with Monſieur de Pontchartrain. It will not be neceſſary to repeat the dialogue, ſince you will eaſily gueſs my part of the diſcourſe by his, which was, in ſhort, that though the memorial was ſhort, yet it was full and clear; that all that he could ſay of it was what he had told the King, my maſter; that, when the King thought fit to undertake it, nothing ſhould be wanted that depended on him; that for the detail, he deſired to be excuſed from entering into it, becauſe it belonged to Monſieur de Croiſſy, with whom he would not interfere. I went immediately from him to Monſieur de Croiſſy, who, after a long preamble of his reſpect for the King, our maſter, and his earneſt wiſhes of what was propoſed, ſtarted ſeveral difficulties of a year old, as want of money, the difficulty of the tranſportation, the want of a place of ſecurity, and the danger of their being beaten. To which I returned not only the old anſwers, but ſuch new ones as the preſent conjuncture afforded, which will not be neceſſary to repeat, ſince I have always acquainted the King, our maſter, with what I thought might be ſaid on ſuch an occaſion. He told me he would repreſent what I ſaid to the King. I could perceive, that what he objected was not ſo much from himſelf, as what he ſuppoſed might be by others, which are indeed ſo very weak, that I cannot but entertain good hopes, notwithſtanding Monſieur de Pontchartrain's dry anſwer. For it cannot be ſuppoſed, that they will undertake any thing, till they have ſeen the diſpoſition of the enemy's forces both by land and

1694. September. ſea; and, when they do, they perhaps will keep the ſecret from us as long as they can; nor ought we to wonder at it, after the alarm that was given laſt ſpring. I can find by the courtiers, that monſieur de Pontchartrain is the only man, at this time, that has any intereſt with his maſter. For my own part, I ſhould be very glad to be confined to Conſtantinople, on condition the lord Melfort could carry our maſter home. But it is very probable, that Monſieur de Phillippeaux does not differ in opinion with his father. This court goes into mourning to-morrow; ſo that I muſt keep my chamber till I can get mine from Paris. Let our landlord know, that there is here no *noctes Atticæ* nor privateers aboard. I am moſt extremely,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

MIDDLETON.

October. Ibid. *Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Middleton to M. L'abbé Renaudot. The ſame ſubject continued.*

Tranſlation.

Fontainbleau, 2d October 1694.

"THE King and his miniſters have approved of your memorial. Monſieur de Pontchartrain did not chooſe to enter into particulars, and referred me to Monſieur de Croiſſy. Monſieur de Croiſſy ſtarted the ſame difficulties he ſtarted laſt year. I am not, therefore, able to ſee clearly through this affair. I ſent compliments to Monſieur de la Touche, who anſwered me immediately, that he would come to ſee me the next morning. But he ſent then an excuſe, without fixing any other time; and, as there are five days ſince, I have no hopes of ſeeing him, and I don't believe that I ought to preſs him farther, as there may be ſome myſtery in the caſe.

"It is from your care and prudence, that I expect the ſucceſs of our affairs."

He writes to him in the ſame deſponding ſtrain, on the ſixth of October. "I have received," ſays he, "your letter of the fourth, and, thank God, I am naturally inclined to follow the courſe you approve of, which

which is, not to importune any one. Our affair is always in the ſame ſituation. It is no longer ſpoken of; and I imagine, they want to ſee the diſpoſition of the enemy's forces by ſea and land, before they come to any reſolution. It is ſo apparent, that Monſieur de la Touche purpoſely avoids me, that I think, I ſhould not preſs him any more. I will not deſpair, while we allow ourſelves to be guided by you." 1694. December.

The late King's inſtructions to Mr. Townly and Mr. Tyſon. December, 1694. 1694. December. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 21.

"*Inſtructions to Mr. Townly, ſent incloſed to Mr. J. Johnſon.*"

St. Germains, December 2, 1694.

IN the firſt place, you muſt aſſure all our friends, that have been concerned with you in our ſervice, that we have a juſt ſenſe of their loyalty, and of the pains they have taken, and the hazards they have undergone in our behalf, of which we ſhall be very mindful, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to put us in a condition of ſhewing our good intentions towards them.

Secondly, you are to deſire them, in our name, to keep themſelves in a readineſs to ſerve us, whenever a good occaſion offers itſelf; and that, in the mean time, they ſhould be cautious to preſerve themſelves, as well as they can, and not to ſtir, till they have particular directions from us; which they ſhall not fail of, in the proper ſeaſon, when they may do us effectual ſervice, without needleſsly expoſing themſelves.

Thirdly, they muſt not expect, that we can name the time when this will be, ſince it depends upon ſo many future contingents and not upon our will; but that of our deareſt brother, the moſt Chriſtian King, who, however well inclined he may be towards us, whereof we have all the reaſon in the world to be thoroughly ſatisfied, muſt, notwithſtanding, wait for the means and opportunities of executing what we all deſire. Wherefore, our friends muſt conſider, that, although they ſuffer very much by delay, yet none can be greater ſufferers thereby, than we ourſelves. So that they may reſt ſatisfied, we ſhall neglect no opportunity of bringing to paſs, what is our common concern.

1694. December.

" *Inſtructions to Mr. Tyſon, December* 3, 1694."

MR. Piggot being now upon his way to give his friends a viſit in the country, Mr. Tyſon is deſired when he comes, to deliver to him the incloſed paper of inſtructions, as alſo the four ſealed notes, numbered 1, 2, 3, 4. The No. 1, is for Mr. Vene, the No. 2, for Mr. Powel, No. 3, for auditor Aldworth, No. 4, for Sir John Friend.

Mr. Piggot having informed, with ſome aſſurance, Mr. Harriſon, [K. James], that Mr. Tyſon was both able and willing, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, to advance a ſum of money, for the uſe of Mr. Harriſon [K. James], of which, at preſent, he ſtands in great need; theſe are, in Mr. Harriſon's [K. James's] name, to aſſure him, that ſuch a ſervice, at this time, would be very acceptable to him; of which matter, Harriſon [K. James] deſires to be further informed from Tyſon himſelf.

It having been repreſented from many hands, and particularly by Piggot, that Mr. Perret, the lawyer, has been very zealous and uſeful in the concerns of Mr. Harriſon [K. James] and his friends; you are hereby deſired, to give him the thanks of the ſaid Harriſon [K. James], who will not be unmindful of him, when it ſhall be in his power to gratify him.

The French miniſtry pretended to be ſtill very zealous to reſtore James. That prince uſed to employ the abbé Renaudot to procure him intelligence, and to tranſlate the memorials he preſented to Lewis XIV. and his miniſters. The abbé wrote the Paris Gazette at this time, and was deeply engaged in politicks. To ſome repreſentations he had made in favour of James, he received the following anſwer from Mr. de Croiſſy.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. vii. 4to. No. 69.

Copy of a letter from Mr. de Croiſſy to the Abbé de Renaudot.

The King of France ſtill intends to ſupport James.

Tranſlation.

Verſailles, 23d December, 1694.

I Have read to the King the letter which you wrote to me on the 21ſt; and his Majeſty finds, that your reflections are very wiſe, and of great conſequence. I am to acquaint you likewiſe, that he does not propoſe

to

to abandon the good deſigns of the faithful ſervants of the King of England, and as the conjuncture may become more favourable than it hath been hitherto, and as there is room to hope, that the King ſhall have ſoon more efficacious means than he had formerly, for executing the laſt enterprizes which were propoſed: Beſides, as all the rumours of peace are now vaniſhed, and as his Majeſty intends nothing now but to carry on the war with vigour, our friends in England ought not to be diſcouraged; and if they were ſucceſsful in hindering the prince of Orange from obtaining great ſupports from parliament, they would ſoon ſee the effect of their zeal for the ſervice of the King their maſter, powerfully ſeconded by his Majeſty. 1694. December.

I am, Sir, your very humble,
and very affectionate Servant,
De Croissy.

The Abbé de Renaudot to Mr. Mordaunt.

Communicating to him the aſſurances contained in the preceding letter.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. vii. 4to. No. 69.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Dec. 30th, 1694.

IF I have not the honour of writing to you as often as I would wiſh, it is not for want of attention, or of zeal for the ſervice of our common maſters, which I conſider to be inſeparable. I doubt not but different rumours, which ſpread from Holland and from France, may have cauſed great uneaſineſs among your friends; and ſuch of them as are here may teſtify to you, how ſorry I was for this. Yet I did not think, as things were circumſtanced, that I ſhould write much, on account of the danger; and it was alſo proper not to write any thing precipitately, while you might have imagined, that, if I wrote you that affairs were not as far advanced as was publiſhed, I had been ill-informed. But whatever may be ſaid to you, you may be thoroughly perſuaded that no ſtep was taken on this ſide, but as much, at leaſt, was done on the other, and that, if they have alledged, that Mr. Benſon [the K. of France] was willing to finiſh with his creditors [enemies], without troubling himſelf about Mr. Artlie [K. James], they have advanced a very great falſehood. It was very true, that an attempt was made to ſettle: but

1694. December. the factors had not the neceſſary orders, and would not ſettle, though they were much preſſed to it. At any rate, we propoſe nothing now, but to carry on the law-ſuit. It is true, Mr. Benſon's [Fr. King] friends are embaraſſed to ſee, that the courſe of affairs on your ſide incline one to believe, that Mr. Artlie [K. James] hath no friends. Perhaps, if they had not been in ſuch a hurry to grant every thing to Sawly [K. William], we would have been more expeditious on our ſide; and all that can be ſaid to aſſure them, that Mr. Artlie [K. James] has friends ſtill, does not ſatisfy them. For they ſay, on the contrary, that they clearly perceive, by what paſſes, that his friends have not much influence or good intentions. However, we have both here; and, perhaps, convincing proofs of this may be given ſoon; at leaſt, I am made to hope ſo.

Mr. Toncroft [L. Middleton], in whom they place here all confidence, and for whom they have all the reſpect and eſteem imaginable, will adviſe you of every thing. For nothing is concealed from him of what I know. I expect, before a fortnight, to be able to write to you more about theſe things. I entreat you, Sir, in the mean time, to be perſuaded that I ſhall not fail in any thing that can contribute to the ſucceſs of our common wiſhes. I am, Sir, &c.

Middleton incloſed this letter in the following:

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Mordaunt.

SIR, Dec. 31. 1694.

Nairne's Papers. D. N. vol. vii. 4to. No. 69. I Hope the excuſe you make for not writing will be received from me ſince it is certainly true, that there never was ſo little news ſtirring. Compliments have been always excluded in friendſhip; and I flatter myſelf with a great ſhare in yours. If I ſhould be miſtaken you would be very ungrateful.

We have been aguiſh of late; but becauſe I will not depend upon my own ſkill in this matter, I ſend you here incloſed an account of it, from our phyſician in ordinary, [the abbé Renaudot,] to whom I refer. I ſuppoſe you will think fit to communicate it to ſome of our neareſt relations, who are really concerned for the good of the family; who, for that reaſon only, endeavour to advance the match propoſed to the widow, whereas

whereas there are others, who, without regard to right or wrong, weigh only their own intereſts. Theſe laſt may be diſcreetly managed, but ought never to be truſted; becauſe a bribe from the rival certainly gains them. Mr. Artley [K. James] and his ſpouſe [Queen] bid me aſſure you of the great eſteem they have for you and yours; and that the kindneſs you have expreſſed for them ſhall not fail of a ſuitable return. I ſhall omit no occaſion of doing you juſtice; and I ſhall endeavour, to the beſt of my ſkill, to act in every thing, as becomes an honeſt man, and your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

1694. December.

MARKE TONCROFT.
[MIDDLETON.]

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1695.

1695. January. ON the 28th of December, 1694, Queen Mary died of the ſmall-pox; and the friends of James began to entertain expectations of a change in his favour, from this event. The firſt mention of her death, in Mr. Nairne's papers, is contained in a letter from J. Anderſon to Mr. Applebey, *i. e.* from the earl of Middleton to a correſpondent in England.

January the 13th, 1695.

Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. I Moſt thankfully acknowledge the favour of yours of the 6th and 13th of December, which I could not do by the laſt poſt, by reaſon of an indiſpoſition cauſed by a great cold, of which I am not yet quite recovered. However, I could no longer diſpenſe with my writing to you, in purſuance of the directions I have received from our conſul, on the occaſion of a ſtrong report we have here, that the owner of the goods No. 535 [princeſs of Orange] being dead. If it ſhould prove falſe, you are earneſtly deſired to ſay nothing of it to any body. But if it ſhould prove true, then you will be convinced, that there will be enough to ſet all hands to work. We cannot pretend here to enter into the particulars of the acts, which muſt be done by the factors on the place. But there is one point which ſeems to be of great importance; which is, whether the merchant who owns the goods No. 551 [the parliament of England] is broken; there are many good reaſons to believe it, conſidering the great dependance he had on the other. This would be the greateſt advantage that could happen to the company; becauſe it was he who ſupported all the interlopers; and, before a new joint ſtock could be made up, the market would be ſtopt.

Pray

Pray preſent my ſervice to your Hamburgh partner, and tell him, that I had wrote to him, if I had been at any certainty; and that the accepted bills will be very quickly paid, and that, if he will make a conſiderable venture now, the return will make him the leading man upon the change." 1695. January.

The Hamburgh merchant, mentioned ſo often in Middleton's letters to Appleby, is ſuppoſed to be the earl of Marlborough. The earl of Middleton wrote another letter of this date, with more particular directions concerning the meaſures to be taken by James's friends in parliament, upon the death of the Queen. It is addreſſed to Mr. Syſon, to the care of Mr. Jackſon.

SIR, January 13th, 1695. Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to.

I Received yours of the 10th of December, which I could not anſwer by the laſt poſt, becauſe I was ill. You may eaſily imagine, that to be well thought of, by one ſo generally and deſervedly eſteemed, was no ſmall ſatisfaction to me. But no more of this for the future. The King has commanded me to write to you, that there is here a ſtrong report that the princeſs of Orange is dead. If it is falſe, he deſires you would take no notice of this to any body: nor did he think fit to wait for the confirmation of it, becauſe his friends might reaſonably be impatient to hear from him on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. Beſides that, our poſt has been very ſlow and uncertain of late. But he is the leſs uneaſy, becauſe he knows his buſineſs cannot ſuffer thereby, in your hands, ſince you want no body to prompt or direct you, in the management of it; and that you do every thing to embroil and oppoſe the uſurper's affairs, as occaſion offers.

If this report is true, the chief thing to be aimed at is the diſſolution of this parliament, for which many ſtrong reaſons may be urged; and though I am of opinion, that they will vote themſelves ſtill a parliament, yet the contrary ought to be ſhowed in print, for which proper perſons ought to be employed. It will ſerve to baffle their acts; people will be more unwilling to pay taxes, or advance any thing on their ſecurity; and, if a ſucceeding parliament ſhould declare this to have been null, from ſuch a time, what penalties theſe members may incur, or what actions may be brought againſt them, or thoſe who act by their

1695. January. authority, ought to be ſhowed, in caſe ſtill that this report is true. I do not doubt but you will communicate this to Mr. Donton and other friends; for I have neither time nor health to do it myſelf, which would be but a repetition of the ſame thing. If there is any thing in this that you cannot read, Thomas Adams will do it for you."

Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to. Middleton received certain intelligence of the Queen's death on the fifteenth of January. He communicated the news immediately, by letter, to the marquis de Torcy; in which, he adds, "The King, my maſter, does not conſider her as his daughter, becauſe ſhe had renounced her being ſo in ſuch an open manner. There is even reaſon to fear that ſhe died in her impenitence."

He next wrote the following letter to King James's lord chancellor.

The Earl of Middleton to the Lord High Chancellor of England.

My Lord, Saturday-night, the 15th Jan. 1695.

THE King has commanded me to let you know, that he deſires you to attend him the morrow-morning. The coachman who delivers this, will undertake to bring and carry your lordſhip home again. The buſineſs is to know your opinion, whether, by the incloſed act, the Engliſh parliament is diſſolved by the demiſe of the princeſs of Orange. You may be pleaſed to conſider it as you come along. The reaſon of this haſte is, that the King of France is to be here to-morrow. In caſe your health will not permit you to ſtir out, his Majeſty deſires you would ſend him your thoughts in writing. I am, with all imaginable reſpect and eſteem,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble Servant,
MIDDLETON.

Ibid. On the twentieth of January, Middleton acquaints the marquis de Croiſſy, that his correſpondents in England, who ſent him news of the princeſs of Orange's death, add, "That the moſt intelligent perſons think that this parliament ſhould be diſſolved, but that it would not, becauſe the members, being judges and parties, will not fail to decide the cauſe in their own favour. The King, my maſter, has already ſent his orders to print all the reaſons which can prove the nullity of that aſſembly, in order to diſcredit it in the opinions of the people."

On

On the twenty-fourth of January he wrote as follows to the abbé Renaudot. 1695. January. Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to.

Tranſlation.

SIR,

IF my bad ſtate of health had not hindered me from applying to buſineſs, you would have heard from me frequently. I now take the liberty to ſend you reflections on the preſent ſtate of England, by Mr. Caryll, which have been already ſent to monſieur de Croiſſy. I am ſure you will avail yourſelf of them. It is certain, that the conjuncture is more favourable for an enterprize than it has ever been. But if the King does not engage in it, all will come to nothing. I was a little ſurpriſed to find, that monſieur de Croiſſy judged, that the prince of Orange's affairs were ſtill in a good train; becauſe the parliament had preſented addreſſes to him. Can any one imagine, that, when there is a man who is acknowledged as King, and his Queen dies, who had an equal ſhare of the ſovereignty with him, a parliament then aſſembled can avoid to make compliments to him upon the occaſion? With regard to the ſtile, it is mere form; and, with regard to the compliment at the end, I infer a very favourable concluſion from it. They promiſe "to aſſiſt him againſt all his enemies, both domeſtic and foreign." They might ſay ſo, if there had been a civil war. But while all is quiet and obedient, I maintain it is without example.

Here then is an authentic acknowledgment of the two houſes of parliament, that there is a party in oppoſition to the government; and that it muſt be very formidable, ſince they think it neceſſary to offer him their aſſiſtance againſt it. This appears to me to be a ſtronger proof of the exiſtence of ſuch a party, than any thing we could have ſaid; and this remark being made by you, will have more weight, and will not be ſuſpected. For I apprehend ſometimes, that they ſuſpect that we want to impoſe upon them, which has been always very far from my intention. But, perhaps, we are obliged for this to lord Melfort.

I ſend you alſo the London Gazette, where you will find theſe addreſſes more exact than any where elſe. I intreat you to be ſo good as to continue the honour of your kindneſs to, Sir,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

MIDDLETON.

1695. January. Caryll's reflections on the preſent ſtate of England, mentioned in the earl of Middleton's letter to the abbè Renaudot, and ſent by his lordſhip to the marquis de Croiſſy, have been preſerved among Mr. Nairne's Papers, and are in Nairne's own hand. They appear to have been addreſſed firſt to James himſelf.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 25.

"*A memorial concerning the ſtate of England. 19 January, 1695.*"

"*An examination of the P. of O—'s right to the crown at Queen Mary's death.*"

ALL the people of England muſt neceſſarily be, at this time, convinced, that the title of the prince of Orange to the poſſeſſion of the crown is not only unjuſt, in reference to the King and to the prince of Wales, but alſo to the princeſs of Denmark, according to their own new law, though his Majeſty was, as they pretend, excluded by abdication; for none of our new law-makers ever pretended, or durſt ſay that the crown of England is elective. Wherefore, though by demiſe or abdication, or for failure (let them call it what they pleaſe) they pretend the preſent occupant may be diſpoſſeſſed, yet ſtill it is an undeniable maxim amongſt them all, that, in ſuch caſes, it ought to deſcend to the next in blood, againſt whom no ſuch incapacity lies.

Nor let it be ſaid, that the modern act of ſettlement creates a ſufficient and juſt title to the prince of Orange, for his preſent holding the crown: for it is the opinion of my lord Coke and all the ableſt lawyers, that an act of parliament, viſibly contrary, either to the divine law or common juſtice, is void in itſelf: and nothing can be more apparently contrary to juſtice, according to their own maxims, than to prefer in the ſucceſſion to the crown, the prince of Orange, a foreigner, and remoter by one degree, to the princeſs of Denmark, a native and your immediate heir. It is certain, that thoſe very perſons, who concurred to the making of this law, did it upon a ſuppoſition that the prince of Orange could not out-live his wife; he appearing, at that time, far gone in an aſthma, and ſhe of a vigorous and healthy conſtitution; which made them beſtow, in the heat of their kindneſs, that compliment upon him, not to unking him upon the death of his wife, which then they thought would prove but a bare compliment, though now it falls out otherwiſe.

Of

Of this neither the prince of Orange nor the Engliſh nation in general are ignorant. We are, therefore, to conſider what effects may thence naturally follow, and how each of them will be moved to act, according to their ſeveral principles and intereſts: for now, more than ever, he and the nation are perfectly two. 1695. January.

To make a judgment of what effects it may have upon the Engliſh nation, we muſt conſider ſeverally the two great parties into which it is divided, viz. the church of England-men monarchical, and the diſſenters republican, by their principles. As to thoſe of the church of England, it is evident, that, by the death of the princeſs of Orange, and the reigning alone of her huſband, they not only loſe all hopes of continuing uppermoſt, as by the laws in force they ought to be, but are in danger of their very being. For they well know, that this prince was bred a preſbyterian; and, that ſince his uſurpation, he has ſufficiently demonſtrated what his inclinations are, by aboliſhing epiſcopacy in Scotland, and even in England, by his putting in of late, to all offices and places of truſt [biſhopricks not excepted], Preſbyterians, or Latitudinarians.

Whilſt the princeſs lived, the church of England were at ſome eaſe and thought themſelves ſafe, by the countenance and encouragement they received from her, who was educated by them; and alſo, by the great hopes they had of her ſurviving her huſband. But he now reigning alone, in his own right, it may eaſily be imagined what their ſentiments and apprehenſions are; and how they are diſpoſed to free themſelves from a dominion, ſo unſound at the bottom in title, and ſo little favourable to them.

It ought particularly to be remarked, that in all the times of monarchy, the church of England-party has ever prevailed, in the houſe of commons, notwithſtanding all the efforts, which have not been ſmall, of the diſſenters to the contrary; and that houſe being the bulky and weighty part of the nation, and having the purſe, all Engliſhmen in general naturally lean to their ſide; ſo that the epiſcopal-party, ſupported by the houſe of commons, will certainly ſtand their ground, and prove a dangerous enemy to the prince of Orange, who can only ſecure himſelf, by making uſe of his foreigners to bring both them and their ſupporters under ſubjection.

As

1695. January. As to the diſſenters, their propenſion to the prince of Orange, is not out of any love to him, but only cauſed by their oppoſition to the church of England, and by their averſion to monarchy in general. For they think it an eaſier ſtep, from a wrong King to no King, than from a right King; and, for the ſame reaſon, they will better endure the reign of a woman, than of a man, which will not a little make for the princeſs of Denmark, if ever ſhe come to a conteſt with the prince of Orange: for theſe diſſenters being of a true republican ſpirit, can naturally bear no ſuperiority, either in church or ſtate; and, next to having no rulers over them, the weakeſt will always be moſt acceptable to them. But theſe men muſt be conſidered, not under the notion of diſſenters, but alſo as Engliſhmen; and, upon that national account, they will as violently oppoſe the domination of ſtrangers, as any other Engliſh ſubjects whatſoever. So that, if the prince of Orange ſhall think himſelf obliged, for his own ſecurity, to awe the nation by foreign troops, all that is Engliſh, even army and navy, will certainly join, as one man, to keep them out.

To this muſt be added the haughty and moroſe humour of that prince, which could not fail to extinguiſh all affection for his perſon. It is true, the contrary behaviour of the princeſs of Orange and her popular affability did, in ſome meaſure, appeaſe, or, at leaſt, cover the general diſguſt conceived againſt him. But ſhe being dead, nothing can hinder an increaſe of averſion between him and the people; and both muſt proceed in their own natural ways, he to diſoblige and they to reſent.

It is eaſy to judge what the conſequences may be of this preſent ſtate of affairs and diſpoſition of minds in England. The prince of Orange can no otherwiſe ſupport the weakneſs of his title, againſt the manifeſt right of his Majeſty, according to the old true law, or againſt that of the princeſs of Denmark, according to their new model, and ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of the crown, but by tranſporting into England an army of foreigners ſufficient to overawe the nation. But this is what no Engliſh parliament, though never ſo much penſionary, no Engliſh army, no Engliſh fleet will ever endure; and yet it is not more than probable, conſidering the circumſtances of his affairs and his own natural jealouſy, that he will attempt to do it, not all of a ſudden, but by degrees. But then, by the ſame degrees will alſo increaſe the jealouſy of the Engliſh, till,

till, at laſt, it muſt break out into open hoſtility. This opportunity ſhould not be loſt by his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of humbling an enemy, who has raiſed and leads all the forces in Europe againſt France; and of reducing him to an impoſſibility of doing any more hurt, no more than by the King of England, for the recovery of his crown. That the occaſion may not be loſt to both, it will be neceſſary, that a competent number of troops and ſhips may always be in readineſs, upon the firſt commotions in England, to ſupport the contrary party to the prince of Orange; otherwiſe, ſhould he prevail in that ſtruggle, and reduce England as he has done Holland, under a perfect ſubjection, he would become more a dangerous enemy than ever. It is not to be expected, that, upon the firſt riſings, any declaration will be made in behalf of his Majeſty, but their pretenſions will be to aſſert the indiſputable right (comparatively to his) of a princeſs born in England, againſt an intruding foreigner, or rather upon a national account, to preſerve England from being overrun with ſtrangers. A ready ſeaſonable ſupport from France, upon ſuch an occaſion, will not only have the effect of turning the balance againſt the prince of Orange, but will alſo determine the oppoſite party to him, to declare for their lawful King; whoſe reſtoration is, perhaps, the only means of any laſting peace, that can be had with honour and advantage. 1695. January.

There is no likelihood that Marlborough could have been forgotten, during the intrigues which followed the death of Queen Mary. Middleton, in a letter to his correſpondent Appleby, on the 30th of January, 1695, mentions an application which was then made to him. "I ſuppoſe you will be ſurpriſed to ſee an old country gentlewoman of your acquaintance, who will deliver you bills for 86 [lord Churchill]. She knows nothing of it. I have no directions for you about them; but to deliver them immediately to whom they are payable; for an honeſt and wiſe man never places his favours, but where he has an entire confidence; and you may aſſure your Hamburgh partner of both." February. Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to.

The old country gentlewoman, was Mr. Radcliffe, who went with letters to St. Germains, on the Queen's death; and from Middleton's anſwer to a letter which he received from Appleby, after the departure

1695. February. of Mr. Radcliffe, it appears that the Hamburgh merchant was the earl of Marlborough.

Ibid. *The earl of Middleton to Mr. Appleby, with one incloſed to the Hamburgh Merchant.*

SIR, February 18, 1695.

"THIS is only to acknowledge the favour of yours, of the 16th of January, with the incloſed, for the Hamburgh merchant*. You may eaſily imagine, that I can have but little to ſay now, ſince there has happened nothing ſince the lady went from hence. I long to have her home again, and to hear that the bills are delivered, &c."

About this time, Middleton correſponded with No. 18 [colonel Graham], who was a ſpy, employed by King William. Middleton was a man of ſome humour and learning; and he ſometimes threw a mixture of both into his letters, on the moſt ſerious ſubjects. It appears from his anſwers, that Graham, who wanted to make himſelf of conſequence to his employers, complained bitterly, that he received too little intelligence; and Middleton, who perhaps ſuſpected him, proteſted that he wrote with ſincerity and plainneſs, though he indulged a little innocent raillery, when he had nothing material to communicate.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 5.

March. The letter ſent from England, in Auguſt, 1694, gave, probably, a true account of the ſtate of things in that country; but it was natural enough for King James to ſee them in a different light, when the favourites and miniſters of King William, betrayed their maſter's councils, and aſſured his rival of the ſucceſs of an invaſion.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 26. "*Tranſlation of a Letter from Lord Arran to the King of England.*

$\frac{1}{12}$ March, 1695."

The French tranſlation, from which the letter is now tranſlated back into Engliſh, is in Nairne's hand.

The Earl of Sunderland in correſpondence with King James.—Arran adviſes an invaſion, and recommends diſpatch.—Sunderland gives intelligence of the fleet.

I Have received the letter, which your Majeſty did me the honour to write to me, on the 24th of February, with the poſtſcript of the 4th of March, preciſely as the courrier was ſetting out; ſo that it was im-

* Marlborough.

poſſible

poſſible for me to anſwer it, by the laſt opportunity; and I had ſome hopes, to be able to ſend you, by the preſent, a letter from lord Sunderland; having brought about an interview between him and biſhop Layburn. My lord has confirmed to the biſhop all I wrote to you in his name, in my former letters, with which I am very well pleaſed. He has been ſo much occupied all this week, that he could not write, at this time; but you may depend, that you will have a letter from him, by the firſt packet: and, at the ſame time, you may be aſſured, that I ſhall neglect nothing which depends upon me, in ſerving your Majeſty. They are the ſlow meaſures, which are taking on your ſide, that ruin every thing, and render your friends timid and diſtruſtful; who, otherwiſe, would be willing to act and to hazard all, if they ſaw, on the ſide of France, a greater diſpoſition to undertake any thing againſt England. It is not theſe extraordinary precautions and long delays, that will ever do the buſineſs. I am aſſured, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty can never employ his forces more advantageouſly, both for himſelf and for your Majeſty, than by making an effort on this ſide, which is not ſo impracticable as they imagine, either with regard to the number of troops or manner of tranſporting them. It is true, the greater the number of the troops the more certain will be the ſucceſs. But it is not neceſſary to have more, than can be eaſily tranſported: for 20 or 25,000 men will be ſufficient. That number will contribute more, at preſent, in England, to finiſh the war, than 100,000 men employed in any place whatever. But if other meaſures are taken, there is no remedy. I am perſuaded they will repent of them. It is impoſſible to add any thing to what hath been ſo often repeated upon this ſubject. It is not even neceſſary to urge your Majeſty to a thing, that is ſo much your intereſt. Since I came from Scotland, I have always beſeeched your Majeſty, to let me know, what your Majeſty's ſervants and friends in this country, ſhould do, on their part, in order to induce his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to engage in this enterprize; for without that, there is nothing to be done. It appears to us, that it is his intereſt as much as your Majeſty's; but of this, he himſelf is the beſt judge. 1695. March.

I know, that your Majeſty receives exact accounts of all that paſſes in parliament; therefore, I ſhall ſay nothing on the ſubject. There are great heats and conteſts among theſe gentlemen; but that will not hinder

1695. March. the affair of the ſubſidy. The lower houſe are to chooſe another ſpeaker to-morrow.

With regard to news, it is certain, that the preparations that are made here for the Mediterranean, are deſigning for attacking Toulon, if it is poſſible. It is lord Sunderland who has given me in charge to aſſure your Majeſty of this; but he told me, at the ſame time, that he does not believe the enterprize will take place, becauſe he is perſuaded, that it will not be found practicable, when they come to put it in execution. At any rate, they are reſolved, at preſent, to try to execute it.

I conclude, with entreating your Majeſty, to permit me here, to aſſure the Queen of my very humble reſpects, and to declare myſelf to be, with all ſubmiſſion, duty, and obedience,

Your Majeſty's, &c.

May.—June. The earl of Middleton's letters, at this time, are moſtly allegorical, and conſequently not eaſily explained. But it appears, in general, that he was correſponding with ſome men of the firſt conſequence in England, and that the adherents of James were daily increaſing.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. On the 13th of May, he writes to Mr. Mordant: "I always told you, that the Angels in heaven rejoiced at the converſion of a ſinner*; and that every man ſhould be rewarded according to his works. I am glad to hear, that an old friend of mine is juſtified. It is very plain, that there was a deſign of putting a public affront on him: if he bears it patiently, he is much altered."

Ibid. Middleton writes, on the ſixth of June, to a correſpondent, under the borrowed name of Mrs. Dorille: "Fraſer can ſpeak to Pembroke and Devonſhire, and you can ſpeak yourſelf to 1 [lord Abergaveny] and Godolphin; and lady Devonſhire and Bradbury can to the Leaper."

Ibid. He writes, of the ſame date, to No. 7, [the biſhop of Bath and Wells.]

I Am glad of this opportunity of incloſing Mr. Artley's [K. James's] letter to you, to aſſure you of the great regard I have for your friendſhip, of which I have had many remarkable inſtances, which is confirmed to me

* He means, perhaps, the duke of Devonſhire, who ſeems to have loſt his averſion to James, in ſome affront which he received from William.

by

by ſeveral hands. Thoſe of your family cannot be ignorant, that I had the happineſs of being born and bred in it; and, if they are not already, I hope they will be quickly convinced, that I have never proved undutiful; and it is a common artifice of people's enemies, to make them jealous of their friends. Unforeſeen accidents may defer the beſt reſolutions; but reaſon and intereſt will prevail, when it is practicable and thoſe we deal with are convinced, which is the principal point; and, therefore, I hope nobody will deſpond. All your friends here are in perfect health; and I am moſt ſincerely, &c. 1695. May.—June.

Mr. Charnock, who had been ſent by the conſpirators to France, in May, this year, communicated to James the opinions of his friends in England. June.

"*Charnock's paper, June 17, N. S. 1695.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 28.

State of affairs in England, and the diſpoſitions of the people, in general, and of ſome noble men, in particular, with regard to King James.—Reaſons for his invading England.—The number of troops neceſſary.—The meaſures to be taken for joining him when he lands.

"THE perſons, from whom I am ſent to your Majeſty [viz. the earl of Aliſbury, the lord Montgomery, Sir John Fenwick, Sir John Friend, Sir William Parkyns, &c.] finding by their own experience, and the obſervation of your Majeſty's friends, in all parts of England, that the inclination of the people to the preſent government, are changed into an univerſal defection; and, though the grounds upon which men's minds are altered, are different, yet the argument of every particular is naturally reduced to your Majeſty's advantage. But, that this may be made obvious, there needs no more than to conſider the men of ſubſtance, under theſe two heads. The firſt, are thoſe of the church of England, who in general, though never ſo much inſtrumental in the revolution, and ſeemingly bigotted, to the laſt degree, to the intereſt of the prince of Orange, yet they have, for ſome time, and more particularly at this preſent conjuncture, declared, that they were blindly drawn in, and miſled into the extremitys that were acted; and are now more

1695. June. forward to expiate what they have done, by being inſtrumental in your Majeſty's reſtoration, than they were at firſt, in advancing the revolution. Beſides, the management of the church affairs, in Scotland, has created in them a reaſonable jealouſy of their fate at home. The ſecond claſs is that of the fanaticks, who the prince of Orange has broke his word with, in every article; it being his promiſe, that he would not aſſume to himſelf even the pretence of being King, the very name of which, as well as a monarchical government, they hate to an antipathy. But when their principles are rightly weighed, and a calculation made of the ſlightneſs of their power, they are apparently too contemptible to be ſolicited for their aſſiſtance, upon any account; for they are a ſort of people, whoſe practices have ever demonſtrated, that they have no notion of honour; though this may be ſaid of them, that as they are too ſelfiſh to do good to the cauſe, ſo it may be very reaſonably inferred, they will ſcarce run the hazard of making an oppoſition. So that, if your Majeſty is ſecure of meeting with the friendſhip of the firſt, and that the other will give no obſtruction, the encouragement for your Majeſty to take this opportunity will ſtill be greater, when the bulk of the nation (taking it under the title of the popularity) are declared enemys to the preſent conſtitution; and, as ſlender taxes have ever been attended in England, with the diſcontents of the people, ſo it is not to be wondered at, when the ſubſidies are ſo prodigious, that groans and outcrys are ſpread throughout the kingdom, and to that degree, that it is rare to hear any body ſpeak of the government without a curſe, and at the ſame time, begging for a ſpeedy deliverance.

But beſides all this, your Majeſty is ſenſible of the ſincere affections and entire zeal of a great number of your ſubjects, whoſe loyalty, in this unhappy interval, has never ſuffered the leaſt taint, and their readineſs to obey any of your Majeſty's commands has never failed of appearing, and whoſe whole buſineſs it is, to be perpetually employing themſelves in engaging others, which has already been effected with ſuch ſucceſs, that, by a modeſt computation, the better part of the army in England is ſure to ſerve your Majeſty, whenever they are called on, particularly the battalions of foot guards and the royal regiment of horſe; and, as there is no room for doubting of the fidelity of theſe friends of your Majeſty's, ſo their credit, when they make promiſes to your Majeſty, can never fail of weight.

Theſe

1695. June.

Theſe were the preliminaries, that were thought expedient for me to lay before your Majeſty. Firſt, then, I was to acquaint you with a reſolution, that they had come to, and which they concluded a conſiderable inducement for your Majeſty to make an attempt with a ſmall force, which they eſteem 10,000 men to be, 1000 of which to be horſe, 1000 with equipage intended for dragoons, and 8000 foot. This is a number which is thought the King of France can ſpare at any time, eſpecially when the ſucceſs is ſo morally certain, and, by that means, your Majeſty reſtored, and his whole difficulty with the allies finiſhed at once.

What they aſſure your Majeſty of performing on their parts is (if this number can be complied with, and they advertiſed of the month that your Majeſty intends a deſcent), they will have 2000 horſe ready, with men and all accoutrements fit for ſervice, either to march directly to the place where you reſolve to land at, or elſe to march any other way that your Majeſty ſhall order, to give a diverſion and an amuſement to the troops of the government that may be upon motion. If your Majeſty makes uſe of them to attend your landing, they will, at the ſame time, engage the mounting the thouſand men with horſes, which are deſigned for dragoons; and, though they have fixt only upon this number of 2000, yet I am to let your Majeſty know they verily believe they ſhall make them 4000, and it may be 10,000.

This propoſal is made to make things as eaſy to the King of France as poſſible, it being their opinion the horſes cannot be conveniently ſpared. Beſides that, a great number of horſe would take up ſo many ſhips, that in the time they were getting ready, the alarm would be taken, and of conſequence an obſtruction given; whereas, for the number deſired, thirty tranſport ſhips, with eight or ten frigates from Dunkirk, are ſufficient, and there will be no neceſſity of being embarraſſed with more than four or five days proviſions aboard, the coaſt of England being ſo near, and there being no poſſibility of wanting wherever you land. If the confederate fleet be an objection to this, ſuppoſing a ſquadron of them to lie before Dunkirk, it is believed, that, if the King of France will give a falſe alarm at Breſt, ſome time before he thinks of putting this propoſal in execution, by embarking 5 or 6000 there, as it may be naturally ſuppoſed that the prince of Orange and the government of England will receive a quick advertiſement of it, ſo it will take off any

1695. June. ſuſpicion of what is to be done at Dunkirk, and will of courſe divert the whole fleet to obſerve what they will expect from Breſt. But, becauſe a projection of this nature may poſſibly be thought more feaſible when the campaign is over, it is neceſſary to repreſent to your Majeſty the apprehenſions we are under, that the prince of Orange will return with an army of foreigners: for he is ſenſible how many men of quality he has diſguſted, by leaving them out of this new commiſſion, and by putting into that power and truſt perſons of leſs quality and intereſt than themſelves: ſo that he has reaſon to apprehend, that ſuch uſage will be attended with reſentments; and beſides, by ſome violent proceedings in the laſt ſeſſions of that parliament, he was with difficulty brought to ſuffer them to ſit any longer; but the preſſing inſtances of ſome at the helm, and the preſent neceſſity he was under for money, beſides the reflections that the allies would have made upon his parting with his parliament in a heat, forced him to lay aſide the thoughts of diſſolving them then. But, that he will call a new one upon his return, is what every body expects and depends upon; and as it has always been an obſervation in England, that the diſſolution of one parliament never produced a better, ſo the prince of Orange has only recourſe to an army to intimidate them into a compliance, ſince his meaſures of bribery are like to fall to the ground; and if this ſhould arrive, your Majeſty will conſider, that then you muſt come with an army, at leaſt equivalent to what he will have in England.

I muſt likewiſe lay before your Majeſty an opinion, which is generally received even by the great men in the government, which they have declared upon occaſional diſcourſe (ſuppoſing the King of France could aſſiſt your Majeſty before the prince of Orange returns from Flanders); which is this, that if your Majeſty were once landed, whoever ſhould oppoſe you would be rebels; for that all the world knows your Majeſty is King *de jure*, and when landed you are King *de facto* too: ſo that then the prince of Orange is diveſted of all pretenſions, even by his friends. But if your Majeſty cannot have this opportunity afforded you, but to have it deferred till winter, when the prince of Orange is there, thoſe in the government will ſtill look upon him to be King in poſſeſſion; and, in all probability, thoſe who would otherwiſe have acquieſced, and have given your Majeſty no oppoſition, will be then under an obligation of

of acting to their power, for the prince of Orange. Theſe are the ſentiments of your friends, and they are with all ſubmiſſion referred to your Majeſty as the beſt judge." 1695. June.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 38.

The following paper is marked on the back, "A Memorial, 28th June, 1695." It is dated probably according to the old ſtile, and was preſented along with the preceding, for it is in the ſame hand-writing, and is a continuation of the ſame ſubject.

"THAT ſome directions be given to ſuch as your Majeſty does moſt particularly confide in, what your friends in general muſt do, ſuppoſing the prince of Orange to be killed in Flanders, or that he ſhould die* before your Majeſty can be able to make a deſcent; it being natural to believe, that either the princeſs Anne or a commonwealth would be advanced, unleſs obſtructed by the motion of your Majeſty's friends juſt at the juncture.

Ferguſon's advice, that your Majeſty put out a proclamation at your landing, and that the forces of the prince of Orange in England be encouraged to take part with your Majeſty, by promiſing them their arrears.

He wants your Majeſty's orders what he ſhall write about that time, that he has ſome little papers ready, but if he receives your Majeſty's directions about any particular matter, he will take care to perform them effectually.

Whether your Majeſty would have any thing wrote about the laſt declaration.

That your Majeſty would let your friends, who I came from, be ſatisfied, that they ſhall be acquainted of the month that your Majeſty intends to land in, ſo ſoon as you have fixed upon it; that being the only thing they deſire to know, in order to be the better able to anſwer what they have promiſed.

That it will be neceſſary, Sir John Fenwick ſhould have a commiſſion, at that time; he having delivered up the laſt he had to your Majeſty.

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* This is a delicate way of mentioning the aſſaſſination-plot to King James.

The

1695. June. The ſame ſubject is continued in the following paper.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 24.

" *Reaſons moſt humbly offered, why ten thouſand men are ſufficient and ſafe for the King in perſon to make, at this time, a deſcent upon England; with a propoſal for making the ſaid deſcent.*"

" 1ſt, THAT the whole force now in England are but 14,000 men, 5000 whereof are to be immediately ſent abroad; ſo that there will remain in England but about 9000. Of this number 3000, at leaſt, muſt be left to maintain the face of a government at London; and 3000 more are the feweſt which can be allowed for the garriſons; ſo that there will not be above 3000 left to take the field whatever happen, and even of theſe the King may hope for ſome ſhare; for amongſt the whole there are not above 1600 foreigners.

2dly, That the great alterations occaſioned by the princeſs of Orange's death, hath ſo broke and divided the ſtrength of the government, that 10,000 men are more now in proportion to its preſent ſtrength, than 30,000 were before: for the whole church of England party, who were for him only upon her account, are now intirely broke off; and even thoſe of them, who have no inclinations for the King, are fallen into the princeſs of Denmark.

3dly, That the nation being thus divided into three parts, the prince of Orange's muſt certainly be the leaſt, for many plain reaſons; but eſpecially this, that no man will be ſo mad as to oppoſe himſelf to the King and his ſon, the princeſs of Denmark and her ſon, for the ſingle life of the prince of Orange, ſince, after his death, they muſt unavoidably fall into ſome of their hands, even though they were ſecure during his life, which no wiſe man will think himſelf.

4thly, That, ſince the deſign and deſire of both parties againſt him is to deſtroy him, it is plain either of them would join with the other ſo to do, and conſequently alſo plain, that both joined would be much too ſtrong for him. What then can give the King any doubt, when he will be joined by the princeſs's party and his own, which will certainly comprehend every body either from affection or fear?

5thly, That the great confuſion and ferment through almoſt the whole kingdom, upon the princeſs of Orange's death, is a plain and demonſtrative

demonſtrative proof, that the inclinations of the people are for the King, and not thinking upon any other change: for the cry in the mouths of the mobs was, freedom from taxes and foreigners, and a reſtoration of their ancient laws and conſtitutions. 1695. June.

6thly, That the preſent parliament (which is the only ſupport the prince of Orange hath to truſt to, even though they ſhould ſtand by him, upon ſuch a juncture, which cannot be ſuppoſed) will be of no great weight for him or againſt the King: for they are hated and ſuſpected by the people, and not at all ſpeaking their ſenſe, as appears by what follows, viz.

What is the reaſon that this parliament hath, for theſe ſeveral laſt ſeſſions, preſſed and endeavoured its own diſſolution? The anſwer is plain, becauſe it knows that its diſſolution is deſired by the people it repreſents, whoſe reſentments it fears for ſitting ſo long againſt their intentions. What then is the reaſon, why the people deſires the diſſolution of this parliament? The anſwer is alſo plain, becauſe they look upon them to be corrupted, and acting contrary to their intereſt and intentions.

What ſtrength then does the junction of this parliament add to the prince of Orange? No more than he hath a force to give a ſanction to: for it is not the ſanction of a parliament, which the people hate and wiſh diſſolved, that makes them comply with its acts, but the force that is upon them from the prince of Orange; and conſequently, whenever there is a ſuperior force oppoſed to this force, all that ſuch a parliament can do will rather hurt than ſave him.

So that, from all theſe reaſons, it is plain the King hath no ground to fear any oppoſition, that may be made either from the army, the country, or the parliament; but, on the contrary, ſtrong reaſons to hope all their concurrence, and conſequently can run no hazard, either as to ſafety or ſucceſs, in going with 10,000 men.

And to effect the making this deſcent, ſince captain Bart is of opinion that, if the ſhipping were ready, an army and all things neceſſary might be embarked in 48 hours, which is ſo ſhort a time, that no alarm could be given; it is moſt humbly propoſed, that his Majeſty would be pleaſed to preſs, with all vigour, that the King of France would have the ſhipping ready to wait for an occaſion: for ſeveral will moſt certainly hap-

1695. June. pen, before the ſummer be at an end, in which ſuch an army may be ſafely tranſported, without any danger from the Engliſh fleet: for, if they ſhould but go to the mouth of the Channel, or to Spithead, the common place of their rendezvous (all things being ready at Dunkirk as is propoſed), the King might be embarked and over and landed, before even they could have any notice; and ſo (according to all probability) poſſeſs himſelf of his crowns without any reſiſtance.

And that, which is yet more encouraging for the King to preſs this propoſal, and for the court of France to undertake it, is, that, if any unforeſeen accident fall in between this and the executing of it, which may either change againſt the King the circumſtances of affairs there, or prevent the tranſportation, the further progreſs of it may be eaſily and ſafely ſtopt, without any conſiderable loſs or noiſe; the whole expence of preparing the ſhipping, even upon the ſuppoſition of 20,000, being eſtimated by captain Bart, not to exceed 100,000 livres. But leſt this plain eaſy method of reſtoring the King may ſeem liable to this objection, that, though ſo ſmall a number, by taking advantage of ſuch a ſurprize, and the prince of Orange being unprovided with troops there, be ſufficient for the King to regain his kingdoms; yet they are not of force enough to ſecure him againſt what the prince of Orange may be further able to attempt againſt him. To clear up that difficulty, be pleaſed to conſider, where the prince of Orange may be, what he may endeavour to do, and what may be the ſucceſs of theſe endeavours.

As to the firſt, he will certainly, if alive, be either in England or abroad. If in England, it is not improbable, but he may fall into the King's hands, and ſo there's an end. But, though he may eſcape, it will be ſo mean and ignominious to have been beat out of poſſeſſion himſelf in perſon, conſidering what he makes be believed abroad of the affections of the people for him, that none of his allies will ever think it worth their while to make a freſh attempt to reſtore him, though they were in circumſtances ſo to do, which ſhall, by what follows, be made appear otherwiſe. But it being more probable, that he will be then abroad, be pleaſed to take a view of what he may endeavour to do, and what ſucceſs his endeavours may have.

It may then be ſuppoſed, that he will then endeavour to get 20 or 30,000 good troops immediately tranſported with himſelf into England; and

and that it is the intereſt of the allies to grant him ſuch a number. But to ſhew, that his endeavours will be unſucceſsful upon this, be pleaſed to conſider the following reaſons: 1695. June.

1ſt, That this will happen when the armies are in the field, a time that ſuch a number cannot be ſpared, without expoſing, for want of them, both the confederate army and their countries, which they cannot be ſuppoſed to conſent to, eſpecially conſidering how little they will then truſt to above 30,000 Britiſh amongſt them, whom they will much rather be afraid of than rely upon.

2d, That the allies (were there no other reaſon) will never conſent to expoſing ſo many of their troops on the other ſide, upon ſo dangerous and uncertain an event, eſpecially conſidering what mutual ſatisfaction will then publicly appear between the King and his people; add to theſe reaſons the hatred bore him in Holland, the enmity between him and the Elector of Bavaria, and the great diſpoſition of all the branches of the confederates for a peace; and then conſider, if it be not much more reaſonable to believe, that they will abandon him and treat with France: for he will then have no money (as heretofore) to bribe miniſters and others, which is the only charm he ever uſed to keep him and them cemented.

But next conſider, that, though the allies ſhould come over, all theſe reaſons (which cannot well be ſuppoſed) and reſolve to run all hazards for him, and lend him 20 or 30,000 men, yet how can he get them tranſported, provided or paid; for then the ſource of his money will be ſtopped, and not only ſo, but in the King's hands, to be employed againſt him; and what little ſums he may have left in Flanders will bear no proportion to this matter, for theſe he hath only from hand to mouth; and all his friends abroad joined together will not be able, at that time, to furniſh him with a ſum ſufficient for this expedition.

But ſuppoſe, that all this were poſſible for the prince of Orange, (which cannot be ſuppoſed) yet the very fleet of England now for him will then be againſt him, and prevent the tranſporting of any army. For the King then, at Whitehall, in poſſeſſion of his kingdoms, maſter of all the ſtrengths and ſtores, and of the very money given this ſeſſions to the prince of Orange, a third part whereof will not be collected, will

1695. June. moſt certainly have the fleet in all places declare for him; for though not from affection, they muſt of neceſſity do it. Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that the fleet will ever go otherwiſe, than the kingdom, or eſpouſe againſt their own country an intereſt upon a Dutch bottom, which they ſo much hate; and, which is yet more, all their families and fortunes will be in the King's power; ſo that their joining the King is not to be doubted, and how then can the prince of Orange tranſport an army though he had one?

So that there is a chain of plain reaſons, every link of it ſtronger than another, which, according to all human reaſon, renders it altogether impoſſible for the prince of Orange to make any freſh attempt upon the King, if he were once ſo reſtored. Add to all this, what may rationally be ſuppoſed to happen, upon the King's immediately ſending an envoy into Flanders to offer his mediation for peace and the ſecurity of the Britiſh troops there, and then conſider, if it be not very plain, that this ſmall number propoſed to reſtore his Majeſty is alſo ſufficient to preſerve him when reſtored, againſt all the further attempts of the prince of Orange. There are alſo many other reaſons which might be joined to theſe, as the whole kingdom being then deſperate with the prince of Orange, the great number of known friends to the King, who never took the oaths to him; all which his Majeſty might arm upon any occaſion, and who would as certainly fight for him, when on his throne, as they ſuffered and ventured their lives and fortunes for him when in exile.

In a letter written in cyphers about this time, by John Anderſon to the Hamburgh merchant*, [or Lord Middleton to a member of parliament,] we have a freſh inſtance of Marlborough's intrigues.

June 20th, 1695.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. NOTHING could be welcomer than yours of the 21ſt of May, and Mr. Smith [King James]* was extremely ſatisfied with what related to him: but alas! the profit of what you inſinuate is very remote, and depends

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Ibid. * The Hamburgh merchant is frequently mentioned in Middleton's letters to his correſpondent Appleby. On the 13th of May, he writes to him: "I the more earneſtly deſired

depends on great uncertainties; for if either 368, or 20, or 86 [the King, or the princeſs of Denmark, or lord Churchill] give it over to be 163 [are dead] before 534 [the prince of Orange], then we might ſhut up ſhop, and three to one you know are great odds. Why ſhould not theſe factors, who have in their hands that bail of goods, No. 176 [England], be called upon to deliver it? This is a critical time; no ſtone ſhould be left unturned. I ſhall not pretend to ſet down the means, nor need I conjure you to beſtir yourſelf, ſince I know you are both able and willing to reſtore our trade. Farewel. 1695. June.

From this time we meet with frequent mention of the earl of Sunderland's intrigues with King James. The following letter is from John Anderſon, or the earl of Middleton, to his correſpondent in England, under the name of Appleby.

June 20th, 1695.

SINCE my laſt of the 16th inſtant, I received two of yours together, the 22d and 29th of May. I cannot gueſs nor imagine how 781 [lord Sunderland] ſhould come to know any thing of 20 [the princeſs of Denmark]. Things of that nature are often ſpoke at a venture, and not out of any certain knowledge; either out of malice, or to value one's ſelf on a diſcovery. However, it is impoſſible to make any true judgment of a matter, that one is entirely ignorant of; and you will oblige me in Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 5.

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deſired yours, that I might be the more particularly informed concerning the Hamburgh partner, from whom I have not heard of a great while, which you may know, for I never had any of his letters but under your cover. I ſhall not write to him, till I hear further from you. If you think of any particular thing, that you judge proper for me to ſay to him, pray give me a hint of it; for ſome matters muſt be managed with great caution, and you can beſt judge on the place. I wonder the leſs, that I ſhould be ignorant of his contract, ſince you are. Though I am confident he means well: yet I beg you would let me know what you can obſerve; nor is it fit to ſhow him this."

He writes to him again, on the 27th of May: "I moſt thankfully acknowledge the favour of yours of the ſeventeenth of April. Things are here juſt in the condition when I writ laſt to you. But, in your town, by this time, matters muſt have another face, becauſe of the new magiſtrates: for which reaſon, I think it would be fit, that the Hamburgh partner ſhould give the conſul an account how far the intereſt of the company may be concerned in it, and of what may be adviſeable in this conjuncture; and, in the mean time, to beſtir himſelf."

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1695. June. letting me know what you can learn of it hereafter. As to what was ſaid by 534 [the prince of Orange] I am not at all ſurpriſed, that one that is capable of doing any thing, ſhould ſay what is for his intereſt, though never ſo falſe; and nothing can be more ſo, than what he ſaid. There never was leſs appearance of it, nor we more reaſon to be ſatisfied, and the owner of the goods 368 [King James] had appeared on the Exchange long ere now, I mean half a year ago, but for the difficulty I formerly mentioned.

The Earl of Middleton to Monſieur de Pontchartrain.

Tranſlation.

" SIR, St. Germains, 27th June, 1694.

" I Have received the order for the three thouſand livres for Mr. Floyd, our correſpondent for the marine, who will be very uſeful. Laſt night I received a letter from him of the 15th inſtant, with a very exact account of the enemy's fleet. You will ſee thereby, the diſpoſition of all the forces, and you may particularly depend upon every information which comes from him.

" All the other letters from England never ſay any thing, but to make haſte to come over; you ſhall be made very welcome. Every thing is arranged and prepared for that purpoſe *."

Middleton

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. * At the ſame time that Middleton wrote in this ſtyle to the French miniſtry; he endeavoured to excuſe them to his correſpondents in England, who grew impatient at their delays. He writes to Appleby, on the ſixth of June: " As to the bale of goods, No 219 [Fr. fleet], if you will conſider and believe what I write to you concerning it, I need ſay no more of it. However, I ſhall only add, that, till it is brought into its proper warehouſe, which depends on accidents, it can never turn to good account."

Ibid. He writes to Chapman, on the 29th of June: " I am concerned, that I cannot anſwer our wiſhes at preſent; and merely for the reaſon I have ſo often informed you of: for I find no other objection made; but, on the contrary, very great forwardneſs, when that is removed; and then you may begin to look out ſharp, if things continue in the ſame ſituation they are in at this time." On the 12th of July, he writes to Appleby. " I could wiſh, with all my heart, that the account you have of the goods 219 [Fr. fleet] were true. It is not likely that the owner of them would let them rot in the warehouſe, at a time when he could diſpoſe of them to ſo great advantage."

Ibid. On the 17th of Auguſt, he writes to Chapman. " Our friend Benſon [Fr. King] has put his money out to uſe at preſent; ſo that he cannot advance ten pounds. Whereas, his

Middleton had ſome ſuſpicion, at this time, of the ſincerity of Sunderland, as appears by another letter from him under the feigned name John Anderſon to the Spaniſh merchant, a member of the houſe of peers. 1695. Auguſt.

Auguſt 2d, 1695.

"I Received yours of the 16th of July. Thoſe who do not doubt your will, muſt regret your want of power. What engaged you to bid for the goods No. 781 [lord Sunderland] we cannot tell, being wholly ignorant of that matter. The goods you deſire cannot be ſent

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his rents will come in again, after Michaelmas quarter-day; and, about that time, all his goods will be in the proper warehouſes; ſo that there will not be the ſame reaſon for putting off for the future.

Of the ſame date he writes to Cleland, *i. e.* Waugh. "We are at no certainty yet, when our long law-ſuit can be brought to a trial. But we are in good hopes, ſince the excuſe our lawyers made will be removed very quickly."

Middleton's correſpondents in England ſeemed to have been afraid at this time, that their intrigues might be diſcovered by a perſon who had come over from St. Germains. His lordſhip writes to Ward, [col. Sackville] on the 18th Oct. "You cannot imagine how vexed I have been to hear of a rogue's being in your parts, who lived ſome time here: for I am very ſenſible that he may do a great deal of miſchief. But, becauſe ſome good-natured people may make fine ſtories, I ſhall only mention theſe ſhort facts. He had no leave, nor ever aſked it. If he had, care ſhould have been taken to have hindered him. He was offered ſervice; but he declined it, chooſing rather to work at his trade; for which purpoſe he was ſupplied with what he aſked. But it ſeems that honeſt way of living appearing too painful, he ſtole away to follow his inclinations." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

On the ſame day, he writes to Green [Sir Andrew Forreſter.] "We never heard that the blackſmith you mention was gone from hence, till it came from your parts. Many others, you know, are gone from hence, becauſe they could ſubſiſt no longer; and I hope no body will be ſo unjuſt, as to make any here reſponſible for their actions. What I am moſt concerned for is, the indiſcretion of one I mention to you in very general terms, by order of the preſident [K. James], who gave him no commiſſion; and all I ſaid to him was reſerve, caution, and circumſpection. But he has been ſo far from following my advice, that his diſcourſes have been returned hither, by perſons whom I am ſure he has ſeen, and cannot be ſuſpected of any malice; and there are charitable people, who do not ſtick to ſay, that what he has ſaid was by my direction. Pray do not let him know that you have any thing of this from me; but only endeavour to gagge him for the future."

Of the ſame date he writes to Mr. Cleland [Waugh]. "You cannot imagine how vexed and concerned I am for you, leſt a raſcal, who ſtole from hence, ſhould be able to hurt you. God protect you."

now;

1695. November. now; for the danger at ſea is ſo great, for want of a ſufficient convoy, that nobody will enſure them. Mr. Smith [King James] is well, and remembers him kindly to you."

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croiſſy.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

News from England.—Expectations from Sunderland's credit and from the diſcontents of the nation.

Tranſlation.

St. Germains, Nov. 5, 1695.

WE have juſt now received letters from England of the 26th October, N. S. by which we learn, that the prince of Orange has diſſolved the parliament, and called another to meet the 2d of December.

The two greateſt difficulties in the enterpriſe againſt England, conſiſt in the ſafety of the tranſports, and in the means which the Engliſh, who are loyal, may find to aſſemble themſelves together, after the landing, in order to join their King or make a diverſion: and now that Rooke is ſailed, the coaſts are without ſhipping, and all the people met together for new elections, which would be the beſt pretext that could be wiſhed for; but, above all, the great credit of lord Sunderland, who has been always the firſt to deceive himſelf, and the firſt to betray. But all theſe advantages will become uſeleſs, on account of our being unprepared to profit by them.

They write likewiſe, that the prince of Orange is to travel through the counties for twenty-ſix days, in order to acquire applauſe, and to contribute to the election of his creatures. They ſay, that eight millions ſterling will be demanded of the parliament, and that the ſettlements of the crown will be changed, by preferring the children which he may have to the princeſs Anne of Denmark; and that lord Danby will be diſgraced, *ſed de futuris contingentibus non datur determinata veritas.*

I am, SIR, with great reſpect, &c.

MIDDLETON.

1695. December.

The Earl of Middleton to Sir William Bruce; concerning the affairs of Scotland.

" This letter was put in cypher, and ſent to Sir William Bruce the 23d of December, 1695. It is inſerted after the letter dated January 3, 1696." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

SIR,

I Have received yours of the 26th of Auguſt and 23d of September, which came to my hands about ten days after the other, and both of them within theſe three weeks. I am ſorry for the good reaſons you give me, of not hearing oftener from you and the worthy perſons you name; and I am very ſenſible both of the difficulty and danger you are in when you do ſend; and it is for that reaſon you do not hear oftener from me, becauſe of the hazard of intercepting my letters, which to you might prove troubleſome: for, though in other matters you may imagine us in great miſery, yet in this we are, both in ſending and receiving, in great ſecurity, and therefore I ſhall be always very cautious in expoſing of you, but when there is good cauſe for it; and when that is, I will not fail of giving you timely advertiſement, and that with as much ſecurity as I can contrive.

Be not, therefore, anxious in expoſing yourſelves by writing often, or expecting often to hear from me. When there is any thing material upon your ſide, I know you will let us have it; and for what is common, ſuch as the ſtate of the preſent forces of the kingdom, may be done by way of a common News Letter, without expoſing any body, and yet as much ſaid as we ſhall want to know.

The King is very ſenſible of your great endeavours for him; and you may be perſuaded that, upon all occaſions, I ſhall give a juſt account of you and others as I am informed. Doctor Cockburn has left his cyphers with me, and you may, as you have occaſion, continue to write by them. I am glad to hear of my lord Strathmore's good inclinations before his death, and of the good opinion you have of his ſon, as I am of Tarbat and Queenſberry's good behaviour in the parliament, which ſhould be encouraged; and that the diſcontents among our enemies prove for our advantage, and that our friends perſevere, which, in a great meaſure, is beholding to the good management of you and your partners.

1695. December. The King is very ſenſible of the good behaviour of the clergy and the biſhops; and I have taken particular notice what you ſay of the biſhop of Edinburgh. The King intreats all of you to continue and diſpoſe of every thing for the beſt; that, when it pleaſeth God to give the opportunity, things may be found in a readineſs.

I do not remember that the two prieſts ſaid any thing of your affairs; and I am ſure doctor Cockburn gave me no letter of the 25th February from you. I keep very carefully all your letters that I have received from him, and I find none of that date amongſt them.

I have told you formerly, that the King was reſolved to have no ſecretaries of ſtate for Scotland, till he be on the other ſide, as you have adviſed him, and you may depend upon it; for he is ſtill of the ſame mind.

People coming from hence is not our fault; we have not wherewith to maintain them. But if there be any amongſt them that pretends to have been truſted, or to deliver meſſages, do not believe them. You have been at this ſport before, and may remember of the ſtraits you were in; and that it was no more in the King's power then, than it is now, to help it. As for ſcribblers, if you can fix any thing upon any perſon here, it will be good ſervice. But I aſſure you the little affairs we have is in ſo few hands, that you may depend upon it, if you be not deceived by the perſons you truſt, you ſhall not by any means of ours.

Sir Andrew Forreſter went from hence by his own choice and deſire; the condition of his affairs obliging him to it.

I take what ſecretary Johnſton ſaid to you to be pumping and no more; and I think it's eaſy for you to conſider what letters could be wrote to you from hence. I underſtand mine came ſafe, and you may know if Dr. Cockburn's did or not, or if you had any other correſpondents. By examining, in this matter, you will eaſily find what letters could come to you, and ſo will the reſt; and I will be ſo cautious in bringing you into danger that way, that you may all be perſuaded I will only trouble you when it is material and abſolutely neceſſary; and I intreat all of you to believe me your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

MIDDELTON.

Nego-

Negociations at Rome.

1695. December.

Cardinal Howard correſponded with James and his miniſters in the year 1693. Biſhop Ellis likewiſe wrote them ſeveral letters in the courſe of that and the following year; giving an account of his negociations and ſolicitations at Rome, and endeavouring to make himſelf paſs for a man of conſequence. He frequently inſinuated that Caprara, who, as agent for the Queen, managed her concerns at Modena, and without aſking any reward, or being inveſted with any character, exerted himſelf in promoting James's intereſts at Rome, was ſuſpected of favouring the Auſtrians. Ellis, however, was never authoriſed to appear in any public character; and he was ordered to repair to his dioceſe ſoon after the earl of Perth arrived this year. There are copies of anſwers to ſome of his letters from James and ſecretary Caryll.

Nairne's Papers, D N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 19.

Ibid. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

The duke of Modena, brother to the Queen of England, was ſucceeded by his brother who was a cardinal. The Queen thought ſhe had pretenſions to ſomething on the death of her brother, and James ſent the earl of Perth to Modena to ſettle them with the cardinal duke. His credentials and inſtructions are dated the 3d of November, 1694.

The earl of Perth, who had been lately freed from his impriſonment in Scotland, and was now travelling abroad, begins his correſpondence with Caryll and Nairne from Modena, the 14th of April, 1695. From Modena he was directed to go to Rome, and credentials and inſtructions were ſent to him in the beginning of March. He was inſtructed to conſult in every thing Dom. Guilielmo Leſly, to convince the Pope that James loſt his crown for profeſſing the Catholic Religion; and that his Holineſs was therefore bound to oppoſe a peace which might prejudice his intereſt. He was alſo deſired to conſider which of the cardinals James ſhould nominate to be protector of the Britiſh dominions, and to ſolicit money.

Ibid. D. N. vol. ii 4to. No. 36.

Ibid. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

The earl of Perth's firſt letter from Rome is dated the 9th of May, 1695.

Ibid. D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 36.

"I AM trying, by Dom. Guilielmo Leſly's informations, how this court is inclined; and I find that artifice and juggle has ſo miſrepreſented the ſtate of the affair of the uſurpation, that, as if men had reſolved either to appear ſuch fools as to be impoſed upon by mere open villany, or ſuch profeſſed wicked perſons, as to own to ſupport all the monſtrous injuſtice done his Majeſty, and the perſecutions brought

1695. upon his catholic ſubjects; they will appear perſuaded, that to humble France, by any means, was not only lawful, but a neceſſary duty."

June 6th, 1695. Monſeigneur Caprara is full of buſineſs, and ſpeaks very ſeldom to me of affairs, eſpecially the King's. I find he has no hopes of the King's reſtoration, (if he deals ſincerely by me;) and really all here (if one ſhould take ſix for one to be the all), are very cold in our concerns. Preſs them with the injuſtice the King meets with. You will get a cold, "Yes, he is ill dealt by: but what ſhall we do to get a peace? For the prince, if he lives, will reign, no doubt: but how turn out the prince of Orange? He is in poſſeſſion. He is brave and wiſe, and has got the way of managing England. He is maſter of Holland: he is the cement that glues together the different intereſts of the confederacy. If, at laſt, the collegati ſhould fail him; if England ſhould grow uneaſy, he has money laid up, an army at his devotion, and will trouble Europe, if he get not leave to live out his uſurped poſſeſſion?" This is the common talk; and even ſome we look on as our firm friends, inſinuate this to be reaſonable.

I can eaſily perceive, that all who are well affected to the houſe of Auſtria, try, by all means, to perſuade the Pope, that the prince of Orange is no enemy to the catholics; but only ſtrives to maintain his acquiſition of the government of England. Monſeigneur Caprara, the other day, when I was to ſee him, told me, that he had acquainted his holineſs with my deſign to pay my duty to him; and that, although the prince of Orange had obliged me not to go to France, he had allowed me to come thither. I told Monſieur that it was not ſo; but that I was baniſhed abſolutely. I might go to France if I would. The danger flowed from a late act, not from any prohibition: that the prince of Orange had no mind I ſhould be here: that his love was no greater to the Pope than to France. O! but, ſaid he, you muſt not tell him ſo. I told him I would; and that any, who had a mind to make him paſs for a friend to catholics, injured my maſter and the truth at once. O! ſaid he, but the old man ſeemed ſo glad, that you had leave to come thither, and you muſt not contradict what ſeemed ſo acceptable to him. I told him plainly I would undeceive him, and let him know how our miſſionaries were baniſhed (a matter which father Leſlie has handled too nicely, as I have told him roundly enough; for I was forced to ſay, that

no

no Jeſuit in Britain would have done as he did); that the addreſſes carried, that he had baniſhed popery and tyranny, meaning a catholic King for being catholic, and that he made it an inſtrument of ſupporting his uſurpation, his boaſting of his being an enemy to popery; and this I will do, although one told me indirectly, that, if I endeavour to make the Emperor appear, as a favourer of hereſy, I would draw a miſchief on my head. But, by the grace of God, I'll fear no event, in the purſuing of the King's intereſt, with my moſt zealous endeavours. 1695.

"Gives an account of the firſt audience of the Pope."

Rome, 7th June, 1695. June.

"I Said all I could think of before him [pope], that could move him to have a true ſenſe of the ſtate of the King's ſufferings; demonſtrating, that no earthly power could have hurt the King, ſave by the concurrence of catholic princes, and not they neither, if the King had been of the religion of his dominions. This he ſeemed firmly to believe, and called the King a ſaint. This being ſo, then, I ſaid, that all that his Holineſs could do for him was but too little: that there was now in Rome a great talking of peace, and upon ſuch terms, as if conſented to, or even permitted, would be a ſtain upon his Holineſs's reputation, and a reflection upon the apoſtolique chair. He ſaid it was true. But what can we do? I have done and will do, what, humanly ſpeaking, is poſſible: but catholic princes will not hearken to me; they have loſt the reſpect that uſed to be paid to popes: religion is gone, and a wicked policy ſet up in its place. But, I ſaid, that he could ſtill prevent a peace with the King's excluſion in it. God knows, he ſaid, to reſtore the King, I would give my blood; but Chriſtians have loſt all reſpect, even to us; to us! ſaid he. But can it be believed, continued his Holineſs, that I ſhould ever conſent to any peace, that excludes that good King from his juſt right. God forbid! God forbid! But what will become of all this? The prince of Orange is maſter: he is arbiter of Europe. The Europeans and King of Spain are ſlaves, and worſe than ſubjects to him. They neither will nor dare venture to diſpleaſe him; and here he ſtruck twice with his hand upon the table, and ſighed. If God (ſaid he), by ſome ſtroke of omnipotency, do it not, we are undone. I preſſed

him

1695. June. him to reflect, that this was really a war of religion. He ſaid, that they were blind who did not ſee that. Laſt of all, I laid before him the pitiful caſe of the poor catholics, who, having followed their maſter, were now reduced to extreme miſery. God help them! ſaid he; but what can I do? If I ſhould do any thing, I am cryed out upon, as favouring France, who are puſhing to be maſters of all. However, he ſaid, he was convinced, that all I ſaid was moſt reaſonable, and that he would think upon it. In the mean time, I am very confident he will never conſent, or even wink at any peace, by which his Majeſty may ſuffer in his juſt rights; and this is one great point; and for the money part of it, I hope, with him, we may obtain ſomewhat. Meanwhile, I fancy nobody has ſpoke directly to his Holineſs of any truce."

Mr. Caryll's Anſwers to theſe Letters.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

June 6th, 1695.

"I Doubt not, but you will find there [at Rome] all the outward civilities, that you can expect, both from his Holineſs and from the cardinals: but to get any money from him to ſupply the great neceſſitys of his Majeſtie's ſuffering ſubjects, for their loyalty and religion, I fear will be a difficult, if not impoſſible taſk; and yet to ſatisfy thoſe that are in want, or at leaſt, of his Majeſtie's endeavours for them, it ſhall be attempted in the proper ſeaſon, when you ſhall judge his Holineſs beſt prepared to receive an addreſs of that nature. But, before any thing of that be done, his Holineſs ought to be made ſenſible of his Majeſtie's devotion to the ſee apoſtolick, and how much he has ſuffered for it: that any general peace, that ſhall exclude the King and own the uſurper, will, in every reſpect, be like that between Herod and Pilate: That, who endeavours it, or contributes towards it, upon theſe terms, is a betrayer of the catholic religion, and makes a ſacrifice of it to worldly intereſt: that, as the church is built upon a rock, ſo the piety and zeal of his Holineſs, for the houſe of God, ought to ſtand firm againſt all human reſpects and politick inſinuations to the contrary. I fear his Holineſs ſtands a little in need of ſuch repreſentations as theſe to be warmly made to him, in regard of the violent inclination he has to procure a peace in Europe, at any rate; that he may be freed from the fear of

of the Germans, who are at his door, and alſo of the confederate fleet, in the Mediterranean: So that we have nothing but conſcience to plead with him againſt intereſt, nor will he want falſe directors to tell him, that a part muſt be ſacrificed to ſave the whole; that Europe muſt be preſerved by making peace, and England left to the providence of God; forgetting, that what is unjuſt and irreligious in itſelf, ought not to be done to ſave the whole world. 1695. June.

The Earl of Perth writes.

June.—Aug.—Sept. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 36.

Rome, 28th June, 1695.

"IF one had here the Monthly Holland's Mercury, and the Lethe Hiſtorique, there are paſſages in them ſometimes, that would let the Romans ſee what people they are ſo fond of: for here the prince of Orange has more friends, than either in England or in Holland; and the King is ſo univerſally hated, that I look upon it as a felicity to get a compliment on his Majeſtie's account. Ruſſel, ſince he came into theſe ſeas, is cried up as the only hero, and a Frenchman is look'd at with contempt."

Mr. Secretary Caryll to the Earl of Perth.

July. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

My Lord, July 4, 1695.

YOUR lordſhip's of the 6th and 7th of June are happily arrived; giving, in the firſt place, a very natural account of the temper and diſpoſition of the court of Rome, where, as your lordſhip very well obſerves, intereſt does not reign, but tyrannize, and truly it requires a virtue no leſs conſummated and try'd than our maſter's; and give me leave alſo to add, your lordſhip's not to be ſcandalized, at ſo much of the ſcribe and phariſee ſo near the chair of Moſes. In the mean time, it is no ſmall comfort to every true Chriſtian to find, that his Holineſs himſelf, of all the court of Rome, is the leaſt tainted with that corrupt policy, which makes a ſacrifice of juſtice and even of religion to worldly intereſt. But theſe ſages at Rome, as clear ſighted as they think themſelves to be, will ſhortly find how much they are miſtaken, in their calculation of affairs. For I dare affirm to your lordſhip, upon very certain grounds,

1695. July. that this confederacy cannot hold two years to an end; and that the King of France has it now in his power, to be once more the arbiter of the peace of Europe. To make this evident, I need only ſhew, that England, the main ſupport of the league, cannot poſſibly any longer bear the weight; and that this ſummer's campaign, by land and by ſea, is the laſt effort, which our nation can or will make, becauſe their preſent averſion to the government of the prince of Orange is as great as the neceſſity and want of money, which that government has brought them to; and to confirm all this, I ſend you here an authentic account of the preſent ſtate of England, together with a copy of the letter, which accompanied it, writ to me by the biſhop of Norwich; which I deſire your lordſhip to ſhew to nobody, except cardinal Janſon, but to make what uſe you ſhall think beſt of it.

His Holineſs needs not be diſcouraged, at the unjuſt reproaches of the Auſtrians, ſtiling him a partizan of France, becauſe he will not make one with them, in a league with heretics. For he will have very ſhortly the ſatisfaction to ſee the Divine Providence no leſs in the French intereſt, than himſelf; and that ſcandalous league, thought ſo invincible at Rome, ſuddenly fall to the ground. I confeſs, I cannot be but aſtoniſhed at the maxims of the good aſſiſtant of Germany at the Gjeſu, who will have every thing to be lawful and holy, which the Emperor does. But I would fain know of that conſcientious divine, if Teckeli ſhould make himſelf King of Hungary, and diſpoſſeſs the Emperor of all his other dominions, what he would think of any Engliſh Jeſuit, that ſhould maintain, that for the ſake of peace, Tekeli, though a Calviniſt, ought to be let continue in his uſurpation; and yet the other catholic princes muſt inſiſt upon any treaty of peace, to have him ſo continued? Let thoſe directors of conſcience look to it, and look to themſelves; for a day of reckoning will come, when a wilful miſtake, or an affected ignorance of matters of fact will not ſerve their turn. But I hope, before that time, God will mercifully open their eyes and touch their hearts, that they may ſee and repent. The auſpicious entrance, which your lordſhip made, in your firſt audience with his Holineſs, very much leads thereunto; and, to ſay the truth, you have already, in a manner, finiſhed a work, which was of the greateſt importance to his Majeſty's concerns, in leaving a true idea of his Majeſty's caſe in his Holineſs's mind; and,

conſequent

conſequent thereunto, a reſolution in him never to abandon his intereſt, nor conſent to a peace prejudicial thereunto. 1695. July.

There ſeems nothing more to remain for your lordſhip to do, but to preſerve and confirm, in his Holineſs, theſe his juſt and pious ſentiments towards his Majeſty, to whom I muſt leave it, to let you know, under his own hand, how acceptable to him the ſervice is, which you have now done him with his Holineſs, which you may expect the next poſt; for he and the Queen are, at preſent, both abſent from St. Germains, but will return this night, having ſpent four or five days ſeverally in a ramble of devotion, the King at La Trappe and the Queen at Chaliot. The prince and princeſs are in perfect health, and grow up to the wonder of every body.

Your lordſhip's of the 14th, is now come to me, which containing no buſineſs, will oblige me to add no more to what I have above written; but that I am, with true reſpect,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant,

Namur, we hear, is inveſted, by the prince of Orange.

J. CARYLL.

Caryll writes of the 29th of Auguſt, 1695: "Yeſterday I received the favour of yours of the 9th, by which I find, that we agree in our ſentiments, or rather in our apprehenſions, concerning a peace. The truth of the matter is, that all the world crys out for it, and no where more than in France, not only amongſt the people, but the greateſt in court; ſo that, without a particular providence and protection from above, we are likely to be made the ſacrifice of it. However, I know, that what your lordſhip has received from the mouth of his Holineſs, that he will have no hand in the wrong ſhall be done his Majeſty, will be of great comfort to him and the Queen, who having God and his vicar ſtill on their ſide, doubt not but the happy hour will come, when the powers of darkneſs muſt yield to righteouſneſs." Auguſt. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

Lord Perth, in his letters, from the beginning of Auguſt, 1695, to the beginning of January, 1696, gives an account of the diſpoſitions of the different factions at Rome.—The influence of the prince of Orange and

1695. the Auſtrian party.—The conjectures about the fate of the ſiege of Namur;—and the rumours of a peace.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 36.

SEPTEMBER the 6th, 1695. "At this court, our affairs will never thrive, until we be in a better condition in the world; for it is not what is due to his Majeſty, as rightfully King of his Majeſtie's dominions, or as having loſt the poſſeſſion of them for the catholic faith; but what his friendſhip can import to Rome, that is the meaſure of the favour of this court."

September the 27th. "The confederates confeſs, that, had the prince of Orange been driven from before Namur, they would have abandoned him; but now he is ſaviour, protector, and idol; all the heros of antiquity are but his precurſors; and, to triumph over the King of France's foreſight and counſel, and over the Mareſchals of Villeroy and Bufflers, is ſo great a ſupport to his reputation, that all here conclude, that he will unite the league (if a peace be not ſtruck up very ſoon) and get from England to their bodkins and thimbles. Now all our converſations are bringing the King to Rome, which God forbid, and eſtabliſhing the prince of Orange in England for all his life, be it long or ſhort; and ſome, who appeared very fixed, begin to ſay, that the prince of Orange muſt be a great man, who never gives over but puſhes on, though repelled again and again, and that, at laſt, ſuch a one muſt accompliſh his deſigns, which is to humble the King of France, and to transfer all the glory of this King's fortunate reign to himſelf, by reducing him to his own terms. But, upon the other hand, both the emperor's people and the Spaniards here, begin to look about them. They ſee, that the prince of Orange is abſolute maſter in their parts of the low countries: he is ſo too in Holland. If the King of Spain dies, he can give him a ſucceſſor, and fortify the proteſtants ſo in Germany, as to reduce the Emperor to do what he pleaſes, and ſome of them pray to God heartily, that he were knocked on the head.

"But happen what will, I hope the King will never come thither, where, except his holineſs and a very few cardinals, and (in proportion) far fewer of other people, he has but few friends, and many to inſult over his ſufferings; and really, it's ſcandalous to hear what is ſaid every day publickly, when they make compariſons betwixt an heretical, unnatural, uſurping tyrant, and his Majeſty."

October

October 3d, 1695. Mr. Caryll writes to the earl of Perth: "Your lordſhip has ſometimes taken notice, with a great deal of truth, how violently the Italians are bent for a peace, upon any terms, without any conſideration of us. I muſt not conceal it from your lordſhip, though it be a laſt ſecret, and only fit for your breaſt, that the miniſters here are not one jot behind them in that point. They long and labour underhand inceſſantly for it; nor will our concerns be any remora to the concluſion of it, whenever a formal treaty is ſet on foot. According to *Ragione de Stato*, it cannot be expected, that they, who offer Straſburg, Luxemburg, and whole countries beſides, to purchaſe a peace, ſhould ſtick at giving up us into the bargain."—"The great affair of gaining a declaration from his Holineſs, that he never will concur in any peace that excludes his Majeſty from his juſt right, was wholly reſerved to your lordſhip, and has accordingly been happily effected by you, though much apprehended by ſome, as very difficult to be obtained, than which nothing could be of more comfort to their Majeſties: That although all the reſt of the world ſhould be unjuſt to them, they ſhall have no reaſon, at leaſt, to complain of the unkindneſs of their holy father, to whom they owe obedience and reſpect." 1695. Oct.—Nov. D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

November 7th, 1695, Lord Perth writes: "Get me a ſure account of what is doing in relation to hinder the children of Catholics from being bred up in the catholic religion; and you would furniſh me with a new occaſion of ſtirring up his Holineſs to mind the converſation of that little remnant of truth that reſts amongſt us. We hear they begun with Ireland, by hindering, by act of parliament, the breeding up of children beyond ſea. This is underſtood; for, by your law, no ſchools for Catholics are at home. Now, if this were done in England likewiſe, what may we hope for as to the preſervation of religion; and ſtill Rome is ſilent, and lets all go to ruin?" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 36.

On the 21ſt, he writes—"You may believe, that this court will ſtand by his Majeſty, as far as ever they dare; but (as the Pope often tells me) Orange is maſter of the world, and commands all the catholic princes like ſlaves; but he ſtill adds, that, by God's grace, he will let all the world ſee, that what may be done againſt our maſter's right is diſapproved on by him; and his miniſters ſeem no leſs zealous."

1695. Nov.—Dec. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 129.

Caryll writes to the earl of Perth, November 28th, 1695. "I ſuppoſe you have been informed of the violent proceedings of the Iriſh parliament againſt Catholics, which tend to the extermination of religion in that country. Now, if this be done whilſt the league ſubſiſts between the houſe of Auſtria and the prince of Orange, what may we not expect, when, by a peace, that prince ſhall be left in quiet poſſeſſion of all his uſurpations, and has no Catholic confederates to comply with or depend on? This may be very well worth the conſideration of his Holineſs and his miniſters; and which, I preſume, your lordſhip both has and will repreſent to them in their proper colours."

Ibid. D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 36.

The earl of Perth writes the 12th December, 1695: "Rhetorick cannot perſuade this court, that Catholics are perſecuted in Britain and Ireland, or that the prince of Orange has any deſign to root out our religion, where his uſurped power can reach it. To me, people ſpeak fair; but l' Abbé Scarlati Colora and others at London are ſo poſitive, in their accounts of affairs, that they are produced as witneſſes of the prince of Orange's generous carriage towards Catholics, although he pretends to know that they cannot be gained to his party. This makes me wiſh we had ſuch relations, and ſo atteſted, as might alarm us here: for, although ſome are very poſitively diſpoſed to favour us, others care not for the injuſtice our royal maſter and miſtreſs ſuffer, and would have it paſs for a maxim, that, while religion does not ſuffer directly, they may look on it with indifference."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1696.

A Miſtake, in a converſation between Lewis XIV. and the late King, defeated the invaſion, intended for this year. Mr. Powel, who had been ſent, by the adherents of the latter prince, from England, through the vehemence of his zeal, produced this miſtake. He ſeemed to inſinuate, that the Jacobites in Britain were firſt to take arms, and then expected to be ſupported by France. On this ſtate of the caſe, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty proceeded to make preparations, for tranſporting a force into England. The orders given were ſo well obeyed, that things were in great forwardneſs, in the beginning of the year. James, therefore, and his ſervants employed themſelves in forming plans for an invaſion. The following is a ſcheme for a deſcent in the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle. 1696. January.

" *A Memorial, the 8th January*, 1696." In Nairne's hand. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

Tranſlation.

" THE town of Newcaſtle, one of the moſt conſiderable in England, is ſituated at the diſtance of a league from the ſea, on the river Tyne, which ſeparates the county of Northumberland from the biſhoprick of Durham. At the mouth of this river ſtands a large village, called Tinmouth, with a fort, which commands the entry. But it is in bad repair towards the land. Veſſels of 500 tons can enter the harbour.

The town is ſurrounded only by an old ruinous wall, without ramparts or ditches; and is commanded by heights, on all ſides. It is in this neighbourhood they dig the coals, which are ſo well known throughout all Europe, and without which the city of London could not ſubſiſt. This might cauſe a terrible deſolation in that town, and conſequently an extreme diſorder throughout all the kingdom, as coals are ſhipped only from thence, and from Sunderland, a ſmall town at three leagues diſtance,

1696. January. tance, which is ſcarcely known, but by the nobleman, who takes his title from it.

From London to Newcaſtle, there are ſeventy leagues of as fine a country as is in the world; fifteen from Newcaſtle to Scotland; and twenty to Lancaſter. In the counties of York, Weſtmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, and in the biſhoprick of Durham, are all the excellent ſtuds; conſequently the cavalry and dragoons might be eaſily mounted. Beſides, 20,000 carriage and cart horſes, which carry coals from the mines to Newcaſtle and Sunderland, will be found in that country, and may be uſeful for carrying the baggage of the army. But a more important conſideration is, that the greateſt part of the inhabitants of theſe diſtricts are well affected towards his Majeſty, and may join him without any hinderance. The length of the navigation is the only objection that can be foreſeen; to which it may be anſwered, that the difficulty conſiſts in ſailing from Dunkirk and leaving the coaſt; but that ſhips, when they are once at ſea, have nothing to fear, and it is immaterial whether the deſcent is made on the ſecond or on the fourth day. It is proper to remark, that the favourable wind for this paſſage is the S. and S. E. which will hinder the ſhips in the Downs from putting to ſea."

Nairne's Papers, D. N vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

John Anderſon to Mr. Ward; i. e. *The Earl of Middleton to Colonel Sackville.*

SIR, Jan. 11th, 1696.

"WE are much divided here, in Holland [France], about the Scottiſh Eaſt India Company; nor can we well ſee how that matter can be ſettled, without a diſpenſing power, in a caſe where people's properties are concerned, which was never yet pretended to; nor is it credible, that the Scotch can be hectored into ſuch a ſervile compliance, as to ſacrifice their moſt undoubted right, manifeſt intereſt, and boaſted independence.—I muſt needs tell you a ſtory, which I had from a factor of this Eaſt India Company, when they had the news in India of the Revolution in England. The general of Batavia ſent an ambaſſador to the Mogul, who, among other things, told him, that they had drove away the Engliſh King, and ſent a ſervant of theirs to rule that people; to which old Aurengzebe replied, That he was glad of it: that the Engliſh

liſh had wickedly defrauded his ſubjects of what was juſtly due to them; and, againſt the public faith, had plundered them at ſea; and, now, that they had ſubdued them, he expected they ſhould make him reparation. Depend on it, this ſtory is ſeriouſly true †." 1696. January.

The earl of Middleton wrote ſeveral letters, in the courſe of this and the enſuing month to Chapman, Syſon, Ward [Sackville], Clelland [Waugh], and Green, [Sir Andrew Forreſter], giving them hopes of an immediate invaſion. In one of his letters to Chapman, dated the 24th of January, he ſpeaks of Powel's journey to France. "I am not ſorry, that Mr. Powel thinks of viſiting us: for he will be quickly undeceived, in what you ſuſpect; and be able to ſet all matters in a true light, at his return, if his ſincerity is equal to his capacity." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

On the 26th of February, he writes to Ward. "Mr. Smith [K. James] bid me tell you, that his partner [Fr. King] has the money ready; but that he will not pay it, till the company [the adherents of James] has taken up the goods No. 953 [arms]; and, upon the firſt notice of it [inſurrection], he will immediately diſpatch away Mr. Smith [K. James] to conclude the bargain. Pray let us know your opinion of this matter; for as it is important, ſo it requires haſte; and, if this opportunity be loſt, it may prove fatal to the company." February. Ibid.

The King of France inſiſted, that James's friends, in England, ſhould take arms, before the French troops embarked. The following letter, from lord Middleton to his correſpondent Syſon, relates to this circumſtance. It is dated the 26th February. Ibid.

"This is only to acknowledge the favour of yours of the 5th inſtant, ſince it will not be neceſſary to repeat what you have from the beſt hand.

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† It was upon this occaſion, that an envoy from the Engliſh company is ſaid to have claimed a precedence over the Dutch envoy, alleging that he was the ſervant of a great King, like the Emperor himſelf, and ought to be heard before the repreſentative of a parcel of merchants. The repreſentation had ſome weight with Aurengzebe, till the Dutchman made this reply: "It is true, he is the ſervant of a great King, but that great King is one of our merchants. The Engliſh could not carry on their own buſineſs, and, therefore, we ſent one of our factors, to command them and ſettle their accounts." This mercantile inference, ſays tradition, ſettled the point of precedence, for that time, in favour of the Dutchman.

Beſides,

1696. March. Beſides that, old Watt Freeman [probably D. of Berwick] muſt have ſeen you before this comes to you. He can beſt inform you, though, perhaps, not ſatisfy you: for there is one of the marriage articles which appears very difficult to perform; and, though ſomething ought to be ventured, yet what is altogether unreaſonable ought to be conſidered as impoſſible; but of this you can only judge."

Mr. Charnock, in May 1695, and lord Aileſbury, ſoon after, were ſent to France to perſuade James to invade England the next winter, with a French army, and to acquaint him with the inſurrections then intended in different parts of the kingdom. The duke of Berwick came over, in the beginning of this year, to concert a plan of operations with his friends, and to head the inſurgents. James left St. Germains before the return of his ſon. He met him however at Clermont, and carried him back to Calais. Having 20,000 men under his direction, in that neighbourhood and near Dunkirk, he drew up a declaration, in which he conceals that diffidence of ſucceſs, which Middleton betrays in the preceding correſpondence. For the intrigues of Charnock, Sir George Barclay, Sir William Perkins, captain Porter, and others, were not yet diſcovered in England. The declaration, however, was not publiſhed, for the reaſons mentioned by the earl of Middleton, in the following letter.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 132.

The Earl of Middleton to Secretary Caryll.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 32.

Calais, March 19th, 1696.

"THE King has commanded me to tell you, that he finds many difficulties in the manifeſt propoſed by the court of France, for the ſame objections lie againſt publiſhing it, as the declaration; for to ſay more, cannot be intended; to ſay leſs, is againſt his intereſt; and to come juſt up to it, is the ſame thing, only with a new name. To ſay only, that he was invited, by a great part of the nation, can be of no advantage to his Majeſty; but, on the contrary, a great prejudice to his affairs, by raiſing the perſecution higher againſt his friends, who may thereby be put out of a condition of ſerving him; and it would be a plain proof, that there was a plot, though not ſuch a one as is pretended, which may beget abjurations and greater penalties on non-ſwearers. But, perhaps, the propoſition may be miſtaken; and, in that caſe, the ſureſt and ſhorteſt

way of clearing it will be, to make a draught of that paper to be laid before the King. But, if the Queen thinks the above ſaid objections to be reaſonable, then it will be neceſſary that they, and ſuch others as occur to you, ſhould be repreſented to Monſ. de Croiſſy, in writing, that they may be read in council: and, becauſe that court may be alarmed at the proceedings in England, it may be fit, in another paper, to ſhew, by many inſtances, how frivolous addreſſes are; that whilſt there is one acknowledged King, the common ſtyle muſt be obſerved; and that many of our maſter's ſecret friends may appear the forwardeſt, in this matter, for their own preſervation. 1696. March.

I ſend you Mr. Stafford's credential †, which you may be pleaſed to ſeal and deliver to him, when the Queen thinks fit. L'Abbé Renaudot may be an uſeful tool in this conjuncture. Flattery muſt not be ſpared: that is his foible.

Pray, let me know, if my pacquet of the 10th came to you. I have juſt now received yours of the 17th. I am, &c.

MIDDLETON."

At Calais, on the 5th and 6th of March, James gave commiſſions to the marquis of Harcourt, as captain general, and to Richard Hamilton, as lieutenant-general of his forces; and on the 22d of March he appointed Hamilton to the place of maſter of the robes. On the 23d he went to Boulogne, from whence Middleton wrote ſeveral letters to Mr. ſecretary Caryll, about declarations and manifeſtoes to be publiſhed in England, and memorials to be preſented to the French miniſtry. He alſo wrote ſeveral letters from hence to the marquis de Pontchartrain and Monſieur de Barbeſieux, one of whom had the marine, and the other the war department by land. They wiſhed to put off the embarkation until James's friends in England were in arms; and Middleton endeavoured to convince them of the neceſſity of an immediate invaſion. All his letters to them and to Monſieur de Phelypeaux, and the Mareſchal de Boufflers, during the courſe of this month, relate to the ſame ſubject, and to the difficulties of getting intelligence from England, and the other obſtacles which oppoſed their deſign. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 32. Ibid. Ibid.

† To be James's ambaſſador at Paris.

1696. April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croiſſy.

The ſame ſubject continued.——The difficulty of receiving intelligence from England.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Boulogne, 7th April, 1696.

"I Have been very ſorry, that I have not had any news to ſend you ſince we were here, becauſe the bad weather has prevented our boats from landing, and the frigates of the enemy cruize along the coaſt. The letters, by poſt, from Holland, have been all examined; probably thoſe which were ſuſpicious retained. We ſhall ſend you immediately the firſt meſſenger or packet that arrives.

Mr. Caryll has already explained to you the reaſons, why the King of England does not think it is his intereſt to publiſh his declaration, nor any manifeſto, in his name, before his landing in that country; and you have ſeen, by the anſwers, which I have made to Monſ. de Pontchartrain, what I had to ſay concerning the navy and the expences."

Ibid.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

James is determined not to expoſe the army.—It is difficult to have intelligence.

Tranſlation.

Boulogne, April 7, 1696.

"THE King, my maſter, commands me to tell you, that he agrees to all that is contained in the letter you did me the honour to write to me the 4th inſtant. He hopes, that the King is perſuaded, that he will never propoſe to undertake any thing *mal-a-propos*; and, indeed, to deſire to expoſe, without reaſon, this army, which he conſiders as the only bridge by which he can find his way to England, would be not only to make bad acknowledgments for his Majeſty's kindneſs, but to act contrary to his own intereſt.

We have not been able to procure any intelligence of the enemy's fleet ſince this alarm. They write from Holland, that all letters are examined in England and there alſo; and that they retain thoſe which appear ſuſpicious, and our boats have been hitherto prevented from landing, ſometimes by meeting the enemy's frigates, but oftener by the bad weather."

We

We can ſcarcely conceive a ſituation more diſagreeable than that, to which James was reduced at this time. Detained on ſhore, and deprived of intelligence from England, by contrary winds; dreading every moment to hear, that the two fleets of the enemy had joined; and warned conſtantly, by the French miniſters, to be cautious in expoſing their fleet and army. Middleton mentions this in his letters from Boulogne and Calais. 1696. April.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Harcourt.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 33,

Tranſlation.

SIR, Boulogne, 8th April, 1696.

"I Thank you moſt humbly, for the letter you did me the honour to write to me the 4th inſtant. The Queen had already acquainted the King, her huſband, with the ſucceſs of your negociation; and I want to confirm to Monſ. de Pontchartrain what you have already ſaid to the King, that it was not the deſign of the King of England to expoſe the King's army, if it ſhould be inferior to that of the enemy. But, in this caſe, a judgment ſhould be formed of a ſuperiority rather from the quality and condition of the ſhips, than from their number; and we are extremely ſorry, that we have not been able yet to procure information of theſe particulars. All the attempts of our boats to land have been fruitleſs. The letters, that come by the way of Holland, are opened; and thoſe which look ſuſpicious are retained, and no perſon is allowed to come over without a paſſport."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Secretary Caryll.

News from England about the execution of the conſpirators.

Boulogne, April 13th, 1696. Ibid.

"THOUGH it is very probable, that Jones has ſent you a copy of the paper given in, by the three perſons lately executed; yet, in caſe he has not, I ſend them, that you may ſee what they have declared, with their laſt breath, which may be of uſe. Pray let me know, if you would have Mr. Sheridan's and the abbot's papers returned; and let us know what you hear of Chateaurenaut and Rooke."

1696. April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croiſſy.

No news from England.—The French miniſters were diſcouraged at the execution of the Engliſh conſpirators, and at the addreſſes and aſſociations formed in England.—Middleton endeavours to perſuade them to perſevere.

Tranſlation.

Boulogne, 14th April, 1696.

"WE have not yet any news from England, our boats not having been able to land in that country; and the news, by thoſe which can croſs over from Holland, come ſtraight to you. You will alſo hear from Calais what paſſed there yeſterday. By the noiſe which your enemies make on all ſides, they appear to be driven, by rage and deſpair, to make the laſt effort to cover the weakneſs of a ſinking cauſe: for it is impoſſible, but England, which furniſhes ſupplies to the reſt, muſt, however rich, be now entirely exhauſted. You are too well inſtructed in the affairs of that country, to judge of the affections of the people from the addreſſes and aſſociations that are now formed. Without ſpeaking of the addreſſes that were preſented in former times to the earl of Eſſex, general of the rebels, and to what is called the long parliament, and afterwards to Cromwell and to his ſon Richard; thoſe which were preſented to the King my maſter, on the birth of the prince of Wales, and on the deſigns of the prince of Orange, when every thing was diſpoſed for a revolt, prove convincingly how little ſtreſs can be laid on ſuch fallacious appearances."

Middleton proceeds to convince de Croiſſy, that his maſter has a ſtrong party in England. He ſhows the neceſſity of their ſeeming to acknowledge the prince of Orange as King; and maintains, that the reſtraint now upon them will excite them to revenge themſelves of their enemies, and to aſſert their independence, when an opportunity offers. "Therefore, Sir, I ſee nothing, that ſhould divert the King from his great deſign; and, I hope, that, by his prudence and uſual magnanimity all things will ſucceed to his glory and advantage, which the King, my maſter, deſires as much as his own."

The

1696. April.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Secretary Caryll.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 33.

SIR, Boulogne, April 14th, 1696.

"LAST night, we had advice from Calais, that they had been bombarded from one till five in the afternoon: that three hundred and thirty bombs had been ſhot, without any conflagration. Some few houſes and two veſſels had only been pierced. Since that time, the wind has ſilenced them.

I ſend you a copy of my letter to Mr. de Croiſſy, for her Majeſty's peruſal; for it is neceſſary to entertain them, though with repetitions; for they are ſometimes apt to forget: and I humbly conceive it would be for the King's ſervice, if you would be pleaſed to repreſent to them your reflections on all emergencies. I am,

Your moſt faithful humble Servant,

MIDDLETON."

Middleton endeavoured to ſhow, in ſeveral letters he wrote to monſieur de Croiſſy at this time, that the expedition ſhould not be laid aſide becauſe an attempt, in which only a few individuals were concerned, was diſcovered in England; and that the execution of the conſpirators, and the preſent low ſtate of the Jacobites, were not ſufficient reaſons to deſpair of the cauſe. He deſired Mr. Caryll to write a memorial, ſetting this forth in the ſtrongeſt light to the French miniſtry. In a letter he wrote on the ſame ſubject to the Abbé Renaudot, he adds, "I am in great pain about lord Aileſbury. All the evidences are ſtrangers to me."

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

The deſign of invading England laid aſide.—James wants to know whether he is to continue on the coaſt. Ibid.

Tranſlation.

Boulogne, April 28, 1696.

"I Have given to the King my maſter the letter which you did me the honour to write to me the 25th of this month. He commands me to tell you, that he wiſhed you had acquainted him with the King's ſentiments,

1696. April. timents, with regard to his ſtaying in this place, or his returning to St. Germains, that he might conform himſelf to them.

It is true, I have already had the honour to write to you, that the preparations at Dunkirk, when the King's army was at ſea and the troops on the coaſt, would ſo far diſconcert the meaſures of the prince of Orange, that he would not know to what ſide he could direct his attention. But, at preſent, when he ſees nothing of this kind, it is not to be believed, that the King of England's ſtay in this place can embaraſs him in any manner; yet his Britannic Majeſty believes, that he ought to ſtay here until Rooke arrives, rather than return precipitately, and furniſh our enemies with ſubject for remarks; and all they can ſay afterwards is, that the enterprize is diſappointed thereby; although I am perſuaded, that it is only delayed for an opportunity of executing it with ſucceſs. Theſe are the ſentiments of the King, my maſter, who cannot ever come to any determination, without knowing thoſe of the King. It is for this reaſon, he begs of you to inform him of them."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 33.

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Vexed that the expedition is put off.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Boulogne, April 29, 1696.

"I Have juſt now received your letter of the 2-th, and I have, ſince my laſt, received a long diſpatch from monſieur de Pontchartrain, ſhowing the neceſſity of putting off the enterprize to a more favourable conjuncture, on account of the ſuperiority of the enemy at ſea, and the uſe they had for the troops intended for embarkation; leaving it to the choice of the King of England to remain here, or to return to St. Germains. At the ſame time, monſieur de Barbeſieux wrote to the officers to go to take care of their own affairs. Thus, you ſee we are in a frightful ſolitude. Although I was ſenſibly affected with this reſolution, as you may very well believe, I was not at all ſurpriſed at it. In my anſwer to monſieur de Pontchartrain, which I ſend you, I avoided to plead a cauſe which was already finally determined."

The

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Pontchartrain.

James prepares to return to St. Germains.

1696. April. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 33.

Tranſlation.

Boulogne, 30th April, 1696.

"HAving wrote to you, in the letter which I had the honour to ſend you the 28th, that the King of England could not come to any reſolution about his ſtay in this place, without being made acquainted with the King's ſentiments; and the Queen having written ſince, that the King told her, at Marli, that the King of England ſhould not ſtay here, ſince all the officers were gone, I conſider myſelf bound to acquaint you, that his Britannic Majeſty has reſolved to ſet out ſoon, on his return to St. Germains."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Caryll.

Expects to ſee him the next Saturday.

Ibid.

Boulogne, May-day, 1696. May.

"I Have wrote to monſieur de Pontchartrain, to acquaint him with the King our maſter's reſolution to return, on what was ſaid to the Queen at Marli. We are to be at Abbeville next Thurſday; at Clermont, Friday; ſo that next Saturday I hope to have the honour of aſſuring you, by word, that I am, &c."

The conſpirators in England were ſeized, tried, and executed. The Engliſh fleet put to ſea, while contrary winds detained the French fleet in their harbours; and James returned to St. Germains to make fruitleſs repreſentations to Lewis the 14th and the Pope, againſt the peace. The firſt paper on this ſubject, in Nairne's collection, is the following memorial, which is in his own hand. It appears from it that James's friends had adviſed him to be ſatisfied, if the ſucceſſion was ſecured to his ſon, after the death of King William.

"*Copy of a Memorial ſent to the Pope's Nuncio, the 27th July, 1696; to be ſent by him to his Holineſs.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 133.

Tranſlation.

"AS his Holineſs has always given conſpicuous proofs of his juſtice, and of his zeal for the good of the church, it will be unneceſſary July.

1696. July. to employ arguments to perſuade him of the iniquity of the prince of Orange; nor to excite him to embrace, with warmth, the intereſts of his Britannic Majeſty.

One cannot ſee, without aſtoniſhment, ſo many catholic princes in a league to ſtrengthen the enemies of their holy religion; his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty having alone ſupported that cauſe, and, by his generoſity, which will render his glory immortal, protected his Britannic Majeſty, who is oppreſſed by a violence and barbarity which diſgrace the name of Chriſtians.

The two crowns of the North are in a profound peace; and the princes of Germany are powerfully armed, while the Catholics are ruined; and the church was never threatened with ſo much danger as it is now ſince Julian the Apoſtate. It is not, therefore, doubted but his Holineſs will think himſelf obliged to employ vigorouſly all the power with which God hath inveſted him, in order to withdraw the Catholics from ſuch pernicious engagements, by repreſenting to them, in the moſt lively colours, what they owe to religion; that their ſalvation is at ſtake; that they ſhould not perſiſt in rendering themſelves accomplices in the injuſtice of the prince of Orange, by ſupporting his uſurpation, and by rendering him the arbiter of all their concerns; and that they cannot expiate their faults, but by contributing to the re-eſtabliſhment of his Britannic Majeſty.

But if, to puniſh them, God abandons them to their blindneſs, and that the ſtate to which Europe is reduced will oblige it to conclude a peace, without doing juſtice to his Britannic Majeſty, he hopes that his Holineſs will not allow himſelf to be ſurpriſed by the artful expedients which the mediators may propoſe; as his Britannic Majeſty will never conſent that his inconteſtible right ſhould be called in queſtion.

For inſtance, it cannot be denied but, by receiving a penſion from the prince of Orange, though there were never ſo much cauſe for it, his Britannic Majeſty would tacitly renounce his right; and if he conſented that, after the death of the prince of Orange, his royal highneſs the prince of Wales, his ſon, reigned in his life time, that would be a formal renounciation; and the prince of Orange could only promiſe a thing

thing which he is not able to perform; becauſe the parliament, who conferred the royal authority on him, ſettled the reverſion of the crown on the princeſs Anne of Denmark. But, ſuppoſing further, that the prince of Orange could and would oblige the Engliſh to revoke that ſettlement, it would be always on condition of bringing over the prince of Wales into England, without their being able to give any ſecurity for his conſcience or his perſon; and it is firmly believed, that his Holineſs will never give his advice or conſent to a meaſure which may have ſuch fatal conſequences. 1696. July.

The prince of Wales, by ſucceeding to the prince of Orange, yields his ſole right, which is that of his father; and, being obliged to the people for his elevation, would not reign, but during their pleaſure; and, if his Britannic Majeſty was capable of conſenting to ſo diſgraceful a propoſal, he might be juſtly reproached with ruining the monarchy, which has been always hereditary, by rendering it elective, and with ſacrificing to an enemy all that is moſt dear to him.

Nevertheleſs, his Majeſty has ſo much regard and affection for his loyal ſubjects, that, when a treaty of peace is begun, he intreats his Holineſs to endeavour to make ſome ſtipulation in their favour, which may protect them againſt the cruel perſecutions they have ſuffered in the time paſt, and which may reſtore them to their eſtates; and that, at leaſt, they may be at liberty to return home in ſafety, without being obliged to enter into illegal engagements; and that thoſe who, according to their duty, would attach themſelves to his ſervice for the future, may not be treated as criminals.

By attentions ſo juſt and ſo generous, his Holineſs will ſecure the reverence of poſterity to his pontificate; and, by acquitting himſelf of his duty towards God, will be able to give a good account of his miniſtry.

The preceding memorial was ſent, with the following letter, by the earl of Middleton to the marquis de Croiſſy.

1696. July.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Croiſſy.

Tranſlation.

SIR, St. Germains, 20th July, 1696.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

"IN a converſation, which the King, my maſter, had with the Nuncio, he found him very ill-informed of his affairs, and even a little prejudiced, by what the Auſtrians advance at Rome, and their partizans every where. He, therefore, thinks it neceſſary to inform his Holineſs exactly of his intentions, and to endeavour to engage him to exert himſelf for his intereſts. But, as he does not chooſe to do any thing without the approbation of the King, he intreats you to communicate this memorial to his Majeſty, and to inform him of his ſentiments on the ſubject, in order that he may conform himſelf to them. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble and moſt obedient Servant,

MIDDLETON."

In the month of Auguſt, the ſame year, King James ſent the following letter to the Elector Palatine.

King James to the Elector Palatine.

Tranſlation,

Auguſt. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 133.

BROTHER, Auguſt, 1696.

"THE very obliging offers of your friendſhip, which you made me by monſieur Arden, aſſure me, that I ſhall be ſenſible of the effects of them, on the firſt opportunity which will preſent itſelf; and, as it is likely that ſuch an opportunity may ſoon ariſe, from the preſent poſture of affairs, I have ſent the bearer of this, a Jeſuit, to explain to you more particularly the means by which you may oblige me very ſenſibly; intreating you, at the ſame time, to give an entire belief to whatever he ſhall ſay to you, from your good brother,

JAMES R."

Ibid.

In the memorial mentioned in the preceding letter, James addreſſes himſelf to his Electoral Highneſs, in the ſame ſtrain in which he addreſſed the Nuncio. He upbraids the catholick princes for ſupporting a heretic in his uſurpation; and makes uſe of the ſame caſuiſtry he had employed

ployed in his memorial to the Nuncio, againſt leaving King William in peaceable poſſeſſion during his life, and ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the Prince of Wales. 1696. Auguſt.

After the execution of the conſpirators in England, James found it difficult, upon his return to St. Germains, to renew a correſpondence with Britain. The firſt attempt towards it is mentioned in a letter from the earl of Middleton to Mr. Nowell, on the 30th of June.

"I Was very glad to find, by your letter, that you were in ſafety. His Majeſty approves of what you have done, and propoſed for his ſervice; and would have you give him an account of the perſons deſigned to carry the pacquets to and from the water-ſide, and what is to be given to each perſon reſpectively who are to be concerned in the management of this affair." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

On the 4th of Auguſt, he wrote to Mr. Pigault, merchant at Calais, "I deſire the favour of you, that you would let me know the particulars of what you propoſed for reſtoring our correſpondence in England: as for inſtance, the place on the other ſide, the name of the perſon who is to receive and carry the pacquet to London and bring it back from thence. Pray preſent my ſervice to monſieur le preſident, and concert this matter with him.

On the 13th of Auguſt, he wrote again to Mr. Nowell. "The King has commanded me to acquaint you, that ſince he cannot at preſent, ſet up the correſpondence, he is willing to allow you five hundred livres a-year to remain at Calais, that you may make the beſt intereſt you can among the ſailors; and procure him, by that means, the beſt intelligence you are able, that when occaſion offers for his ſervice, you may be in readineſs." It ſeems Middleton ſuſpected Nowell; for he wanted another to act in his place, as appears by a letter he wrote of the ſame date to monſieur Bretagne. "The great difficulty," ſays he, "we find in ſetting up our correſpondence, is the want of a perſon, ſuch as we had before, to take care to deliver what is ſent. If you can help us in this, you will oblige." He likewiſe cautions Mr. Pigault, in two different letters, againſt a Mr. Griffith, "who ſeems to be very buſy in this matter of the correſpondence, without any warrant from the King their maſ-

1696. ter; and the general rule, in ſuch caſes, is never to believe, without ſeeing ſomething in writing from his Majeſty, or by his order."

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Alarmed at the news of a general peace.

Tranſlation.

"SIR, St. Germains, October 4th, 1696.

October. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5. I Have ſhewn your letter of the 1ſt inſt. to the King of England, who was agreeably ſurpriſed at it, and deſires he may ſpeak to you, before his journey to Fontainbleau, which will be on Wedneſday next.

I have nothing now to tell you, concerning England, ſince all our intelligence from that country contains nothing, but accounts of its weakneſs. It is impoſſible to add any thing to what has been already ſaid on this ſubject. By the laſt advices, all honeſt men are confounded at the rumour of a general peace. I beſeech you, Sir, to come here, in order to give us all the neceſſary light for conducting ourſelves at Fontainbleau, in a conjuncture which muſt be deciſive of our fate."

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. de Thoſſe, preſident of the admiralty at Calais.

Ibid. *Concerning one Berkenhead, who eſcaped from England.*

St. Germains, 20th October, 1696.

"IT is impoſſible to commend ſufficiently your goodneſs to our friend Birkenhead. He will explain to you what muſt be done for James Hunt, and thoſe who are expected from the other ſide. He will deliver you the order for getting them cured."

St. Germains, 28th October, 1696.

"MR. Berkenhead, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to you, having informed the King of England of your politeneſs to him, his Majeſty has commanded me to thank you from him, and to tell you, that he hath given him in charge to propoſe to you what is neceſſary to be done for Hunt, and for other two, who are ſtill expected from the other ſide."

Along with this letter Middleton ſent the following order from monſieur Phelyppeaux to monſieur de Thoſſe, at Calais. " I deſire you, as ſoon as you receive this, to arm, in all diligence, a ſhallop at Calais. Let her be a good ſailer, and put one Bett on board of her, who will go to the coaſt of Suſſex, near Shoreham, to take up two men, of whom he will hear at the houſe of Mr. Young." 1696. October.

The Earl of Middleton to the Abbé Renaudot.

Berkenhead's eſcape.

St. Germains, Oct. 30th, 1696. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

" I DO not know if Berkenhead has been lucky enough to find you: but he wiſhes much, for reaſons that I ſhall tell you another time; that what follows may be inſerted in the Gazette.

" Mr. Berkenhead having eſcaped from the priſon of Newgate in London, came to the ſhore, where he luckily found a French veſſel; and, the next night, he came a-ſhore, near the houſe of one Hunt, who had given information to the government againſt him, and againſt ſeveral others; and having landed with eighteen men, after having broke open the door of the houſe, notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of Hunt, who fired a piſtol at him, he carried him away by force, and brought him to Calais."

It was univerſally believed, that all Europe was now on the eve of a general peace; and James, who began to deſpair of his own reſtoration, was deſirous of making ſome ſtipulations in favour of his Queen and of his adherents. The two following memorials relate to this ſubject. They are in Nairne's hand.

" *Memorial concerning the appanage of the Queen of Great Britain.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 40.

October, 1696.

ACcording to the moſt ancient laws and cuſtoms of England, which are ſtill in force, Queens have their full right and power, in their own perſon, their eſtates and revenues, independently of the Kings, their huſbands, by virtue of which, they have always had officers of their revenue, who depended entirely on them, and all their acts have

bee

1696. October. been valid, without the conſent or concurrence of the Kings their huſbands.

As the Queen of England brought a very conſiderable ſum, as her portion at her marriage, the King, her huſband, on his acceſſion to the crown thought it was reaſonable for him to make an eſtabliſhment of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling, of an annual revenue, on her, which was paſſed under the great ſeal of England, and afterwards, for the greater ſecurity was confirmed by acts of parliament, which have not been repealed to this day; inſomuch, that the Queen has an inconteſtible right to all the arrears of this revenue, which are due ſince ſhe left England, as well as to thoſe which ſhall be due hereafter.

Her Majeſty only aſks this, ſimply and purely, as a private debt, which is inconteſtibly due to herſelf; and of which ſhe only ſets forth a ſtate, leſt it ſhould be unknown to thoſe who have the power and the will to do her juſtice."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 142. Ibid. D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 40.

"*A Memorial concerning the idemnity, which is propoſed for the faithful ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty.*"

Tranſlation.

"AS all Sovereigns ought to conſider the cauſe of his Britannick Majeſty as their own, one muſt believe, that juſtice and reaſon will inſpire them with the deſign of bringing about his reſtoration.

But if, to puniſh England, God leaves it to complain, ſome time longer, under the yoke of an uſurped dominion, we are perſuaded, that all Chriſtian princes will concur unanimouſly, in protecting, from the fury of their enemies, men of honour, who have acted from no other motives, than thoſe of duty and of conſcience; and the catholic princes are moſt intereſted in providing for the ſafety of thoſe poor catholics, who are moſt expoſed, on account of their religion, to the malice of their enemies, who may reſume and complete the deſign they had formed and commenced, 18 years ago, to ruin all the catholics. We have ſeen a great deal of innocent blood ſhed, on pretence of crimes of ſtate, and upon the falſe teſtimonies of ſome villains.

It is therefore propoſed to theſe princes, to ſend orders to their plenipotentiaries, to ſtipulate, in the treaty of peace, an indemnity to all his

Britanick Majeſtie's ſubjects, for all they have done for his ſervice; and to obtain, that all the ſentences paſſed againſt them may be reverſed, and each of them reſtored to his eſtate. 1696. October.

And, as it is abſolutely neceſſary for his Britannick Majeſty to be attended by his own ſubjects, it is propoſed to ſtipulate alſo in this treaty, that thoſe who now attend him, may be allowed to remain, without being liable to be called to account for it afterwards.

Examples of ſuch indemnities are not wanting, in moſt of the treaties of peace, particularly in thoſe of Weſtphalia and the Pyrenees, with this difference, that in other treaties, criminals have been pardoned; and that, in this, it is propoſed only, that loyalty ſhould not be puniſhed."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1697.

1697. THE late King was greatly alarmed, at the earneſt deſire, which all the belligerent powers now diſcovered to conclude a general peace. He endeavoured, in vain, to diſſuade the King of France from it; and was obliged to content himſelf, with aſking ſome ſtipulations for his Queen and his adherents. There is a memorial on the ſubject which has no date, but which appears to have been addreſſed to the French miniſtry, during the congreſs at Ryſwick.

Nairne's Paper's D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 138. JAMES, in this memorial, endeavours to ſhow, that France can derive no ſecurity from a peace, if the prince of Orange ſhall be permitted to eſtabliſh himſelf in his uſurpation: that he hath been always unſucceſsful in war; but, that he has never failed, by his intrigues in time of peace, to ſtir up all Europe againſt France; and would continue to do ſo, while he was allowed to govern England and Holland. "It is but too evident, that all Europe are now in the ſame diſpoſitions towards the French, in which they were formerly towards the Spaniards. They would, undoubtedly, wiſh to ſee them humbled; and it is not to be wondered, that the greateſt part of the Engliſh, from a jealouſy, which is uſual among neighbours, ſhould be of the ſame ſentiments. But it ought to be remarked, that a King of England, who is a catholic, whoſe ſubjects are proteſtants will always have occaſion for the friendſhip of France, in order to maintain his authority, and defend himſelf from the inſults of his own ſubjects, of which he will be in continual danger, on account of their inveterate averſion to whatever they call popery."

From theſe and ſeveral other reaſons, James infers, that any kind of peace with the prince of Orange, would be to France, "but a fire covered

covered with aſhes." But that a peace would be both advantageous and permanent, if he was once re-eſtabliſhed on his throne. He repeats, in the remaining part of the memorial, reaſons, which he had often mentioned, for invading Britain. The ſame things, with ſome exaggerations of the preſent diſtreſſes of England and Holland, are differently expreſſed and enlarged upon, in another memorial. It is in Nairne's hand, and marked at the top, "Mr. Caryll, 1697." 1697. January.

Middleton's letters to the French miniſtry and to the abbé Renaudot, at this time, are full of ſimilar repreſentations: they contain likewiſe an account of two memorials for James; one to the catholic princes engaged in the confederacy, and another to the proteſtant princes and ſtates. Both were written by Renaudot, and were printed at the time. It appears that the firſt, entituled, "A ſummary Memorial: containing the reaſons, which oblige the confederated catholic princes to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of his Britannic Majeſty," was ſent by the marquis de Torcy to Rome, from which it was returned with his Holineſs's ſanction and emendations. The ſecond, "containing the reaſons, which ſhould oblige the proteſtant princes and ſtates to contribute to the re-eſtabliſhment of his Britannic Majeſty," was publiſhed, as ſoon as approved of, by the marquis de Torcy himſelf. Middleton in one of his letters to Renaudot, about theſe memorials, and the proteſtation which James intended to publiſh againſt a peace, deſires him to anſwer one of "Burnet's libels." Nairne's Papers, vol. i. 4to. No. 5. Ibid. D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 33 & 34. Ibid. D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

Though James was, at the time, accuſed by his enemies of abetting plots for aſſaſſinating King William, it now appears, that he never harboured any ſuch deſign. The following may ſerve as an additional proof of the innocence of that unfortunate prince, upon that head.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.—James informs the King of France of Vane's offer to aſſaſſinate King William. May. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

Tranſlation.

St. Germains, 8 May, 1697.

THERE is an Engliſhman arrived here, who calls himſelf Vane, without a paſſport and without recommendations; and there is not one man in the place, who knows him. This fellow has had the im-

1697. May. pudence to propoſe to me, an attempt on the prince of Orange's life; and, as I rejected this propoſal, with averſion, the converſation finiſhed. But when I gave an account of it to the King, my maſter, leſt the man ſhould make his eſcape, he ſpoke to the count de Druis to ſecure his perſon, until the King's orders about him ſhould be received. It is for this reaſon, the King of England deſires you to inform his Majeſty of this adventure immediately; it being his opinion, that the ſaid Vane ſhould be cloſely impriſoned; but in other reſpects, well treated; becauſe we cannot prove whether he has been inſtigated to this, by our enemies, or by an indiſcreet zeal."

July. The Mareſchal de Boufflers, in a conference with the earl of Portland, was ſuppoſed to have ſettled the place of James's reſidence; and he actually obtained a promiſe of a dowry for his Queen. James ſent Monſieur Dem, to negociate his own affairs in Holland. The time of his departure, and the date of the letters written to him by Caryll and Nairne, are marked on the back of a copy of his inſtructions.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 43. *Inſtructions to Mr. Dem, on his going to the Hague, the 18th of July, 1697.*

"1ſt, YOU muſt have a care in your carriage and converſation, to appear only as a domeſtic of Monſieur de Croiſſy, and not as a perſon commiſſioned or employed by his Majeſty.

2dly, In your conferences, with Monſieur de Croiſſy himſelf, you muſt not appear to be anywiſe inquiſitive about matters relating to his negociation, or in his maſter's affairs; but muſt only treat with him concerning the particular concerns of his Majeſty, according to your inſtructions.

3dly, You muſt endeavour to keep it as a ſecret, even to thoſe at Monſieur Croiſſy's family, that you come from St. Germains, or that you have any dependance on his Majeſty, unleſs by Mr. Croiſſy's own appointment, you be directed to confer with any ſecretary of his, about the matters you are intruſted withal.

4thly, You muſt regularly, twice a week, give an account to one of his Majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, of all matters that come to your knowledge,

ledge, either concerning his Majeſty's own affairs, or the treaty of peace in general. 1697. July.

5thly, The affairs of his Majeſty, which you are to treat upon, with Monſieur de Croiſſy or the other plenipotentiaries of France, are this firſt her Majeſty's appanage, for the doing of which, you are referred to the paper concerning it, already ſent to the plenipotentiary, of which you may carry along with you a copy. Now, in caſe the prince of Orange's agents ſhould deny or queſtion any matters of fact, as they are ſet down in that paper, which ſo plainly prove the Queen's right, even according to their own preſent law, you muſt aver, that both your patent under the broad ſeal and the act of parliament, which ſettle and confirm that eſtate upon the Queen, during her life, are upon record in the regiſters of the crown-office and of the parliament, to which we appeal: and that the Queens of England, independently of the King, have a right to their eſtates ſo ſettled upon them, the plenipotentiaries of the prince of Orange themſelves, cannot be ſo ignorant or ſo wilful, as to deny. Though her Majeſty has an equal right to the arrears, which being a juſt debt, ought to be paid upon demand, as well as to the rent, which ſhall henceforward become due; yet, if the difficulty of paying ſo great a ſum, all at once, ſhould frighten them from doing her juſtice therein, a temperament may be propoſed for paying the arrear by ſo much a year, as ſhall be agreed upon, till the debt be all diſcharged."

Additional Inſtructions.

"1ſt, IT is deſired, that, upon the concluſion of the peace, a general indemnity may be obtained for all his Majeſty's ſubjects, that have been in his ſervice, ſince the Revolution, both as to their perſons and to their eſtates, ſince ſuch amneſties never have been omitted or refuſed in treaties, of a general peace, in relation to forfeitures incurred, during and by reaſon of the war, as may be ſeen by the Weſtphalia and Pyrenean treaties, where even thoſe, who had born arms againſt their lawful ſovereigns, were indemnified; and this is much more reaſonable and juſt, in the caſe of his Majeſty's ſubjects, ſince all parties agree, that he was their lawful king, when they firſt bore arms and followed him. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 44.

1697. July. 2dly, If this demand, though reaſonable in itſelf, ſhould meet with difficulties not to be overcome, it is deſired, at leaſt, that ſuch as are domeſtic and menial ſervants to the King and to the Queen, may enjoy ſuch indemnity as is above mentioned. For, I believe, his greateſt enemies will not think it juſt and decent, that their Majeſties ſhould live without ſervants, and without thoſe of their own country, that have long ſerved them, which barbarity would be a neceſſary conſequence from the refuſing ſuch indemnity; at leaſt, the refuſers thereof contribute, as much as lies in them, to deprive their Majeſties even of ſervants, by making it ſo highly penal, to ſerve their perſons even for thoſe who have been ſo long in their ſervice.

3dly, But, ſhould this demand alſo find an unreaſonable and obſtinate oppoſition, which certainly would aſtoniſh the whole world, let it, at leaſt, be endeavoured, that, ſince her Majeſty, in her own perſon, lyes under no forfeiture or diſability, even by any law made ſince the revolution, thoſe ſervants that are of her family may not be treated as criminals of ſtate, againſt whom no other guilt can be pretendedor proved, but ſerving their Queen and miſtreſs, and not leaving her in her adverſity. It will appear in the eyes of the world very ſtrange, to make that a crime ſo highly puniſhable, eſpecially, ſince the prince of Orange himſelf, when he firſt came into England, gave leave and paſſports to the Queen's ſervants to follow her Majeſty into France; and, for their ſo doing and for nothing elſe, they have been indicted of high treaſon, upon a general accuſation of adhering to the King's enemies; nothing elſe being ſworn againſt them, at the finding of the bill, but that they were at St. Germains; and for not coming out of France into England and appearing to anſwer the indictment, within the time limited, they were outlawed; though, at the ſame time, there was a law in being, which did prohibit, under the ſevereſt penalties, all paſſing out of France into England."

October. Neceſſity obliged James to accept of a dowry for his Queen. But he was much at a loſs, about the proper manner of receiving it. His difficulties are explained in the following letter.

The

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

1697. October. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

Tranſlation.

5th October, 1697.

"AS his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty has been pleaſed to obtain, by his mediation, a promiſe from the prince of Orange, that the Queen of England ſhall be paid what is due to her, we are perſuaded, that his Majeſty will be ſorry that ſhe ſhould be deprived of it; and, as we have too much reaſon to diſtruſt the prince of Orange's ſincerity, it will not be difficult for him to invent quirks for eluding his promiſe. For inſtance, if the Queen is deſired to ſign the diſcharges, they may be drawn up in ſuch a form, that ſhe will not and cannot ſign them.

Again, if officers named by the Queen, are put in poſſeſſion of her eſtates, and if the tenants and others refuſe to pay, they cannot be forced but in a court of juſtice: and the Queen will neither plead before their courts nor acknowledge them. Beſides that, the prince of Orange might think himſelf freed from his promiſe, when he pleaſed, from a pretence, that the money was employed againſt him.

So that there is no expedient, but that the prince of Orange ſhould oblige himſelf, by a ſecret article, to pay the ſum mentioned to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and his ſucceſſors, during the life of the Queen. If the prince of Orange acts ſincerely, he will accept this propoſal. If it is rejected, the affair, in all likelihood, will be of no conſequence; and yet there is no doubt, but his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty is very careful to put on a ſolid foundation, a thing ſo honourable to himſelf and neceſſary to the Queen of England."

To obviate theſe difficulties, the following propoſals were ſent to the abbé Renaudot, to be conveyed to the French plenipotentiaries.

Inſtructions for the French Ambaſſador.

Ibid. D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 46.

They are in Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

"1ſt, IT is deſired, that my lord Rocheſter and my lord Godolphin, who are the commiſſioners named, by the letters patent and the act of parliament, empowering them to receive the revenue of the Queen's

1697. October. Queen's appanage, may have orders from the prince of Orange to execute their truſt, as being the perſons who can give legal diſcharges for what they receive.

2dly, That, ſince it becomes payable, at leaſt, ſince the time it has been promiſed at Ryſwick, and ſince, according to the firſt agreement it ſhould be paid at quarterly terms, of which Chriſtmas is one, it is deſired that the firſt quarterly payment ſhould be made Chriſtmas next,

3dly, That, in caſe they fail to pay punctually every quarter as it become due, it is deſired application ſhould be made to the prince of Orange for redreſs, by the ambaſſador of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty.

4thly, As to the intereſts of Catholics in general, it is deſired, that the ambaſſador may adviſe with biſhop Leyborn, concerning what may be moſt expedient for their relief and protection; that biſhop being a perſon of great prudence and experience, and knowing well that, at this time, the intereſts of France and of religion are the ſame.

5thly, It would be agreeable that endeavours ſhould be made to obtain a ſuſpenſion of the penal laws againſt Catholics, as well in Scotland and in Ireland, as in England, where they have ſhewn ſome ſort of moderation for ſome years. But in Scotland, their laws are executed with rigour, by impriſoning and baniſhing all prieſts, merely becauſe they are prieſts; and in Ireland, the great ſeverity of the new laws paſſed there, gives reaſon to fear the ſame rigour in their execution.

6thly, Alſo all the King's friends who are ordinarily called Jacobites, are recommended to the ambaſſador's protection, leſt they ſhould be oppreſſed merely for having been loyal to their Sovereign, while they live peaceably, without giving any offence to the preſent government.

7thly, It is further deſired, that the publick faith engaged in the capitulation of the city of Limerick, ſhould be maintained in all its articles; and that all who were without the town, as well as thoſe who were within, and laid down their arms upon the faith of theſe articles, ſhould be allowed to enjoy their fortunes, according to the ſaid capitulation.

There are other three articles, recommending to the ambaſſador to obtain the liberty of colonel Macelligot, Sir Nevil Paine, and the ſon of Sir William Jennings."

Lewis the XIVth ſent this memorial, with the following letter, to his plenipotentiaries, at Ryſwick. 1697. October.

Tranſlation.

October 7.

"YOU ſee by the memorial I ſend you, the difficulties which the Queen of England has reaſon to foreſee, if ſhe ſhall be obliged to receive, in her own name, the revenue which ſhe has a right to enjoy in conſequence of Engliſh acts of parliament. To prevent theſe difficulties, ſhe would chuſe that you could agree upon the expedient propoſed in this memorial. You may ſpeak about it to the Engliſh ambaſſadors; and, as I doubt not but the King, their maſter, is ſincerely inclined to pay what ſhall be due to this princeſs, the form of doing it ſhould be a matter of indifference to him. You are to concert with the ambaſſadors the different expedients which may be adopted. But, before you fix upon any, you are to give us an account of what they propoſe." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 48.

The Marquis de Torcy to the Earl of Middleton; with a copy of the preceding letter, and one of the act which was ſigned by the Engliſh ambaſſadors. Ibid.

Tranſlation.

October 15, 1697.

"I Send you the copy you aſked, of the act which the Engliſh ambaſſadors have paſſed for ſecuring the Queen's penſion; and I join, at the ſame time, what his Majeſty has written to his plenipotentiaries, when he ſent them the memorial which you gave me. They have not yet anſwered that letter, and I ſhall not fail to acquaint you with what they ſhall write on the ſubject. They have orders to make repreſentations in favour of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, for executing the capitulation of Limerick, of which I have ſent them a copy, by his Majeſty's orders. Original.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

DE TORCY."

The

1697. October. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton's anſwer to the Marquis de Torcy.

Tranſlation.

October 21, 1697.

"I Have received the letter which you did me the honour to write to me from Fountainbleau on the 15th inſtant, with the extract of the mediation, and the inſtruction for his Majeſty's plenipotentiaries, with which the Queen of England is entirely ſatisfied, and ſhe has ordered me to thank you. But there is a groſs miſtake in the extract, which you will undoubtedly judge neceſſary to correct; becauſe acts of parliament are never ſealed, and have no other ſanction but that *it is the King's pleaſure.* This may give a handle to the Engliſh to uſe ſhifts, and to ſay, that they are not obliged to make any payments, unleſs a ſealed act is produced, which is impoſſible. I have marked the words in the extract which I return to you, and below I have written thoſe which ought to be ſubſtituted in their place. I am perſuaded they will agree to them without any difficulty, becauſe they will be aſhamed to acknowledge an ignorance or a villany, equally inſupportable. It was merely to avoid theſe difficulties that the King, my maſter, propoſed to ſend one of his ſubjects to Delft, as it is impoſſible that theſe particulars can be known to others."

Ibid. vol. i. fol. No. 144. and vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

"*An extract of the Protocole of the Mediation held at Ryſwick the 20th September,* 1697," *as amended by Middleton.*

Tranſlation.

"THE ambaſſadors of the King of England have declared that the King, their maſter, has promiſed that the annual penſion of 50,000 l. ſterling, or ſuch other ſum as ſhall be found ſettled "by act of parliament, ſealed with the great ſeal of England *," in favour of the Queen, Mary D'Eſté, ſhall be paid for the future according to the ſaid act †, and that they conſent that the mediator ſhould inſert this in his protocole, and give an authentic copy of it

* Inſtead of theſe words, the following are to be inſerted: "By letters patent, ſealed with the great ſeal of England, and confirmed by act of parliament."

† "To the ſaid letters patent."

to

to the French ambaſſadors; in the preſence of whom, and alſo of the Dutch ambaſſadors, the ſaid declaration has been made. 1697. November.

LILLIEROOT.

All the apprehenſions of James and his Queen about her dowry muſt have been removed, by the following letter from the Swediſh mediator.

Monſieur de Lillieroot to Mr. de Harlay. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 47.

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

November 23, 1697.

"AS I am not well enough to go to Delft, and have the honour of delivering, by word of mouth, to your excellency, the anſwer which I have received from the King of England about the act for the Queen's penſion now in queſtion, I take the liberty to write to you about it. I ſpoke of it yeſterday to his Majeſty, according to my promiſe, and he confirmed to me what his ambaſſadors had declared ſo often; that the miſtake which has crept into the act, ſhall be of no prejudice to the principal object; that he is willing to ſtand faithfully by what has been promiſed; and that, for that purpoſe, he ſhall order his ambaſſador who ſhall go to the court of France, to regulate there the time and the manner of paying this penſion; ſo that there is no reaſon to be uneaſy about it. I am convinced, Sir, of the ſincerity of this promiſe, and I am, with great zeal and ſincerity.

SIR,

Your Excellency's moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant,

N. LILLIEROOT."

James publiſhed a proteſtation againſt the peace to be concluded at Ryſwick, and the following paper is indorſed, Ibid. vol. i. fol. No. 141.

"*Inſtructions to be ſent with the King's proteſtation.*" Ibid. No. 140.

In Nairne's hand.

"AS we have looked on our people as our children, even with a hearty and ſincere deſire of retaining the diſobedient, we have always reck-

1697. November. oned the ſufferings of the dutiful among the moſt ſenſible of our afflictions; and we had nothing more in view by our conſtant endeavours to recover our right, than to have rewarded thoſe who had contributed to it.

The misfortune that happened to the French fleet at La Hogue in 1692, made ſuch an impreſſion on that court, that ever ſince, the difficulty of tranſporting a conſiderable force was thought to be inſuperable; and, therefore, from that time, applications were made to all the neutral nations to ſet a treaty of peace a foot, as may appear, by the date of their memorials given to the northern crowns; and they were the more ſolicitous in purſuing that deſign the year following, by reaſon of the famine and mortality that happened in their country, which ſtopt even the circulation of the money; ſo that nothing prevented the concluſion of the peace then, but that there were ſtill means left to ſupport the Prince of Orange's averſion to it, which we made uſe of, amongſt other arguments, to engage them to attempt our reſtoration, as being the ſhorteſt way of obtaining an honourable and laſting peace. But the tide turned. France recovered, and the confederacy declined; ſo that they hoped to compaſs their purpoſe without venturing any thing. The conjecture was ſo ſingularly unlucky, that our enemies' diſadvantages advanced this peace. Had Namur been relieved, we cannot doubt but it would have been concluded the winter following; ſince we ſee, that the ſeparate treaty with Savoy has produced that effect, which certainly gave the French all the advantage imaginable over their enemies.

At laſt, when we were convinced that nothing could divert them from their peaceable reſolution, and that the treaty was actually begun by M. de Calliere, our only care then was the preſervation of our loyal ſubjects; and, in order to that, in October, 1696, we inſiſted earneſtly that there might be an indemnity ſtipulated for all thoſe who had rendered themſelves obnoxious on our account: That all outlawries againſt them might be reverſed; and they reſtored to the full and quiet poſſeſſion of their eſtates.

This was frequently reiterated with all the proper arguments and undeniable precedents, both to the French court and to that of Rome; that by the laſt, it might be conveyed to all the catholic princes and ſtates.

It was propoſed at Ryſwick by the French, but rejected by the Engliſh. The fear of embaraſſing their own treaty, and leſt the ſame favour might be preſſed for the Huguenots, were the reaſons why it was not further inſiſted on by the French. 1697. November.

We cannot ſuppoſe that any of our good ſubjects can harbour ſuch diſreſpectful thoughts of us as to imagine that we were conſenting to this peace. If any have ſuch, we pity them, as the ravings of diſtempered people; and, without doubt, will be ſet right by reading our proteſtation.

There is nothing we deſire more than the quiet and ſafety of our good ſubjects: But every man muſt conſult himſelf in that point. If they do what we cannot allow of, we would not have them think that they have incurred our diſpleaſure thereby. We can freely pardon what we cannot approve. We cannot conſent to the taking of an unlawful oath in conſcience; beſides, it would look like abſolving them of their allegiance to us, which might be interpreted an abdication. We have a ſenſible compaſſion of the preſſures they lie under, and ſhall ſtill depend on their ſervice, when we have occaſion for it."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1698.

1698. January. THE treaty of Ryſwick had reſtored peace to Europe. William the Third ſat ſecurely on the throne of Britain. The enemies of his government ſeemed now cautiouſly to avoid all correſpondence with the late King; and thoſe who offered their ſervices to the court of St. Germains, were but a few indigent perſons, who meant, probably, to raiſe their fortunes by betraying their employers; at leaſt, Middleton ſeems now to have had this opinion of a man, with whom he himſelf had entered into correſpondence two years before *, if Piggott and Pigeault are the ſame name.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Biddiford, at Calais.

SIR, St. Germains, Jan. 2, 1698.

"I Am informed that one Mr. Piggott, a fat ſquinting fellow, to ſay no worſe of him, pretends to many people to have directions and meſſages from hence, which I can aſſure you is moſt falſe: Therefore, you cannot do our maſter better ſervice than to give them a caution of it; and that they ſhould truſt none but ſuch as they have an entire confidence in, or produce a credential. I hope to hear from you ſometimes; and, as often as I have occaſion, I ſhall endeavour to convince you, that I am moſt really, &c."

Berkenhead and Hunt, who are both mentioned in the following letter, are already known, by the earl of Middleton's correſpondence with

* See Middleton's letter of the 4th of Auguſt, 1696.

Monſ.

Monſ. de Thoſſe and the Abbé Renaudot, in the month of October, 1696*. 1698. January.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

Tranſlation.

" SIR, St. Germains, January 16, 1698.

" MR. Berkenhead writes to me from Calais, that one Hunt, whom he brought here, as you know, is reſolved to go back to England, and to recommend himſelf, at the expence of all thoſe who came over to France during the war; and, among the reſt, lord Ayleſbury will undoubtedly be beheaded. Againſt ſo great an evil there is no remedy, unleſs the King will be graciouſly pleaſed to ſend him ſilently to the Antilles, St. Domingo, or Canada, with an order to the governors to confine him; and by this means, if he is demanded, it may be anſwered with truth, that he is not in France. The evil is immediate; and, therefore, the King of England beſeeches you to repreſent this to the King, and to let him know his Majeſty's intentions."

The earl of Middleton, in a letter to the marquis de Torcy, on the 19th, deſires that the ſame precautions ſhould be taken againſt a Mr. Goodman, who had been an evidence againſt ſeveral in England; and, particularly, had informed againſt the duke of Powis, who, however, bribed him to retire to France. Goodman now ſeemed impatient to return. Middleton ſuſpected that his intention was to put himſelf under the protection of the earl of Portland, when he arrived; and therefore, in his maſter's name, deſires he ſhould be ſecured with Hunt. It appears, from another letter to De Torcy, written ſome months later, that Goodman was ſent a priſoner to Dauphiny, where his wife, in a petition to the Queen, deſired to be impriſoned with him. Middleton, in the meantime, endeavoured to renew his former correſpondence with ſome of his friends in England. There is a letter from him of the 16th of February, to Clelland (Waugh) containing general expreſſions of kindneſs and regard. He was then greatly alarmed that ſome letters of conſequence might be found about Mr. Croſby, who had been aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets of Paris. Croſby had carried on a correſpondence, for ſome time, with James's ſecret friends in England, and Middleton was Ibid.

* See above, page 565.

afraid

1698. afraid that he might have had letters about him which would involve many in troubles, if they fell into improper hands.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 11.

The clergy and people of Ireland preſented a memorial, this year, to a congregation at Rome, complaining that the Catholic princes had concluded a peace, without making any ſtipulation for the diſtreſſed Catholics of Ireland, England, and Scotland, and without conſulting the Holy See. They intimated their ſuſpicions, that the intrigues of the prince of Orange extended to the court of Rome itſelf. They had undergone, they ſaid, a ſevere perſecution for upwards of one hundred and ſeventy years. They were now laughed at by the proteſtants, when they ſaw them abandoned by thoſe from whom they expected protection. They enumerated the ſeveral laws which were enacted againſt them, and which muſt, in the end, extirpate the Catholic religion. They humbly propoſed to the Pope to ſend legates to the courts of all the Catholic princes, in order to perſuade thoſe princes to forbid all commerce with Great Britain, until the Catholics in the three kingdoms were freed from all reſtrictions in the exerciſe of their religion.

Ibid. No. 15.

The Pope wrote a conſolatory letter to them, exhorting them to patience and perſeverance, and promiſing them the aſſiſtance of his fervent prayers.

Ibid. No. 14.

At the ſame time he wrote a letter in their favour to the Emperor. It does not appear, that his Imperial Majeſty, in conſequence of this letter, made any repreſentations to the court of Great Britain. But before he received it, he muſt have ſent inſtructions to his envoy at London; for the Pope's letter is dated the 21ſt of June, and the following letter from the envoy to the Pope's nuncio is dated the 9th of May. It appears from it, that he had received inſtructions from the Emperor to make repreſentations to King William, in favour of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and obtained his Majeſty's promiſe that the penal laws lately enacted againſt them ſhould not be rigorouſly executed.

" *Copy*

1698.

"*Copy of a letter from Count D'Averſperg, Envoy Extraordinary from his Imperial Majeſty at London, to the Pope's Nuncio.*" Nairne's Papers, D N. vol. i. 4to. No. 12.

Tranſlation.

9th May, 1698.

"ALTHOUGH I have not done myſelf the honour of writing to you for ſome time, I have not, however, forgot my promiſe to acquaint you, when the opportunity offered, with every thing that happened here concerning the affairs of Ireland. I don't doubt, but you have been informed of the laws, which have been paſt during this ſeſſion of parliament, againſt the Catholics, and particularly againſt monks, biſhops, and all thoſe who have any eccleſiaſtical dignity. And as his imperial Majeſty, my auguſt maſter, has been informed of them, he has been pleaſed to order me to ſpeak about them to his Britannic Majeſty. I did not fail to do ſo, as well as I could, and to ſuch purpoſe, that his Majeſty ſent yeſterday the chancellor of that kingdom to me, to tell me, that it is true theſe laws were paſt, but that they would not be rigorouſly executed: that all the monks would not be baniſhed, although it was almoſt impoſſible to tolerate them longer, on account of their great inſolence, and their little reſpect for the preſent government. Yet ſome of them would be allowed to remain, particularly thoſe, who, on account of their great age, were incapable of leaving the kingdom. That all the biſhops and other eccleſiaſtical dignitaries would be allowed to remain; and that the Catholics might have as many ſecular prieſts as they pleaſed, in towns, as well as in villages and other places. As complaints were made, that the capitulation of Limerick was not kept, the chancellor explained this to me in ſuch a manner, that I don't ſee there is any reaſon to complain. I was informed likewiſe, that the parliament had paſſed a law, by which all the Catholics were obliged to educate their children in the pretended reformed religion. But the truth is, that they did not even think of ſuch a law. The queſtion now is, to ſee that all, that hath been promiſed to me, ſhall be punctually performed. I ſhall take care of this. At the ſame time, the Catholics muſt behave in ſuch a way as will enable me to be of ſervice to them. I was willing to communicate this to you, in order to ſhew you, that no opportunity

1698. tunity is neglected of maintaining our holy religion. I entreat you, most humbly, to be persuaded, that I am, &c.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to No. 19, 21, 22, 25, 27.

The court of Rome disputed with James the power of nominating bishops in Ireland. His agent, M. Caprara, presented two memorials, on the subject, to the propaganda. The bishop of Limerick gave in his objections; and James was obliged to defend himself in a long and laboured reply. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm of this prince, and his submissive obedience to the see of Rome in spirituals, it appears, that he never intended to acknowledge the Pope's supremacy in temporal concerns. The Irish bishops were sensible of this, and, though he had lost his crowns for his attachment to their religion, they told him plainly that he was under *a sentence of excommunication*; and that he must be publickly absolved, before he could interfere in their affairs. Their reasonings to prove this are no less curious, than the absurdity of their pretensions. They are contained in the following paper, entituled,

Ibid. No. 18.

"*How to treat with the Pope.*"

"WE must lay, for an undoubted foundation, that the Pope will do nothing, but according to the canons.

Therefore, it is in vain to treat with the Pope, unless we resolve to be guided by them.

It is certain, that England was heretofore excommunicated, according to the canons; and the kingdom lies, at this day, under the excommunication.

So, no Englishman can, by the canons, appear as a public person, in name of the community, till the excommunication is taken off.

For, although many English Catholics are, by special privileges, absolved in particular; yet the absolution serves not to make them capable to deal, as public persons, with his Holiness. But they must be publickly absolved, amongst the rest.

Therefore, the public excommunication must be taken off, before the kingdom can be capable of treating publickly with his Holiness; and it is his Holiness alone that can take it off.

Which

Which being ſo, the King ought to look upon the Pope as his ſuperior, and upon himſelf as a perſon not yet lawfully qualified to treat publickly with his Holineſs; who is, therefore, to be privately demanded what the canons require ſhould be done in this caſe, until the whole kingdom may be diſpoſed to receive a public ſolemn abſolution. 1698.

In my judgment, this ought to have been done before the crown was ſet upon his Majeſty's head: and now, that very ceremony ought to be brought into conſideration, to the end that the ſubject may, for the future, live under a catholic crown.

No doubt, but the Pope will be forwarder to grant, than we to demand, as long as we keep within the bounds of the holy canons.

If we ſwerve from them, we cannot expect the Pope ſhould be otherwiſe than hard, uneaſy, inflexible."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1699.

1699. November. THE late King, having diſcontinued all efforts for regaining his crown, ever ſince the year 1697, applied his whole attention and time to acts of devotion. He, in ſome meaſure, ran his own life, againſt that of King William, and reſted his whole hopes upon his project of throwing himſelf in the hands of his former ſubjects. In this diſpoſition of his mind and affairs, the correſpondence, with his adherents, ſeems to have been greatly interrupted; which circumſtance renders the preſent year peculiarly barren in ſecret intrigues. This ſituation of things prevented not a renewal of profligate propoſals for the aſſaſſination of King William.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Charras offers to aſſaſſinate King William.

Tranſlation.

St. Germains, Nov. 17, 1699.

"I Send you two informations; the one from a chaplain of the King of England, and the other from one of his phyſicians. Although Charras ſaid he would come and call upon me, he has not done it, but left the place while I waited for him; probably the phyſician's diſcourſe frightened him. The King, my maſter, is deſirous that he may be apprehended and queſtioned; it is probable he may be caught at his brother the apothecary's, or by watching the ſtreets in the corner of the town where lord Mancheſter lives."

The

1699. November. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 62.

The information of Mr. Conſtable, the King's Phyſician, mentioned in the preceding letter.

Tranſlation.

Nov. 17th, 1699.

"YESTERDAY, the 16th of November, a porter came two or three times in the morning, deſiring very earneſtly to ſpeak to me. At laſt, between 11 and 12, he brought me a note, which I ſent to her Majeſty by Mr. Innes, the chaplain, who is acquainted with this affair. The bearer of the note told me, that he had the ſtricteſt orders from the perſon who ſent it, not to permit any other to ſee it.

I went immediately to the perſon, who had written the note to me. I found him in a little dark room, in the publick-houſe called The prince of Wales, and ſaw a young man, whom I recollected to have known, but of whom I had a very imperfect remembrance. He told me, that his name was Charras; that he was brother to the apothecary of the ſame name, at St. Marget's-ſtreet, near the abbey of St. Germains, at Paris. After ſome compliments, he told me, that he had an affair of great conſequence to communicate to me, which required great ſecrecy: that he had an expedient of rendering an eſſential ſervice to the King, our maſter: that, although he was a ſtranger to his Majeſty, he had an entire affection for him: that he had always lamented the injuſtice which had been done him: that he was determined to ſurmount all the difficulties which might occur: that he had only two or three friends; and that theſe were domeſtics of the prince of Orange's, but devoted to the intereſts of King James: that a number of accomplices would render an enterprize of that kind always hazardous; and that the laſt affair failed, merely becauſe too many were acquainted with it.

All his expreſſions indicated, that he cared little for his life, providing the King might be reſtored. He enlarged upon the ſubject; and was willing, I imagine, to diſcover to me the expedient, which he mentioned. But I aſſured him, that the King, my maſter, had principles of religion and honour, which would never permit him to countenance ſuch an attempt. This anſwer embarraſſed and ſeemed to confound him; but, recovering himſelf, he enlarged upon the recompenſe, which ſuch an heroic action would deſerve; and obſerved, that, although he and his

1699. November. comrades ſhould periſh in the attempt, the action would be always reckoned glorious, and that the advantages, which their relations might derive from it, would be a ſufficient recompenſe for the loſs of their lives.

He told me alſo, that he had communicated this affair to Mr. Innes, which I now find to be falſe; and that Mr. Innes deſired him to come to me. He aſſured me alſo, at the ſame time, that he would make it known to one or both of the ſecretaries of ſtate. But, as ſoon as I came home, I ſaw from the window of my room, that he left the inn, being diſſatisfied, as I imagine, with my anſwers; and concluded, that I would make a diſcovery to the King and to both the ſecretaries of ſtate; and I have ſince learned, that he left St. Germains, though he told me, that he would not, and that he had choſen that lodging, in order to be more private, and that he would not ſee any body, until he had concerted this affair, which he would eaſily do, without noiſe or danger. This is the ſubſtance, and almoſt all the circumſtances, of what he told me; and I am ready to declare ſo upon oath, when called upon."

ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1700.

WHILE James devoted himſelf to the auſterities of religion, his miniſters continued, in ſome degree, their intrigues with their friends in England. In Mr. Nairne's collection, we have ſome letters, under feigned names, which paſſed between them this year. 1700. October.

The Earl of Middleton to his correſpondents in England.

Wedneſday, the 20th Oct. 1700. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 1.

"I Have ſo full and ſo good an anſwer to give you from Mr. Mons, that your heart cannot think or wiſh for a better. But how to do it, without the key [the cypher] of the cabinet where the papers lie, is impoſſible. Wherefore, upon receipt of this, ſend me the key. I am very glad the colonel * minds his buſineſs. His letters will be acceptable, ſince the people he has to do with are in a full diſpoſition to take advice. Do not you think, that the credit of our trade will increaſe every day, when it evidently will appear, that we go upon fair and juſt things, and will be a motive to good men to deal more freely with us; and the greateſt ſervice can be done us is, to perſuade ſuch to do ſo? For we are diſpoſed to give an entire and full ſatisfaction to every body, and we aim at nothing but peace, reſt, and quiet, and to leave people to cut out their own happineſs, in their own way, and by their own inſtruments."

SIR, Wedneſday, the 3d Nov. 1700.

"MR. Mons [the King] deſires to be kindly remembered to you, and bids me tell you, that you may, in his name, inform the gentlemen you mention in yours, and any other you judge convenient, that

* Probably Colonel Sackville.

John

1700. November. John Murey [the King] is fully reſolved to give all the ſatisfaction to his creditors [people] of all ſorts, that their hearts can wiſh or deſire: that the old debts [the paſſive] ſhall be firſt conſidered [forgiven], and then the new [the active] rewarded; and that all other things ſhall be left to the arbitrement of the arbitrators [parliament that ſhall be immediately called]. In the mean time, it is deſired from his friends, that may be in or out of town [parliament], to guard againſt any thing, that may be propoſed, relative to the ſale of lands [the ſucceſſion] at all. But, if they find they cannot obtain that, and that they will take it into conſideration rather than any other ſhould be named, to endeavour that Mr. Murey's beſt friend [the prince of Wales] have the preference."

November 17th, 1700.

Nairne's Papers, vol viii. 4to. No. 1. "I Received yours of the 24th October, which was our 6th of November, with one incloſed from the colonel; to which I give you the trouble to give him the incloſed, for anſwer, which I ſhould have done, by the laſt poſt, but could not by reaſon of a meeting I had with ſome friends, which took up all my time for that day. I am very ſenſible of that gentleman's good intentions to do us all the good he can, and I believe he will do me that juſtice to ſay, I was always ſo from the firſt day I had the honour to know him; and, by what I ſay from Mr. Mons, he will ſee how much he thinks he is obliged to him. If you have received all mine of the 3d inſtant, you will perfectly ſee, that John Murey [the King] does not intend that words, but deeds, ſhould convince both his friends and his enemies: for, as he reſerves nothing in his power, they have nobody but themſelves to blame, if every thing be not done to their contentment; and, if that cannot do, you know the proverb, "You can have no more of the cat but the ſkin." However, if there be any thing to be expected from his creditors [the people], he is very deſirous to give a meeting to any one, that will come from them, and he does not doubt but to give them all the ſatisfaction they can expect; and if the thing be rightly underſtood, they muſt ſee the great advantages, that is upon their ſide. Whereas, he has nothing before his eyes, but to have every thing, by arbitrement of the arbitrators [parliament], diſpoſed of to the beſt advantage of his creditors [people]; and nobody can imagine, but the longer it is delayed, the greater will be their loſs. For, if the ſale of

lands [ſucceſſion] be neglected, you will allow the loſs will every day be the more. Therefore, let me intreat you to preſs the having all theſe things taken into conſideration. 1700. November.

As for news, you had the contents of the King of Spain's will in the laſt Paris Gazette, viz. The duke of Anjou is named to the entire ſucceſſion of the whole monarchy, failing him the duke de Berry, and failing him the archduke, ſecond ſon to the emperor, and after him the duke of Savoy.

The bees [city] you mention have been and are ſtill very troubleſome, and that you will ſee confounds all and makes us deſpair of all the reſt, when ſo little a thing cannot be removed. So that all I can ſay is, that, if you could get the bees [city] recommended by the worthies you mention in yours as injurious to them, in the preſent conjuncture, and that, at ſuch a time, when they are ſetting up for good management, every thing ſhould appear by actions, as the parting with ſuch as have waſted by their profuſeneſs, and deſtroyed by their councils all the improvements that might have been made: that it is not agreeable with good management to put ſtrangers over a family, that reckons they have wiſer people of their own. The oldeſt of the bees [city] is ſupported by nothing now, but the ſhame of acknowledging a fault, and it's he only that ſupports the reſt; and inſtructions upon that, from theſe people, would be well taken, but from no other, ſhewing them, that perſevering in bad things is the greateſt fault, and coming out of it makes the greateſt amends that can be for any fault: that, whilſt they think to cover it, by their perſeverance, the meaneſt capacities of their ſervants ſee it, and conſequently deſpiſe them for it.

Since I begun to write this letter, I have got yours of the 28th, and I thank you for the account you give me of that worthleſs fellow. I am ſatisfied of the truth of it; for theſe letters have been ſhewn on this ſide, as well as on yours; and yet for all that, and all we could ſay of the affront and injury done to the perſon of honour, which Mr. Mons repreſented very warmly, the M. i. i. f. c. y. and his gang carried it, and he was juſtified. If that gentleman knew what Mr. Mons ſaid upon that head, he would be well pleaſed; but he was anſwered, that it was otherwiſe: that, far from doing him prejudice, he had ſerved him. In a word,

he

1700. November. he has qualified himſelf to be thought capable of ſerving what I am ſatisfied he ſets up for; and he certainly was ſent thither for that end."

It is probable, that ſome of thoſe members, in both houſes of parliament who moved for the ſevere addreſſes to King William, on the treaties of partition, in March 1701, were acquainted with the ſentiments of the court of St. Germains, on the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; as the addreſſes themſelves ſeem to be the echo of the following letters, written by the earl of Middleton to England.

SIR, 24 November, 1700.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. viii. 4to. No. 1.

"IN my laſt, I gave you the account of the King of Spain's death, and that the entire ſucceſſion to theſe great dominions were given to the duke of Anjou, &c. and now what may be the conſequence of it, is, at preſent, the great ſubject of our diſcourſe and reaſoning. The French reckon themſelves much obliged to the league they lately made with Holland and England; and, indeed, ſo they may: for that, and that only, has put a conſtraint upon Spain to put aſide the arch-duke; ſeeing themſelves under a neceſſity either to do that or have their dominions torn in pieces by the partage. I long extremely to hear how this will be taken by the parliament, and by the wiſe people of England. For here was a league made, without adviſing and conſulting them upon the matter, and certainly very much to the prejudice of trade and intereſt of the nation, which, no doubt, would have been examined into by the parliament; and, indeed, if it was reaſonable to do it then, it is no leſs reaſonable to do it now, upon what has happened. For, in all reſpects, this ſettlement has, at leaſt, as bad an aſpect towards England, as the other. Humanly ſpeaking, here is a friendſhip betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France for fifty years, taking in a grandfather, a father, and a brother's friendſhip to a King of their own ſetting up. What trade can England propoſe to have in the Mediterranean, and in all the Spaniſh dominions, if France vie with them for it, though there be no war; and if there be, how can they maintain a fleet, without the aſſiſtance of the Spaniſh ports and harbours? And it is evident, that this, and whatever worſe conſequences may ariſe from it, it is this triple league that is the occaſion; ſince it brought them upon the neceſſity

before mentioned. The duke of Bavaria has writ to the King of Spain, and the general of their forces in the Netherlands will be at Verſailles the morrow: ſo that you ſee here Flanders conſenting already; and in what a condition would the Hollanders be, though Spain never made war upon them, but only were, in caſe of a war betwixt France and them, conſenting to their troops marching through Flanders? And what would become of that bulwark which England and Holland have formerly thought their intereſt to maintain, though at their own charges, and which, in all appearance, is now loſt by a league of their own making with the King of France? Doctor Davenant will not need burn his book againſt the league, but add an appendix, to ſhow that it has had the ſame evil conſequences, or rather worſe, than it could have had, if all things had ſtood as they were when it was made, and the execution had been made accordingly." 1700. Nov.—Dec.

SIR, Wedneſday, 1ſt of December, 1700. December. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 1.

"I Have yours of the 14th of November, O. S. and I am ſorry you had then ſo little time to write; for there are two things I hoped to have had from you. One was the account of the Scotch parliament; the other, how you reaſon upon this great affair of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, whereof you had my opinion, upon the 24th of November, N. S. Of both, I hope to have ſomething from you by the next. As to the Scotch parliament, by other letters, I am glad to find all goes for the court. You know my opinion as to John Murey's [the King's] affairs, is the ſame with yours; and yet, if it were poſſible to perſuade people to accept of what he offers, it would bring every thing into the ſame channel that we propoſe it to run in, by a more natural way than all other overtures can make it; and, by this method too, you ſee he does not deſire to be truſted: for he gives all out of his own hands. But this is an argument that I would not have you make uſe of with the colonel; and yet it is the beſt thing could happen, both for him and his friends. But all propoſitions any other way, in our parts, that is downright, will be to no purpoſe; and yet, upon your ſide of the water, they would naturally of themſelves conſider this and preſs it, where there is occaſion. The bees [city] are a dead weight upon them, and look more like a judgment than any thing elſe; they being an abomination

1700. December. to all the reſt of mankind but themſelves; and this caſe truly ſtated, by the colonel's friends, would be of great uſe for them and us too, and I am perſuaded they ſuffer, at leaſt, as much by them as we do.

Yeſterday, the Dutch ambaſſador was at Verſailles, to demand an audience of the King, and was refuſed. It is ſaid the King of France ſhould ſay, that, when he had the audience of the King of Spain, he ſhould have it of him. Whether he ſaid this or not, I cannot be poſitive. But it is certain he was refuſed, and that to the ſeeing of as many as were about the King's apartments at the moſt public time of the day; and, it is believed, the Engliſh ambaſſador will be ſerved juſt ſo. Thus, you ſee what that ſecret treaty is like to bring us to. How ſeaſonable it may be to think upon John Murey's [the King's] propoſition, I leave you to judge."

SIR, Wedneſday, 8th of December, 1700.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 1.

"I Have ſeen yours of the 27th of November; and I am glad you are got ſafe to London. I find you are alarmed there with the duke of Anjou being declared King of Spain, and, no doubt, you have reaſon; for the conſequences of it may be ſtill greater than your apprehenſions of them are. It is not probable, that the duke of Bavaria will remain long governor of Flanders, though he ſent his compliments to the King of Spain, and done all other marks of joy and acknowledgment upon that ſubject. The general of the Spaniſh forces in Flanders was likewiſe with the King of Spain before he went from hence; and was immediately ſent back, upon an expreſs from the duke of Bavaria, upon ſome apprehenſions they had of the Dutch garriſons. It is certain that the King of France aſked the Spaniſh ambaſſador what their debt was to the Dutch, for which they had the poſſeſſion of theſe towns. He anſwered, ſix million. Well, ſays the King, if the councils of Spain think fit to free themſelves of theſe garriſons, I will make good the money. So that you ſee there is made good what you ſeem in England to fear, in the moſt material part. Beſides, the governor of the French Flanders has orders to ſend the duke of Bavaria, or the Spaniſh general what troops they ſhall demand, upon any occaſion.

When I think upon the conſequences that this ſucceſſion to Spain may produce, I cannot but reflect upon the means and inſtruments that have

been made uſe of to bring it about. To ſay, that England and Holland ſhould be theſe inſtruments, is ſtrange, and yet certainly true. For that ſecret treaty, made by the King of England and the Dutch with France, has put the Spaniards upon a neceſſity of doing for themſelves the wiſeſt thing they ever did, calling the duke d'Anjou to be their King: for nothing but this neceſſity could have made them lay aſide the Auſtrian family. They ſaw, by this ſecret league, their territories divided, their monarchy torn in pieces, a power ſet up againſt them, France, England, and Holland to make good their diviſion, too ſtrong for them, and all they could expect to aſſiſt them; and ſo, by giving it to the duke of Anjou, humanly ſpeaking, they have ſecured to themſelves a peace with France for fifty years, entailed upon the life of a grandfather, a father, and a brother, who will think it their glory to maintain a ſon of France in theſe great dominions; and it is not to be doubted, but the children of his body will be as good Spaniards as ever were before them; ſo that Spain has acted a wiſe part. 1700. December.

It's dangerous for any ſtate to be governed by a head that is notional; for ſuch are generally given to try experiments. What greater ſecurity could England have, than in the Augſburg league? Why was not that renewed, which would have kept the kingdom in peace for hundreds of years, in all probability? But this treaty, amongſt other things, has deſtroyed the credit and friendſhip the Auſtrian family can have for our King hereafter. So that, by this *tour de baton*, he has loſt his new friends and his old ones together.

Your couſin [the King] is very well. I never ſaw ſo great a change upon a man, in ſo little time. I was with him, at Verſailles, when the King of Spain parted; and I dare be bold to ſay, that, if you ſee him three or four months hence, you will admire the alteration, with great joy. My friend and his partner give you both their humble ſervice; and they do not doubt but you will mind them upon occaſion. I am,

SIR,

Your moſt faithful and moſt humble Servant.

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1701.

1701. June. THE earl of Marlborough and his friend Berry will be frequently mentioned in the courſe of the following correſpondence. Berry's name occurs in ſome of lord Middleton's letters, during the years 1696 and 1697. But Marlborough's correſpondence with the court of St. Germains was carried on, at that time, through the means of colonel Sackville, and we find him now, for the firſt time, mentioned with Berry.

Marlborough is mentioned, under the feigned names of Gourny, Gurney, Gurny, Armſworth, and the lawyer. The following copy of a letter, from Berry, concerning that lord and his friend Godolphin, is in Nairne's hand. It is neither ſigned nor addreſſed; but it is marked on the back by Nairne himſelf.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 49.

"*Extract of a letter from Berry, concerning Gourny.*"

Tranſlation.

"June, 1701."

"MR. Berry has been, ſome days ago, by appointment, with Mr. Gourny [Marlborough] and his aſſociates, from whom he has had all imaginable aſſurances, that they have been induced to enter into commerce with Bailly, merely from a view of being able, in the proper time and place, to pay the debt due to Mr. Goodall [King James]; and it does not appear to me, that there is any room to doubt but Mr. Gourny will be ſoon in condition to ſatisfy all the creditors, by providing a reaſonable compoſition with regard to the concern of Whitely [the Queen]. And as to Mr. Goodall's debt, I am aſſured it will be the firſt which will be diſcharged. There are many reaſons which induce me to believe ſo; being daily more and more convinced that we ſhall follow the good example

ample which Mr. Richard has lately given us; for which all the parties concerned ſeem to prepare themſelves. The principal aſſociates in the direction of this affair, are Mr. Gourny [Marlborough], Mr. Gilburne [Godolphin], Mr. Travers [Tunſtal], and Mr. Loffield. I could not hinder myſelf from ſending you this news; knowing how agreeable it will be to you to know it, as well as to your friend Mr. Gerrard, to whom Mr. Arnot will write about it more fully, when he is at leiſure. It is, therefore, unneceſſary to communicate more to you about it at preſent. 1701. June.

Death and Character of James II.

"THE King publickly, and by name, forgave all his enemies. He had often declared, that he was more beholden to the prince of Orange than to all the world beſides. The King of France came to wait upon him. He lighted at the caſtle-gate, as others did, to prevent the noiſe of coaches from diſturbing him. Juſt before he expired, he mentioned by name, with a loud voice, the prince of Orange, the princeſs of Denmark, and the Emperor; and ſaid he wiſhed they might be acquainted that he forgave them all. The King of France, the third time he came to ſee the King, declared he would own the prince of Wales King of England. He had heſitated long. The dauphin, the duke of Burgundy, and all the princes thought it unbecoming the dignity of the crown of France, not to own the title of the prince of Wales. He firſt acquainted the Queen, then the Prince, of his reſolution. He came, at laſt, to the King's bed-ſide. "Sir," ſaid he, "I am come to ſee how your Majeſty finds yourſelf to-day." But the King not hearing, made no reply. Upon which, one of his ſervants telling him, that the King of France was there, he rouſed himſelf, and ſaid, "Where is he?" Upon which the King of France replied, "Sir, I am here, and I am come to ſee how you do?" The King thanked him for all his favours. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty replied, "Sir, what I have done is but a ſmall matter. I have ſomething to acquaint you with of greater conſequence." The King's ſervants began to retire. "Let nobody withdraw," ſaid the King of France. "I am come, Sir, to acquaint you, that whenever it ſhall pleaſe God to call your Majeſty out of this world, I will take your family into my protection, and will treat your ſon, the prince of Wales, in the ſame manner I have treated you, and acknowledge him, as he then will. Macpherſon's Extracts, from the continuation of James the Second's memoirs, Scotch College.

1701. will be, King of England." All that were preſent, whether French or Engliſh, burſt at once into tears, expreſſive of a mixture of joy and grief. Some threw themſelves at his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's feet. All ſeemed ſo much affected, that the King of France himſelf burſt into tears. The King of England was endeavouring to ſay ſomething. But the confuſed noiſe was ſo great, and he ſo weak, that he could not be heard. The King of France went away. But as he paſſed, he called the officer of the guard, and deſired him to treat the prince of Wales as King, whenever his father ſhould expire.

The next day, the King was ſomething better. The prince of Wales was permitted to ſee him, which he was not often ſuffered to do; it being obſerved, that when he ſaw him, it raiſed ſuch a commotion in him, as was thought to do him harm. When he came into the room, the King ſtretching forth his arms to embrace him, ſaid, "I have not ſeen you ſince his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty was here, and promiſed to own you when I ſhould be dead. I have ſent my lord Middleton to Marly, to thank him for it." He was taken next day with continual convulſions and ſhaking in his hands; and, on the day following, being the ſixteenth of September, he expired.

He was ſomething above the middle ſtature, well-ſhaped, very nervous and ſtrong. His face was rather long, his complexion fair, his countenance engaging. But his outward carriage was a little ſtiff and conſtrained. He was not ſo gracious as he was courteous and obliging. He was affable and of eaſy acceſs. He affected no formality, though no one knew the ceremonial better, nor was more exact in the obſervation of them when neceſſary. In his converſation and arguing, he endeavoured rather to convince with good reaſon than fine expreſſions; and having ſome heſitation in his ſpeech, his diſcourſe was not ſo graceful as it was judicious and ſolid. He abhorred the duplicity of a refined courtier. He was an aſſured friend, if he profeſſed it; and when he could not ſerve a man, he let him inſtantly know it. His temper was naturally hot and choleric. But, in his latter days, he got the better of that; and, even in his younger days, it ſeldom ſo much overpowered him, as to make him do any action unbecoming. Though he was diffident of men, he was no leſs unſucceſsful, when he reigned, in detecting his enemies, than he had been, the moſt part of his life, in chooſing

chooſing his friends. He was a great lover of walking and hunting. 1701.
But no diverſion made him neglect buſineſs; to which he had ſo great an application, that it ſeemed to be of the number of his diverſions. He was ſo diſtinguiſhable for this, that, during his younger days, notwithſtanding the unſettledneſs of his condition, while he lived in exile, he had not only performed his duty with great exactneſs, but kept an account of all occurrences; and he has obliged poſterity with better memorials under his own hand, than perhaps any ſovereign prince has been known to leave behind him before.

He was, all his life, a great enemy to drinking, gaming, and indeed to all diverſions which commonly render men incapable of buſineſs. He avoided always the loſs of time, which he counted precious, and ever managed with great circumſpection. Even women, of whom he was fond, never induced him to neglect his buſineſs, run into extravagant expence, or totally forgetful of his duty. He was a kind huſband, notwithſtanding his love of women. His affection for the Queen was mixed with a reſpect and deference. He was the beſt father in the world, and the moſt unfortunate in ſome of his children; the beſt maſter, yet the worſt ſerved; a moſt conſtant friend, yet never prince found fewer, in his greateſt neceſſities. He was ſo fond of his children, in particular, that when he found the princeſs of Denmark had deſerted him, upon his return from Saliſbury, he only ſeemed anxious about her health, and fears for her miſcarriage."

"*The atteſtation of Sir David Nairne, concerning what he knew of the life and virtues of the late King of Great Britain, James the Second.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. 4to. No. 57.

Tranſlation.

Paris, 1734.

"AS I have the honour of having been near thirteen years, in the ſervice of the late King of Great Britain, James the Second, of bleſſed and holy memory, and having followed him, in that time, to Ireland, La Hogue, and Calais, and of having been every where a witneſs of his holy life, particularly at St. Germains, where I had likewiſe the misfortune to be preſent at his laſt ſickneſs and death; it is ſuppoſed, that, old as I am now, at the age of ſeventy-nine years almoſt

complete,

1701. complete, I may be ſtill able to recollect ſome circumſtances of the life of that prince. Accordingly, it is juſt now intimated to me, that I ſhall be ſummoned one of theſe days, with ſome other old officers of his Majeſty's houſhold, to give each of us, an authentic teſtimony of his life and manners; and I am adviſed, at the ſame time, to put in writing, for the ſake of greater exactneſs, whatever I can remember.

This then I am going to do, with all the ſincerity I can, and as in the preſence of God, before whom I muſt appear; being very ſorry that my memory (which was never very good, and which is leſs ſo to-day than ever) cannot ſecond my zeal upon this occaſion ſo much as I would chooſe. For the preſent King of Great Britain (in the ſervice of whom, and of the late King, his father, I have the honour of having paſſed upwards of forty-ſix years) knows, that it is on account of my great age and of my infirmities, that he was pleaſed, laſt year, to grant me permiſſion to retire from his court at Rome, (where I was no longer fit for buſineſs) and to come to finiſh my days in quietneſs in France. But yet, notwithſtanding my want of capacity, I ſhall obey the orders, which have been intimated to me, as faithfully as I poſſibly can.

To begin, I can atteſt with truth, that I have always obſerved, in King James the Second, of happy memory, a great fund of goodneſs and religion, an upright mind, a good heart, a great regularity of life, a paternal affection for all his loyal ſubjects and ſervants; and, above all, an inviolable attachment to the holy ſee, and to the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman religion, to which he had already ſacrificed his three crowns, and was diſpoſed to ſacrifice further his life, if neceſſary, as he often proteſted.

I atteſt, that during the reſidence of that prince at St. Germains, he heard ordinarily two maſſes every day, one in the morning, and another towards noon. That he performed his devotions, on all the great feſtivals, and likewiſe on ſeveral other days of the year, and then heard, for the moſt part, three maſſes; and if, on theſe days, there were veſpers, ſermon, and exaltation of the hoſt, at the pariſh church, or at the chapel of the caſtle, or the church of the Recoletts, he was there, and, in every lent and advent, he had ſermon in his chapel thrice a week, and he never failed to go there regularly, attended always by the Queen, his

religious

religious conſort, who was likewiſe, as every one knows, an example of piety. They went likewiſe together, every year, on foot, to the proceſſion of the holy ſacrament, with the pariſh, over all the town of St. Germains. On the day and octave of Corpus Chriſti, and at the return of that long proceſſion, they ſtaid to hear high maſs, at the pariſh church; and, on every evening, during the octave, they were preſent at the exaltation of the hoſt; and, as there was ſcarcely a Sunday or a great holy-day, during the year, but there was an exaltation at the pariſh church, their Majeſties were always preſent; and when there was no eſtabliſhed fund for ſaying maſs, they ordered one to be ſaid, which kept up a great deal of devotion in the place, and edified every one. 1701.

In other reſpects, this pious prince ſo divided his time, between the duties of his ſtation and thoſe of religion, that the one never interfered with the other; and that all his hours were regulated, both for giving audience to his miniſters and others, and for ſleeping, riſing, eating, and walking, as well as for praying and pious reading and writing, inſomuch, that he was remarkable for his great exactneſs.

He was very charitable; and, as there were a great many of his poor faithful ſubjects, at St. Germains, who had loſt their fortunes to follow him, he was touched with their condition, and retrenched, as much as he could, to aſſiſt them. He uſed to call, from time to time, into his cabinet, ſome of theſe baſhful, indigent perſons, of all ranks, to whom he diſtributed, folded up in ſmall pieces of paper, five, ten, fifteen, or twenty piſtoles, more or leſs, according to the merit, the quality, and the exigency of each.

He charged ſome of his chaplains to take care, that none of his catholic ſervants failed to perform their devotions regularly at Eaſter; and, as he was the mildeſt and beſt of maſters, and loved all his ſervants and deſired their eternal happineſs, he lamented the misfortune of ſuch of them, as had been educated in the proteſtant religion, and through prepoſſeſſion, or a falſe point of honour or human conſiderations, perſiſted in it. He prayed to God, with all his heart, for their converſion, and ſometimes took occaſion to exhort them, to think ſeriouſly of inquiring whether they were in the true church or not, ſince upon that depended their eternal ſalvation; and he gave them ſometimes good books to

1701. read. But he always ſpoke to them with mildneſs and diſcretion, letting them always underſtand, that he never meant to force the conſciences of his ſubjects; believing himſelf obliged to be a common father to all, independently of the differences of religion.

He, as well as the late Queen, his conſort, was much addicted to the continual adoration of the hoſt, eſtabliſhed in the pariſh of St. Germains; and for that purpoſe, he ſet apart his hour and day of the year for going after dinner to the pariſh church, to continue an entire hour in prayer and meditation on his knees before the auguſt ſacrament of our altars; a devotion, to which the King, his ſon, continues to be much addicted, with the Queen, his conſort.

He practiſed, from time to time, ſpiritual retirements, for ſeven or eight days, in ſome religious houſe at Paris, from whence he went every day incognito, with a few attendants, to viſit churches and to be preſent at ſermons, maſſes, and ſalves; and when it was Eaſter-week, he went to the paſſion ſermon and night offices. He was likewiſe three or four times in retirement at La Trappe; one of which times I remember to have been, as he was on his way to La Hogue. He ſtaid there uſually three days, practiſing nearly the ſame abſtinence with the monks, and being preſent at a great part of their ſervice."

Nairne, having given ſeveral particular inſtances, of James's conſtant and unwearied attention to excite the ſame ſpirit of devotion in others, proceeds to give an account of his ſickneſs and death.

" I atteſt then, that, in this ſickneſs, he edified all thoſe who were about him, as well proteſtants as catholics, by his great patience in his ſufferings and by his perfect reſignation to the holy will of God, as to both life and death: that he confeſſed and communicated more than once, during his ſickneſs, and manifeſted always an extreme ſorrow for his paſt ſins, and a ſincere deſign for continuing to do penance for them, not only in this world, but alſo in purgatory, if it was the will of God; for ſo he explained himſelf.

That his great charity appeared, in this reſpect, that God gave him grace to forgive cordially all his enemies, and to pray for them; and, by name, for the Emperor and even the prince of Orange, ſaying aloud, that he was, in ſome meaſure, obliged to his enemies for the mercy which he hoped

God

God would ſhow him; becauſe, if he had remained on his throne and continued always in proſperity, he would not, perhaps, have ever thought of the great work of his ſalvation, as ſeriouſly and as efficaciouſly as he ought. 1701.

That his paternal affection for all his faithful ſubjects and ſervants, who had followed him in his exile and remained conſtantly attached to him, ſeemed to redouble, in proportion as he drew near his end: ſo that it might be ſaid of him, *in finem dilexit eos.* Accordingly, he recommended them all, in the ſame manner with his royal family, to the protection of the moſt Chriſtian King, when his Majeſty came to ſee him in his ſickneſs; and he had the conſolation, before his death, to know, from that great and generous Monarch's own mouth, that he would acknowledge the prince of Wales, his ſon, for King, as ſoon as God had diſpoſed of him. He ſpoke, in ſhort, with ſo much goodneſs, to the principal noblemen of his court, when he ſaw them about his bed, that they were all tenderly affected by it, ſeeing the zeal and real affection, with which he ſpoke to them of God, and exhorted them to think of their ſalvation and of death and eternity.

Here, I imagine, I ought not to paſs over, in ſilence, a fact, which is public and which is very remarkable, viz. that the earl of Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannick Majeſty, who was then a proteſtant, a man of polite learning and of great genius and capacity, as well as of honour and loyalty to his lawful King, was one of thoſe, to whom his Majeſty had ſpoke of religion, on his death-bed. Now the conſequence has ſhown, that what his Majeſty ſaid to him then, on the ſubject, had made a deep impreſſion on his mind. For a little time after the death of the King, God, in mercy to that nobleman, touched his heart, in ſuch a manner, that, when it was leaſt expected, he retired, on a ſudden, to the Engliſh ſeminary, at Paris; where, after having finally ſatisfied himſelf, in ſome doubts which remained with him concerning our religion, he abjured his own, and was received into the boſom of the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman church, in which he always perſevered while he lived, and died a good and zealous catholic. Every one aſcribed this to the prayers of the King, his maſter, and to the bleſſing which God gave to his exhortations to him before he died.

1701. I atteſt, finally, that his Majeſty, more than once, declared, on his death bed, that he died a ſon of the catholic, apoſtolic, and Roman church; and gave, to his laſt breath, inconteſtible proofs of the ſtrength of his faith, of his inviolable attachment to the holy ſee, and to all the truths of our holy religion, and of his filial obedience to our moſt holy father, the pope. In theſe truly catholic ſentiments I have ſeen this great prince die, after having received all the ſacraments, with an exemplary devotion, and having edified all the beholders by his patience and humility, by his entirely detaching himſelf from this world, and by his ardent love to Jeſus Chriſt, in whoſe merits he placed all the foundation of his hopes for eternity; and laſtly, by all the marks of a compunction, the moſt lively and moſt ſuitable to the contrite and humble heart of a penitent and holy King.

Thus died, the real death of the righteous, and with a great reputation of ſanctity, James the Second of bleſſed memory, King of Great Britain, at the caſtle of St. Germains, the ſixteenth of September 1701, after a ſickneſs of ſeveral days. His body was tranſported, three or four days thereafter, to Paris, and depoſited in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines, in the ſuburbs of St. James, where the people of Paris, convinced of the ſanctity of this prince, and perſuaded that the church would declare its opinion in this reſpect, at a proper time and place, began immediately to revere his memory before-hand, and to go in crowds to the church where his body was depoſited, to celebrate maſſes and neuvaines, for aſking ſeveral favours of God, through the interceſſion of this good King. Accordingly, there is found, to this day, in the regiſters of that church, a particular account of ſeveral miraculous cures, or ſuch as appeared, at leaſt to be ſo, wrought upon ſick perſons, through the interceſſion, as was piouſly believed, of this holy King; and afterwards, of the maſſes, which were ſaid in that church, agreeably to the intention of theſe perſons. Among others, there is an atteſtation, that my deceaſed wife had a neuvaine celebrated in that church, for my ſon, who was then about five years of age and troubled with a rupture, of which he was cured, a little after the neuvaine was finiſhed; and he has felt nothing of that inconveniency ever ſince. However, I atteſt nothing here but facts, as it does not become me to enter into a diſcuſſion of what is or is not miraculous. I ſhall only ſay, that

the public have conſidered, as a real miracle, the ſudden and remarkable cure of a fiſtula lachrymalis, wrought at that time, on the late Monſieur Roquette, biſhop of Autun, nephew to the famous Mr. Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux, after prayers addreſſed to God by that prelate, through the interceſſion of our King. This fact may be verified ſtill, by the authentic teſtimonies of it, which are to this day preſerved. 1701.

Theſe are all the particulars which I can recall to my remembrance of the later years of the life and alſo of the laſt ſickneſs and death of King James the Second, of Great Britain, with regard to his life and morals. I ſhall only add, with regard to his Chriſtian ſentiments, that I know he has left, written in his own hand, inconteſtible proofs of his piety, in many of his manuſcripts, of which I have ſeen, read, and copied a great number. It is from the great confidence, which the two Kings, father and ſon, were pleaſed to place in me, that I am now able to atteſt ſtill this laſt great proof, which is preſerved, of the ſolid piety of this great and virtuous prince, whoſe ſoul, we have reaſon to hope, is now recompenſed a hundred fold in heaven, for the great injuſtice which was done him on earth, and for the kind of martyrdom which he ſuffered for the faith.

In witneſs of the truth of all that is ſaid above, I ſign this atteſtation, at Paris, the third day of July, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-four; after having received, this morning, a citation to appear, on the fifth of this inſtant month of July, at the archbiſhopric, to make oath, before the judges appointed to examine the witneſſes, ſummoned in the cauſe of the deceaſed King of England, James the Second of bleſſed memory, and to receive their depoſition.

DAVID NAIRNE.*"

The

* If the Stuart family had been reſtored, and continued in the Romiſh faith, James would probably have been canonized; for care was early taken to collect ſuch printed proofs as would have been then ſufficient to procure him that honour. "The ſurgeons and the guards who attended when his body was opened, could not be prevented from carrying away ſome parts of it as relicks; and ſince that time, ſeveral perſons from all quarters have, from the ſame motive, applied in the moſt earneſt manner to have ſomething belonging to him. A forward and too early zeal prompted them to this, without waiting for the judgment of the eccleſiaſtical tribunal, which has a right to regulate and preſide over this kind of devotion. But, without anticipating the deciſion of the church, we

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 5.

1701. September. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. i. fol. No. 151.

The late King, with great formality, bequeathed the Britiſh thrones to his ſon, and appointed his Queen regent during the minority. The young

we may lawfully and uſefully favour the public with relicks more precious than thoſe of his corruptible body, viz. the relicks of his immortal ſoul, his papers, &c *."

It ſeems to have been ſeriouſly intended to apply for James's canonization. His ſuperſtitious votaries had begun to collect ſuch proofs as had been always thought ſufficient to obtain a place in the Romiſh calendar. This appears ſufficiently from Nairne's atteſtation, and from the following extracts.

Ibid. vol. ii. No. 4.

" *An Extract of ſeveral miraculous cures performed by the interceſſion of the late James the Second, King of Great Britain.*"

1. The biſhop of Autun, at the age of eighty, was cured of a fiſtula lacrymalis, with which he had been troubled for forty years. The ſuperior of the Carmaliteſſes, in the Fauxbourg, St. Jaques, at Paris, told him that the deceaſed King's firſt miracle would be in his favour. A nun of the convent of the Viſitation of the Virgin Mary at Chaillot, where James had frequently reſided, gave the good biſhop the ſame aſſurance. Both of them promiſed to pray for his cure, through the interceſſion of the holy Monarch. The ſuperior of the Nuns of Chaillot invited him to ſay maſs for the repoſe of the King's ſoul, on the twenty-ſixth of September, and he found himſelf cured when he came out of the church. The biſhop gave a minute account of all this in a long letter to the Queen, of which a copy, in Nairne's hand, is annexed to this extract.

2. Gilbert Marais, a ſurgeon at St. Pourcain, in Auvergne, and brother to the curé of the pariſh, both natives of the place, was cured of a palſy in both his legs, through the interceſſion of the King of England, on the twenty-eighth of October, 1701. The miracle is atteſted by the curé, in a letter to the archbiſhop of Vienne, who incloſed the curé's letter, and a minute detail of all the particulars of the cure, ſigned by the curé, and by Gilbert Marais himſelf, in a letter to the ſuperior of the nuns at Chaillot, to be communicated to the Queen. All theſe vouchers, in Nairne's hand, are annexed to the extract.

3. Paſſart de la Rotte, King's counſellor in the ſupreme court at Metz, was cured of a retention of urine, on the fifteenth of November, 1701. The particulars of the miracle, in Paſſart's own atteſtation, annexed to the extract in Nairne's hand, are as follow: On the fifteenth of October, 1701, as he was ſetting out from Paris on his return to Metz, Paſſart was ſeized with a retention of urine. He was bled eight times; he remained in great torment for eight days, and was aſſured by the ableſt phyſicians in Paris, whom he

* It appears there was once an intention of publiſhing James's meditations. The originals are probably ſtill in the Scotch College at Paris. Nairne made a collection of them, though a very ſmall part of it is found among his papers. Beſides what has been thrown above into James's Memoirs, there are four other pieces, viz. " Advices to a Nun: The Neceſſity of frequent Communion: Motives of Converſion to the Catholic Religion: and Advice to Converts." The firſt two are ſhort, but the two laſt are of ſome length.

conſulted,

young prince was immediately proclaimed King of Great Britain, under the name of James the Third, and acknowledged as ſuch by Lewis the XIV. and by his grandſon, who had mounted the throne of Spain. Lewis attempted to juſtify this meaſure, in a memorial which he ordered to be diſperſed in all the courts of Europe, and in which he declared that he had no intentions of diſturbing King William in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his dominions, and that he thought himſelf bound to do no more by the treaty of Ryſwick. After the proclamation John Anderſon, *i. e.* Lord Middleton, conſults Mr. Applebey, a correſpondent in England, about the meaſures that were to be taken. 1701. September.

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conſulted, that though his life was in no danger, he could not be cured in five or ſix weeks. He was alarmed at the proſpect of remaining ſo long in pain, and prayed to the deceaſed King for his interceſſion, making a vow, that if he ſhould be cured through the holy Monarch's interceſſion, he would perform his devotions in the chapel where the body lay, the firſt day he could go out. His prayer was heard, and the next day he performed his vow.

4. Philip Pitel, a Benedictine Monk, of the Abbacy of Beuilly, in the dioceſe of Tours, was cured of a ſuffocating cough, on the ſixth of December, 1701. He was ſeized with a fit of the cough as he went from his father's houſe to the Sorbonne, and loſt all ſenſations inſtantaneouſly. Bleeding, and the uſual remedies, were tried in vain. A ſwelled throat for many days prevented him from taking any ſuſtenance, and almoſt from breathing. In this diſtreſs, he felt a ſudden and unaccountable impulſe to prefer the following prayer: "O God, I beſeech thee, mercifully to cure me, and to grant me health, through the merits and interceſſion of King James; and I promiſe to have a maſs ſaid, as a thankſgiving, in the Benedictine church, where his corpſe lays, and to touch the mort-cloth, which covers it, with my tongue." The patient ſoon felt a profuſe ſweat breaking out over all his body, and in due time his recovery was completed. His own atteſtation of theſe particulars, ſigned in the preſence of his confeſſor, the curé of St. Sulpice, is in Nairne's hand, annexed to the extract.

5. Le Brun, a prieſt of the oratory, and profeſſor of theology and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, atteſts, that Catharine Duprè was cured of deafneſs.

6. The prior and three monks of the Engliſh Benedictine Convent at Paris, with other two, ſign as witneſſes to the declaration of Francis L'Epervier, dancing-maſter to the duke of Saxe Gotha. L'Epervier declares that his wife was cured of a rheumatiſm, by the interceſſion of the deceaſed King; and her ſurgeon and his apprentice declare that they did not contribute to the cure. There are ſome other cures atteſted in the ſame manner. The account, at length, of the miraculous cures wrought through the interceſſion of James, conſiſts of thirteen quarto, and thirty-two folio pages; but as there are very few now a-days who read the legends of ſaints, or can reliſh compoſitions which reſemble thoſe of the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is ſuppoſed the reader will think the above a ſufficient ſpecimen.

The

1701. September. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. 4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to Mr. Appleby.

September 27, 1701.

"THough I am ſure you have heard of what has happened to the owner of the ſhip in which were loaded the bales No. 369 [King James], yet I cannot forbear telling you of it, that you may let his executors know what your opinion is; and whether his debitors [people] ſhould not have formal notice of it, by the account, No. 1047, whereby the heir may aſſert his right, claim what is due to him, and to promiſe them all the eaſe and ſecurity they can reaſonably expect, which is expreſsly enjoined by the laſt will of the deceaſed. In this you will conſult the learnedeſt counſel and ableſt traders, and give advice thereof to yours," &c.

October. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. i. fol. No. 147.

Without waiting for an anſwer from their friends in England, the Queen as regent and her council publiſhed a declaration, ſetting forth the pretenſions of the prince of Wales after the death of his father. There are two letters concerning it among Mr. Nairne's papers.

Ibid. 4to. No. 5.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Tranſlation.

October 7, 1701.

"I Send you, by the Queen's orders, the French tranſlation of the manifeſto addreſſed to the Engliſh. You will be pleaſed to remark, that there is not a word in it which can be conſidered to regard the King; and the Queen begs of you, Sir, to mark preciſely the changes which the King will judge proper to be made, and to obtain a permiſſion to print it in Engliſh and in Latin, in order that foreigners may be informed of the truth, and that falſe reports may be prevented."

Ibid.

The ſame, to the ſame.

October 11, 1701.

"THE order is ſent to Liege for printing the manifeſto, and every thing ſhall be executed according to his Majeſty's intentions."

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

1702.

THE editor intends from this period to contraſt the papers of the family of Hannover with thoſe of the houſe of Stuart. The correſpondence of the firſt is not ſo important in the early part of Queen Anne's reign as it became afterwards, when a near proſpect of her death rendered them and their friends anxious concerning the ſucceſſion to the throne. The intrigues of the excluded family having languiſhed, during the laſt years of the life of James the Second, were not yet renewed with any degree of induſtry under his ſon. The adherents of the Stuarts were, however, not entirely idle. Immediately upon the death of James, they began to ſound ſome of thoſe who had made the greateſt profeſſions, and now poſſeſſed the moſt power to ſerve their cauſe. Among theſe were the earl of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin, who renewed to the ſon the aſſurances which they had made to the father. But the death of King William, by bringing the poſſeſſion of the throne one ſtep nearer to the old ſtock, cooled the zeal of the abettors of the hereditary deſcent of the crown. In this ſtate of affairs, the correſpondences of the court of St. Germains could not regain their former importance, though they contain ſeveral anecdotes, as curious in themſelves as they are altogether unknown. The Stuart-papers in the preſent year are prior in date to thoſe of the family of Hannover, and therefore they are placed firſt; an order, which, for the ſake of regularity, ſhall be obſerved throughout the collection.

STUART PAPERS.

1702. January. Nairne's Papers D. N. vol. ii 4to. No. 55.

Mr. NEV. PAINE's Memorial.

"*A brief memorial by way of preface to ſome propoſals for your Majeſty's ſervice.*"

The Church of England againſt the Hannover ſucceſſion.—They agreed to it from an oppoſition to France.—They dread the Preſbyterians.—The Independents enemies to both.—They are republicans, and againſt an epiſcopal or Preſbyterian King.—The conduct and opinions of the Quakers.—The Nonjurors are zealous.—The Roman Catholics are timid.—The reaſons and neceſſity of taking ſome meaſures before the prince of Orange dies.—The prejudices againſt him.—State of Scotland.

"IT ſeems to me abſolutely neceſſary, firſt to weigh well and conſider the preſent temper England and Scotland are in, before any juſt judgment can be made of what is neceſſary to be done, for uniting the ſeveral intereſts of the two nations to concur in his Majeſty's ſervice.

As for England the parties moſt to be conſidered are;

Firſt, the epiſcopal, which being in poſſeſſion of the bells is by far the moſt numerous, though not the moſt active; for being at their eaſe and poſſeſſing not only the tythes but the magiſtracy and profitable employments of the nation, they flatter themſelves with an opinion, that upon any emergency or change of ſtate, they ſhall be able to give the law to all other intereſts. And it is not improbable they might, could they find out a way to ſettle the crown upon any ſolid baſis. But that not being poſſible to be done but in the right line, that party rather ſuffers than approves of what has been done, by adding the houſe of Hannover to their weak and trembling entail, which, as it was the project only of the prince of Orange and his Dutch council, is by many ſuſpected, but deſpiſed by more, nor could have paſſed the houſe of commons, but that they were told

told it was the only way to expreſs a contempt of the power of France, and by that means to make the people believe that they feared nothing thence, and likewiſe to oblige that monarch to apprehend their power to be much greater than indeed it is, to ſtave off a war they more apprehend and dread themſelves than he needs to do, notwithſtanding all the rabble and trading part of the nation are univerſally for it. 1702. January.

The next party requires conſideration is the Preſbyterian, which conſiſts of a malicious, ſower, and ſubtle part of men, who are more united in malice than the former, and do with their demure countenances and outſide pharazaical righteouſneſs draw from the churches to their meeting houſes the moſt hypocritical part of the trading people; ſo that their numbers are wonderfully increaſed of late years, to the terror of the aſpiring part of the epiſcopal parſons, who dread that biſhops, deans, and chapters, are tumbling down again, knowing bare competencies too weak ſupports for their diſſolute and ſcandalous lives.

The next to be conſidered is the Independents, under which denomination may be included that rabble of divers ſects, which, by above fifty ſeveral whimſical ſocieties, ingroſs in the whole a greater number of diſſenters to the prelatical church than the preſbyterians do, and are mortal enemies to both, including within them that ſort of men which are moſt properly called republicans or commonwealth men, a reſtleſs, bold, and buſy-ſpirit, eaſieſt to be gained to your Majeſty's intereſt, it being become a maxim amongſt the wiſeſt of them, that ſince it appears impracticable to unite and ſettle all intereſts in a commonwealth, it is abſolutely neceſſary to reſtore your Majeſty and the right line, to keep off the neceſſity of a perpetual war, which theſe botching entails apparently threatens the nation with. Nay, in their maxims they go farther, and ſay, that it were better for the kingdom in general, but moſt for themſelves in particular, that the rightful Monarch ſhould be a catholick rather than of the epiſcopal or preſbyterian ways, which will ever in their ſeveral turns when united to the crown, perſecute or at leaſt diſcountenance them.

The numerous party of the Quakers cannot be reckoned under the laſt head, and are not to be diſregarded as mad men, as they ſeem to many to be. For, generally ſpeaking, they are your Majeſty's friends, and in all diſcourſes with their oppugners charge them with their inhuman and unjuſt dealing with their rightful prince; an argument that non-

1702. January. pluſſes all, and converts ſome to ſee the wickedneſs of their ways. Beſides, to my certain experience, there are many capable of being agents and negociators amongſt them, as willing as able if well directed.

Laſtly, the non-jurant party of the nation may be thought of, though not numerous enough without the catholicks to make any conſiderable ſtrength or appearance in the field. Theſe, however, are reſpected as men of honour, that the penitent or diſcontented may ſafely open their minds to and can confide in, ſo that properly inſtructed they are ſafe agitators diſperſed in every corner of the nation, who too, upon occaſion, will to a man appear in the field for your Majeſty's ſervice.

As for the Catholicks, though I am ſorry to ſay it, they ſeem the moſt deſponding and leaſt uſeful party in the kingdom; nay, which is worſe, they are the only people who encourage the intereſted and atheiſtical to ſtick to the prince of Orange, though they both deſpiſe and hate him as much as any; for the avowed deſpair the prieſts have brought thoſe to is ſo univerſally owned, that it diſcourages the waverers from declaring themſelves to be for their duty, and confirms the malicious in their inſolence, ſo that ſome courſe muſt be taken for altering their conduct and converſation, or they will prove the greateſt remora to any good deſign may be ſet on foot.

This, in ſhort, is the poſture I left England in, and may ſerve for a plan by which your Majeſty may judge, in ſome meaſure, what may be expected from ſuch propoſals as have or may be made for your ſervice, ever premiſing that the principal adverſary has not one Engliſhman that loves him or his perſonal intereſt, whatever they may the uſe of his power; and therefore I conclude it to be much more eaſy to puſh him out of the ſaddle, and procure a reſtoration in his life-time, than by expecting his death. Let a deſcent be caſt according to their malicious entail: for if the princeſs of Denmark or any other come to mount the throne, it will require ſome conſiderable time to render hers or their government as odious as his now is become.

To this I know may be anſwered, that in his fall the intereſt of Holland will be diſunited from that of England, and thereby the King of France will have a much eaſier game to play for your Majeſties ſervice. Too tender a point I confeſs to be handled as it ought to be by me, who cannot penetrate into the myſterious behaviour of that court; and therefore would propoſe a method to reſtore your Majeſties without the neceſſity

ceſſity of any armed force from them, which perhaps, as the miniſters may manage the matter, might prove of greater detriment than advantage to that main end, let their King's good-will and candour be never ſo great, for I do not in the leaſt doubt the integrity of ſo glorious a prince, nor queſtion his earneſt deſire of being the chief inſtrument in ſo great a work, that he might add that one branch to his many laurels. 1702. January.

But it will be much eaſier to induce his council to conſent to the embroiling of Britain in a civil war than to grant your Majeſties ſufficient forces for making a full conqueſt, which is the only thing can ever make the Kings of England ſtrong or great, and may, I conceive, be brought about with little help from them, if your Majeſties ſitting ſtill at St. Germains will but employ proper agents to foment the preſent animoſities in both nations, and by your ſecret influence bring the ſeveral jarring parties to an open rupture. But till I underſtand your Majeſties will be willing to lend an ear to ſome propoſitions to that purpoſe, I am ſilent.

For it may be the tenderneſs of your Majeſties, for the ſubjects muſt neceſſarily fall into ſuch a war, may prove a ſcruple you will not eaſily get over.

Or, perhaps your Majeſties miniſters may have promiſes from ſome great ones in both kingdoms that the buſineſs will be brought about ſome other way, to which it is not proper for me to oppoſe my weaker judgment, though I confeſs myſelf an abſolute infidel to all ſuch notions, and will be bold to ſay, had it not been for ſuch chymeras as I think them, your Majeſties might have been freely ſettled on your throne long ere this time, by a national force unreſiſtible by your Majeſties moſt inveterable enemys.

As for Scotland, the ferment there has been ſo great, and the rage againſt the prince of Orange ſo violent for two years paſt, that I ſtood amazed till I came thither, that no uſe had been made of it. But now I diſcern the miſtery, but cannot applaud the wiſdom of thoſe who have occaſioned ſuch a ſtagnation of council in ſuch a turbulence of humours as has providentially offered themſelves for the King's ſervice, of which I can find no man here yet knows any thing to the purpoſe, except they unneceſſarily conceal from me their true ſentiments of that matter, and are wiſer therein than I conceive they need to be. All which is humbly ſubmitted, by

NE: P."

Lord

1702. January. Lord Caryll's letters to England and Spain from 1702 to 1710. vol. v. fol. Scotch college.

Lord Caryll to Mr. St. Am. i. e. Berry, concerning Gourney.

January 20, 1702.

——"I FIND that your couſin Wiſely [the Queen] is very well pleaſed to hear, that the bill you mentioned in your laſt is accepted, and that a correſpondence is ſettled between you and Gurney [Marlborough]. To tell the truth, your friend Young [princeſs Anne] cannot be too wary both as to his health and otherwiſe; for I believe Wanly [the Whigs] watches all opportunities to do him [her] and his [hers] an ill turn. I am very ſorry his [her] hands at preſent are tied; but he [ſhe] has a good heart, and that in time will ſet all things right to his [her] own and his [her] friends ſatisfaction."

March. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 72.

"*Copy of his Majeſty's inſtructions ſent into England, ſigned, and ſealed, and counterſigned, the 3d of March, 1702.*"

There are two copies of theſe inſtructions in Nairne's hand, one of them is intituled as above, and the other thus, "Inſtructions to D. L. ſent from the church of England party, in February, 1702." It is marked on the back in Mr. Carte's hand, "Inſtructions to D. L. perhaps Dr. Leſly, in 1702, Feb. Nomination to Biſhopricks."

JAMES R.

"YOU ſhall acquaint our friends, that when it ſhall pleaſe God to put us in poſſeſſion of our kingdom of England, we promiſe that we will govern according to law, and that we will ſecure and protect all our ſubjects of the church of England as it is eſtabliſhed by law, in the full enjoyment of all their legal rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the ſole poſſeſſion of all their churches, univerſitys, colleges, and ſchools; and that in all vacancys of biſhopricks and other dignities or benefices at our diſpoſal, care ſhall be taken to have them filled with the worthieſt members of their own communion.

And, if it ſhall then appear, that by their loyal endeavours and aſſiſtance, thoſe of the church of England have been inſtrumental in our reſtoration, we further promiſe, that in their behalf and for their greater ſecurity, we will ſo far wave during our own reign our right of nomination to biſhopricks

biſhopricks and all other dignitys and benefices in the diſpoſal of the crown, that we will appoint the archbiſhop of Canterbury for the time being, and four biſhops, to propoſe three perſons for each vacancy, of which number we ſhall chuſe one; but this without prejudice, for the future, to the undoubted right of the crown. 1702. March.

We are alſo, upon the ſame condition, willing to remit, during our reign only, all the tenths and firſt fruits paid by the biſhops and clergy to the crown, to thoſe who ſhall return to their duty and repair their fault by endeavouring to reclaim their miſled flocks. But this our bounty is not to be extended to thoſe who perverſely perſiſt in their error, and who, by renouncing the principles of the church of England have no pretence to the benefit we intend her. And this conceſſion ſhall not be made a precedent nor drawn into conſequences againſt our lawful ſucceſſors.

As on one ſide, we ſolemnly promiſe to govern by law and inviolably to maintain the liberty and propertys of our ſubjects, ſo on the other ſide, we would not be underſtood to lye under any obligation of perſecuting thoſe of our own religion or any other diſſenters merely upon the account of conſcience. And we ſhall leave it to our firſt parliament, to agree upon and ſettle a juſt and equitable moderation of the laws now in force againſt Roman Catholicks.

Given at our court, at St. Germains, the 3d of March, 1702, and in the firſt year of our reign.

By his Majeſties command.

MIDDLETON."

Extracts of Letters from Lord Caryll to Berry, concerning Marlborough and Godolphin. Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College April 5.

——"I Muſt therefore expect with patience to know whether you have had an opportunity of writing to Mr. Gurny, [Marlborough] before his going into the country [Holland], about your couſin Noble's [the King's] affairs, and what proſpect there is of his recovering the effects [the crown] that were in the hands of Mr. Knitely [K. William.] If you have not had the opportunity of ſpeaking with Mr. Gurny [Marlborough], I ſuppoſe you may, at leaſt, have met with the lawyer, Mr. Gilburn, [Godolphin] who could give you ſome light in that matter.

——"Your

1702. April 26. ——" Your couſin Wiſely [the Queen] very much deſires that you ſhould again join in trade with Mr. Young, [princeſs Anne] as you formerly have done, that a fair correſpondence at leaſt may be preſerved with his partners Gurny [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin], that ſo they may have no excuſe ſhould they not be juſt in their engagements when time and opportunity ſerves.

April 29. " It is no wonder that Mr. Gurny [Marlborough] is ſo difficult a perſon to be met with conſidering the vaſt dealings he has lately ſtruck into, which requires his being always in motion; nor indeed can we expect any preſent diſpatch of our domeſtick affairs with him, which requires more time than he can now ſpare, and perhaps ſome opportunity which is not yet ripe. However, by what he ſays now, ſome conjecture may be made of what he will do hereafter.

——" There are ſome accounts to be cleared and adjuſted between Mr. Wiſely [the Queen] and Mr. Noble [the King] for the King, of which it is neceſſary to know what ſum it was which Mr. Wiſely's caſh-keeper, who is now dead, paid for the uſe of Mr. Goodall, [the late King] into the hands, as I take it, of Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin]. You are therefore deſired, the papers of that buſineſs not being here, to take information about it from Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin]. Your couſin Wiſely [the Queen] thinks the ſum was eleven or twelve hundred our account."

May. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 71. "*Copie of a letter the 1ſt of May, from Edinburgh, pretended to come from thence, but is indeed an account of Mr. Paine's own notions and his adherents, and given to the Queen with an intention to catch her in their ſnares.*"

The letter is ſigned Archibald Smith. The writer of it propoſes to the court of St. Germains to engage the King of France to renew the ancient league with Scotland, and to obtain from his grandſon, the King of Spain, a grant of the territory of Darien for the Scots. He makes ſeveral other propoſals equally impracticable and abſurd. But he affirms, if they were adopted, that the Scots would ſettle their crown on the lineal heir of their ancient ſovereigns.

Extracts of Letters from Lord Caryll to Berry.

1702. May. Lord Caryll's letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch college. May 6.

—— "I Find he (Wiſely) [the queen] is in ſome pain, leſt it ſhould be thought that he [ſhe] had anywiſe divulged the private contract between him [her] and Gurny [Marlborough]. If Crofton [E. Middleton.] by any ſide wind, (which I ſuppoſe muſt be by Mr. Painter [col. Sackville], has made any diſreliſhing application, that cannot be attributed, with any juſtice, to Wiſely's [queen's] fault: for Gurny [Marlborough] knows very well, that he himſelf communicated his affairs both to Crofton [Middleton] and to Painter [col. Sackville], and ſo it is not to be wondered, nor is Wiſely [the queen] to be blamed, if Crofton [Middleton] out of a forward zeal endeavoured at this, which he thought a proper time, to revive the memory of old promiſes."

—— "Your late conference with Counſellor Gilburn [Godolphin] doth in a good meaſure clear the ſuſpicion of his, and his party's being joined with Hanmer [Hannover] againſt Matthews [the King], and ſeems to ſhow that he and his friends have a right notion of their own intereſt in that matter: for it is very evident that a meeting between Hanmer [Hannover] and Wheatley [princeſs Anne] would be of as great prejudice to them as to Matthews [the King], and that they would more immediately feel the effects of it. You may be ſure nothing will be wanting on Mr. Wiſely's part to find out how that project is carried on by that cunning gentleman Mr. Reeves, which he hopes to do by the ſame hand that firſt conveys the intelligence of it to him. In the mean time, nothing is more neceſſary than that Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin] and his partners ſhould guard againſt it on his ſide, ſince nothing can be done ſufficiently againſt them in that matter, but by the interpoſition of Mr. Bragg [the parliament], who therefore ought, with all care, to prepare againſt any attempts that may be made to draw in that young gentleman, with ſpecious pretences, to eſpouſe the deſigns of Reeves and Wanley [the whigs], in reference to Hanmer's [Hannover] inhabiting with Wheatly [Princeſs Anne and ſometimes England]*." Auguſt 21.

* They were alarmed with a rumour of the electoral prince's coming over.

1702. October 23. —— "Nor are there much hopes for Mr. Matthews [the King] that his debts will be paid, as long as Young's [Pſs. Anne's] life is in the copyhold. To have them well ſecured, when that life falls, which probably may not be of a long continuance, is, I am afraid, all that can be well hoped for; and ſhould not thoſe lawyers, Gurny [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin], concur in this, they are certainly the unjuſteſt, and I think, the moſt imprudent men that ever lived: for, notwithſtanding their great practice at preſent, ſhould Hanmer [Hannover] ſtep into the copyhold, none would more feel the inconveniences of it, than they and others."

December 4. —— "About ſecuring Matthews [the King's debts], after Young's [the princeſs Anne's] deceaſe, Mr. Wiſely [the queen] is of your opinion, that you ſhould endeavour, by the moſt proper means, to diſcover the inclinations and intentions of the party, that have moſt intereſt in that matter; and if it be not at all probable that mere juſtice can be obtained, it would not be imprudent to come to an agreement with thoſe merchants, upon that foot, providing they will be ſincere and hearty in performing their bargain, and that they will make ſuch ſteps and preparations towards it, as are neceſſary to make it effectual. I ſuppoſe that, ere this, Mr. Gurny [Marlborough] may be come to town, in this time of parliament: for he, as well as Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin], muſt neceſſarily be treated with about this; and the great queſtion will be, what better ſecurity they will or can give, for the performance of this new agreement, than they gave for the former one, for which we had promiſes and oaths. But this only between you and me; for we muſt not reproach, to their faces, thoſe whom we would gain. But rather take, for current coin, their excuſes of want of power and ability to perform."

—— "In treating with thoſe merchants, Gurney [Marlborough] and Gilburn [Godolphin] about the abovementioned affair, it would not be amiſs if Mr. Arnol ſhould firſt endeavour to diſcover their inclinations, and to prepare it only as from himſelf and as a common friend to both parties; ſince it is very evident, that their trade and effects will be hereafter more ſecure under the conduct of Mr. Matthews [the King] than of Mr. Hanmer [Hannover]."

—"We

1702. Decemb. 11.

—— "We have here one captain Loyd who waits for a paſs to goe into England, which one Gurny [Marlborough] a merchant has promiſed to procure for him. I only mention this to you, becauſe I am told that this Gurny [Marlborough] was very inquiſitive with the captain about your couſin Mathews [the King], for what end I know not: if I am not miſtaken, I heard you formerly ſpeak of a real captain of that name as being formerly well acquainted with him: if this be the ſame, you may know of him when he comes over to what end theſe queſtions tended.

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1702.

Some account of the Houſe of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh.

1702. THOUGH the houſe of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh had for ſome time made a conſiderable figure in Germany, they only became objects of attention in Britain, when they were brought into the line of ſucceſſion by the act of ſettlement which received the royal aſſent in June 1701. This circumſtance drew early upon them the correſpondence of ſeveral perſons in theſe kingdoms; and their affairs and opinions are cloſely connected with our hiſtory, during the whole reign of Queen Anne. Some account, therefore, of a family deſtined to ſway the ſcepter of Britain, may not be an improper introduction to their correſpondence and ſecret negociations, which are contained in theſe volumes.

Erneſt of Brunſwick, duke of Zell, the ſon of Henry the Young, duke of Lunenburgh, was the anceſtor of all the princes of the houſe of Brunſwick that now exiſt. He ſtudied under Luther at Wirtenburgh, and was always a zealous aſſertor of the doctrines of that undaunted reformer. He entered into the league of the proteſtant princes againſt the Emperor Charles V, and was taken priſoner with the elector of Saxony at the battle of Mulberg 1547. By Sophia, daughter of Henry duke of Mecklenburgh, he had four ſons and four daughters. Francis Otho, his eldeſt ſon, and Frederick his ſecond ſon, died without iſſue. His third ſon Henry of Danneberg, was the founder of the houſe of Wolfenbuttle, and from William, his fourth ſon, is deſcended the branch of Hannover-Zell, that now ſits on the throne of Great Britain and Ireland.

Francis

Francis Otho, who ſucceeded his father, ſent an embaſſy to King Edward VI. of England, to offer him the aſſiſtance of 10,000 men againſt France, and to aſk his ſiſter the Lady Mary in marriage. But a peace being concluded between France and England, the duke of Zell's auxiliaries became unneceſſary, and the lady Mary had been then promiſed to the infant of Portugal: Edward, however, as a teſtimony of his regard for the duke, gave him an annual penſion of 375 pounds ſterling, to be paid half-yearly, and continued during pleaſure. Francis Otho died in three months after his marriage with Magdalen, the daughter of Joachim II. marquis of Brandenburgh; and his ſecond brother, Frederick, was ſlain in the battle of Siverſhouſen. Henry of Danneberg, the third ſon of Erneſt duke of Zell, a prince of an eaſy temper, and fond of retirement, having governed his father's dominions jointly with his brother William, for ten years, contented himſelf at laſt with Wolfenbuttle, and relinquiſhed the reſt of his paternal territories to William and his deſcendants. This ceſſion made by Henry of his birth-right was the firſt ſtep towards the aggrandizement of the younger branch of the Brunſwick family. 1702.

William, duke of Zell, the fourth ſon of Erneſt, duke of Lunenburgh and Zell, married Dorothea the daughter of Chriſtian III. King of Denmark, and had ſeven ſons, and eight daughters. Five of the daughters married into conſiderable families. But ſix of the ſeven ſons died without legitimate iſſue. Chriſtian, who ſucceeded his eldeſt brother Erneſt, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his attachment and ſervices to the unfortunate King and Queen of Bohemia, and by his frequent attempts to aſſiſt Maurice prince of Orange. He was made knight of the garter by King James I. and viſited England in January 1625, where he was received with the reſpect due to his rank and abilities. He died of a fever at Wolfenbuttle, in the June of the following year. He was ſucceeded in ſucceſſion, by his brothers Auguſtus and Frederick. Theſe two princes and their brother George, the fifth ſon of William duke of Zell, made a figure in the wars of Guſtavus Adolphus, and were concerned in all the tranſactions of Germany in the beginning of the laſt century. In the year 1648, Frederick, the only ſurviving ſon of William, for his three younger brothers, Erneſt, Magnus, and John died before him,

1702. him, was ſucceeded in his dominions by his nephews the ſons of George.

George, duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, the ſon of William, duke of Zell, had married Anne Eleonora the daughter of Lewis, Landgrave of Heſſe Darmſtadt, and left four ſons; Chriſtian Lewis born in 1622, George William born in 1624, John Frederick born in 1625, and Erneſt Auguſtus born in 1629. Chriſtian Lewis reſided at Hannover until the death of his uncle Frederick, when, according to an agreement with his brothers, he took to his ſhare the dutchies of Zell and Lunenburgh. He died without iſſue in 1665, and left his poſſeſſions to his brother George William.

George William, duke of Zell and Lunenburgh, the ſecond ſon of George duke of Brunſwick, fell in love at Bruſſels, with Eleonora Deſiniers, daughter to Alexander marquis of Olbreuze in Poitou, and married her with his left hand, as being inferior to him in quality; but the emperor made her afterwards a princeſs of the empire. By her he had Sophia Dorothea, whom he gave in marriage to his nephew George Lewis, the ſon of the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, who was afterwards King of Great Britain.

John Frederick duke of Hannover, the third ſon of George duke of Brunſwick, was a Roman Catholick, and in cloſe alliance with Lewis XIV. He died on his way to Rome in the year 1680, and leaving no male iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother Erneſt Auguſtus biſhop of Oſnaburgh.

Erneſt Auguſtus, the fourth ſon of George duke of Brunſwick, married in 1658, the princeſs Sophia daughter of Frederick, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth daughter of James I. King of Great Britain, and took poſſeſſion of the biſhoprick of Oſnaburgh in 1661, by virtue of an article in the treaty of Weſtphalia, which ſecured the ſucceſſion of that biſhoprick alternately to a Roman Catholick biſhop, and to a biſhop of the Auſburgh confeſſion, being a prince of the houſe of Brunſwick.

The biſhop of Oſnaburgh and his brother John Frederick duke of Hannover entered into a treaty with Lewis XIV. in 1671. It was properly

perly a treaty of neutrality; but, though the duke entered into another of a more pernicious nature, when the war broke out in 1672, and was very active in favouring the deſigns of Lewis, and in obſtructing the operations of the allies, the biſhop was brought over to the ſide of the latter before the end of the year 1674. He joined his brother the duke of Zell, with 5000 men, in the beginning of the next campaign, and was with him at the battle of Conſerburgh and ſiege of Treves, and with the prince of Orange at the ſiege of Maeſtricht in 1676. He continued to ſerve at the head of his own troops in the Netherlands, until the treaty of Nimeguen, when he and the other princes of the houſe of Brunſwick entered into a treaty of peace with France. 1702.

The duke of Zell and the biſhop of Oſnaburgh, now duke of Hannover, upon the death of his brother John Frederick in April 1680, received a viſit from the prince of Orange, accompanied by count Waldeck and other perſons of diſtinction in the autumn in the ſame year. In 1684, the two dukes ſent 10,000 of their troops, commanded by Frederick Auguſtus the ſecond, and Charles Philip the fourth ſon of the duke of Hannover, into the emperor's ſervice, who was then at war with the Turks, and the next year the Duke of Hannover ſent his third ſon Maximilian with 3000 men to ſerve the Venetians in the Morea. The Emperor Leopold, at the inſtigation of William the Third, King of England, erected a ninth electorate in the perſon of the duke of Hannover on the 29th of December 1692. This erection was made in oppoſition to the elder branch of the family of Brunſwick, and of the Roman Catholick princes, and was not for ſeveral years acknowledged in form. Both he and his brother adhered to the allies, in the war, which was carried on at that time, againſt France. They had 6000 men in the Emperor's ſervice in Hungary, and 8000 of their troops ſerved every campaign under King William in Flanders, until a peace was concluded at Ryſwick; the elector died the 23d of January 1698, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon George Lewis.

The remaining iſſue of Erneſt Auguſtus, and the princeſs Sophia, were, Frederick Auguſtus born in 1661, Maximilian born in 1666, Charles Philip born in 1669, Chriſtian born in 1671, Erneſt Auguſtus

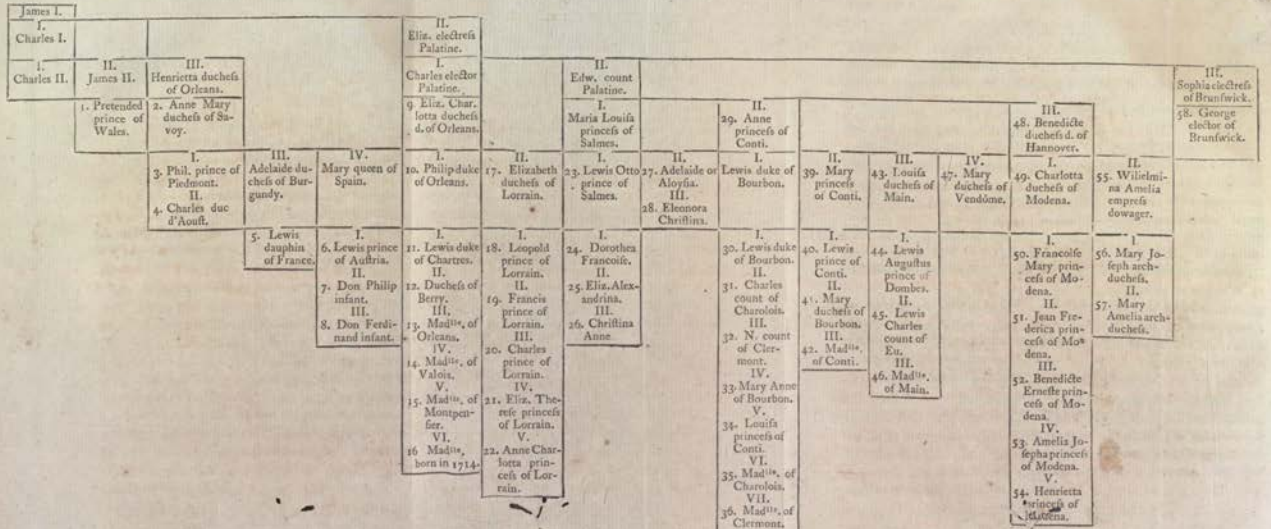
1702. tus born in 1674, and Sophia Charlotta born in 1668. She married Frederick III. Elector of Brandenburgh, and ſhe died Queen of Pruſſia, February 1, 1705.

Frederick Auguſtus and Charles Philip commanded the 10,000 men which the princes of the houſe of Lunenburgh ſent, in 1684, to the Emperor who was then at war with the Turks. They ſignalized themſelves by their conduct and valour, and were both ſlain in battle in 1691.

Maximilian conducted to the Morea the body of troops which his father had in the pay of the republick of Venice in 1686. He ſerved two campaigns with great diſtinction under the generals Moroſini and Koningſmark, and upon the death of Koningſmark, and the ſickneſs of the Doge Moroſini he had the chief command during a conſiderable part of the third. His ſervices were generouſly rewarded by the Republick with the rank of general, and an annual penſion of 6000 ducats. Upon his return from Italy, he formed a party to maintain his pretenſions to ſucceed to the dutchy of Zell after the death of his uncle. Some of his adherents were executed, and he himſelf was impriſoned for ſome time: but he renounced, at laſt, his pretenſions, and agreed to accept of an annual penſion. He entered into the Imperial ſervice upon the breaking out of the war, which was occaſioned by the diſputes about the Spaniſh ſucceſſion, in the beginning of this century. His brother Chriſtian roſe to the rank of major-general in the ſame ſervice, but was unfortunately killed after the battle of Munderkingen, as he was attempting to ſwim on horſeback over the Danube, in 1703. Erneſt Auguſtus the ſixth, and youngeſt ſon of the Elector and the princeſs Sophia, ſerved the preceding campaign under the duke of Marlborough. He was choſen biſhop of Oſnaburgh in March, and was created duke of York and Albany and earl of Ulſter, and made a knight of the garter, in July 1716. He died unmarried on the 14th of Auguſt 1728.

George Lewis, afterwards George the Firſt, King of Great Britain, the eldeſt ſon of Erneſt Auguſtus and the princeſs Sophia, was born on the twenty-eighth of May 1660. When prince of Oſnaburgh, he ſerved, at the age of fifteen, the ſucceſsful campaign of 1675, under his father and uncle, and was preſent at the battle of Conſerburgh and ſiege

GENEALOGY of the ROYAL FAMILY of GREAT BRITAIN at the Accession of GEORGE the FIRST.


James I.
I. Charles I.
I. Charles II.
II. James II.
1. Pretended prince of Wales.
III. Henrietta duchess of Orleans.
2. Anne Mary duchess of Savoy.
I. 3. Phil. prince of Piedmont. II. 4. Charles duc d'Aouft.
III. Adelaide duchess of Burgundy.
5. Lewis dauphin of France.
IV. Mary queen of Spain.
I. 6. Lewis prince of Auftria. II. 7. Don Philip infant. III. 8. Don Ferdinand infant.
II. Eliz. electress Palatine.
I. Charles elector Palatine.
9 Eliz. Charlotta duchess d. of Orleans.
I. 10. Philip duke of Orleans.
I. 11. Lewis duke of Chartres. II. 12. Duchess of Berry. III. 13. Madlle. of Orleans. IV. 14. Madlle. of Valois. V. 15. Madlle. of Montpenfier. VI. 16 Madlle. born in 1714.
II. 17. Elizabeth duchess of Lorrain.
I. 18. Leopold prince of Lorrain. II. 19. Francis prince of Lorrain. III. 20. Charles prince of Lorrain. IV. 21. Eliz. Therese princess of Lorrain. V. 22. Anne Charlotta princess of Lorrain.
II. Edw. count Palatine.
I. Maria Louisa princess of Salmes.
I. 23. Lewis Otto prince of Salmes.
II. 27. Adelaide or Aloysia. III. 28. Eleonora Christina.
I. 24. Dorothea Francoise. II. 25. Eliz. Alexandrina. III. 26. Christina Anne
II. 29. Anne princess of Conti.
Lewis duke of Bourbon.
I. 30. Lewis duke of Bourbon. II. 31. Charles count of Charolois. III. 32. N. count of Clermont. IV. 33. Mary Anne of Bourbon. V. 34. Louisa princess of Conti. VI. 35. Madlle. of Charolois. VII. 36. Madlle. of Clermont. VIII. 37. Madlle. of Vermandy. IX. 38. Madlle. of Sens.
II. 39. Mary princess of Conti.
I. 40. Lewis prince of Conti. II. 41. Mary duchess of Bourbon. III. 42. Madlle. of Conti.
III. 43. Louisa duchess of Main.
I. 44. Lewis Augustus prince of Dombes. II. 45. Lewis Charles count of Eu. III. 46. Madlle. of Main.
IV. 47. Mary duchess of Vendôme.
III. 48. Benedicte duchess d. of Hannover.
I. 49. Charlotta duchess of Modena.
I. 50. Francoise Mary princess of Modena. II. 51. Jean Frederica princess of Modena. III. 52. Benedicte Erneste princess of Modena. IV. 53. Amelia Josepha princess of Modena. V. 54. Henrietta princess of Modena.
II. 55. Wilielmina Amelia empress dowager.
I. 56. Mary Joseph archduchess. II. 57. Mary Amelia archduchess.
III. Sophia electress of Brunfwick.
58. George elector of Brunfwick.

ſiege of Treves.* He became prince of Hannover, upon his father's acceſſion to that dutchy, after the death of John Frederick, without male iſſue, in 1680, and viſited France and England in the latter end of the ſame year. He came here to make his addreſſes to the princeſs Anne; but he was ſuddenly recalled by his father, who thought it more for the intereſt of their family to marry him to his niece. Wood gives a very particular account of his reception and creation, as doctor of laws, at Oxford, in February, 1681. He married Sophia Dorothea, daughter and heireſs of his uncle, George William, duke of Zell, on the eleventh of November, 1682; and by her had iſſue, George Auguſtus, born on the thirteenth of October, 1683, and afterwards King of Great Britain; and Sophia Dorothea, born on the eighteenth of March, 1687. She married Frederick William, King of Pruſſia, the fourteenth of November, 1706. He ſucceeded his father, as elector of Brunſwick-Lunenburgh, on the twenty-third of January, 1698. 1702.

The deſcendants of James I. and Charles I. who were nearer in blood to the royal family in England and Scotland than any of the proteſtant line, were fifty-ſeven in number, when George the Firſt acceded to the crown of Great Britain; but being Roman Catholics, their pretenſions were rejected; and the princeſs Sophia, electreſs and dutcheſs dowager of Hannover, daughter to the princeſs Elizabeth, late Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. King of England, was declared next in ſucceſſion to the crown, by an act which received the royal aſſent on the twelfth of June, 1701. The earl of Macclesfield was ſent to Hannover with this act, to the electreſs, and the garter to her ſon.

William the Third, King of England, dying on the eighth of March, 1702, was ſucceeded on the throne by Queen Anne; but notwithſtanding the declarations of the Queen and parliament, in favour of the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the good reception given to the count de Platens, envoy extraordinary from the duke of Zell and the elector, the putting the direction of affairs in the hands of the Tories, gave ſome apprehenſions to the family of Hannover, as appears from imperfect hints, in the little we have of their correſpondence in the courſe of this year.

They, however, ſhewed a zeal for the cauſe in which the Britiſh nations were at this time engaged. A war with France appeared to be

1702. inevitable, before the death of King William. Lewis XIV. endeavoured to gain the German princes to his intereſt, and, among others, he ſucceeded with the dukes of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle. There are copies extant, in Robethon's hand-writing, of ſeveral letters from King William to many of theſe princes.

Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes. No. 8, 9. 11. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17.

The dukes, Anthony Ulric and Rodolph Auguſtus, governed jointly the dominions of Wolfenbuttle. Rodolph cultivated letters and philoſophy in retirement, and left the chief management of affairs to his brother, who, from a jealouſy of the advancement of the younger branch of the family, and out of oppoſition to them, contracted a cloſe alliance with France. King William, in a letter to the duke of Ploen, dated at Dieren, 14th October, 1701, recommending to him to act in concert with the duke of Zell, who was well affected to the common cauſe, deſires him to oppoſe the intrigues of duke Anthony Ulric, and to convince duke Rodolph of the imprudence of his brother's connexions; and it appears, by letters from him to the duke of Ploen, and to Rodolph himſelf, dated Hampton-court, 20th December, 1701, that Ploen had ſucceeded in detaching Rodolph from the French intereſt.

Ibid. No. 11.

Ibid. No. 14, 15.

But Anthony Ulric continued firm in his engagements with Lewis, until he was obliged to break them, in conſequence of the meaſures which King William had concerted with the duke of Zell and elector of Hannover, and which they put in execution the week after his Majeſty died. They entered the dominions of Wolfenbuttle unexpectedly, ſurpriſed the troops diſperſed in their quarters, inveſted both Wolfenbuttle and Brunſwick at once, diſconcerted all the meaſures of Anthony Ulric, and obliged him to leave his brother at liberty to fall in with the common intereſts of the empire. The princes of Brunſwick Lunenburgh being after this in no danger of moleſtation from their neighbours, had upwards of 40,000 men in the ſervice of the different powers who declared war this year againſt France and Spain; and prince Erneſt Auguſtus, afterwards biſhop of Oſnaburgh and duke of York and Albany, the youngeſt brother of the elector, ſerved this campaign under the duke of Marlborough.

The name of Monſieur de Robethon will occur ſo frequently in this publication, that it cannot be diſagreeable to the reader to be informed of ſome particulars concerning that induſtrious ſervant of the family of

Brunſwick Lunenburgh. He appears to have been a French refugee and a kind of private ſecretary to king William. There are ſome letters addreſſed to him in that capacity, in Mr. Cole's collection; and in his own manuſcripts, there are letters addreſſed "to monſieur de Robethon, with his Britannic Majeſty," and "to monſieur de Robethon, ſecretary to his Britannic Majeſty." 1702. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2.

Robethon attached himſelf to the family of Brunſwick, before he left King William's ſervice. When the duke of Zell came to ſee the King at Loo, in the year 1701, lord Portland, who appears to have had a very great eſteem for Robethon, and correſponded conſtantly with him, diſcovers, by the manner in which he deſires him to preſent his humble reſpects to the duke, that he knew then he had a great deal of influence with his highneſs. Ibid. vol. marked Schutz Fils. No. 4.

There is a paper of Robethon's, and indorſed by him, *Speeches for the King and Queen of Pruſſia, which I compoſed for Lord Raby*, 1701. He wrote all the letters which George the Firſt and Second, and Queen Caroline, ſent to this country from the time he entered into their ſervice, until the time the family arrived in Britain. The firſt rough draughts of them are ſtill extant in his hand-writing, and all the originals that may be in the poſſeſſion of perſons in this and in other countries, are but copies made from what Robethon wrote for them. Ibid. No. 210. Ibid. vol. marked Princes.

The family of Hannover could not have employed a perſon better qualified for their purpoſe than Robethon; he ſeems to have been indefatigable, induſtrious and faithful, and though he might not have been a man of ſtriking abilities, he poſſeſſed a good deal of addreſs, and a knowledge of this country ſufficient to amuſe the numerous correſpondents of the electoral family.

The following letters will introduce the reader to a further knowledge of Robethon.

1702. July. Original. Hannover Papers, Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 116.

J. Vernon to Robethon.

He was ſon to Mr. Secretary Vernon, and was now Envoy for England at the court of Denmark.

Tranſlation.

Copenhagen, July 29, 1702.

"I Received, with pleaſure, the letter which you was ſo good as to write to me, by Mr. Werpuſe. You will do me the juſtice to believe, that there is none who intereſts himſelf more in what concerns you than I do. The embarraſſment of the journey prevented me from congratulating you ſooner on the honourable ſtations which you now fill at your courts. I would envy them the advantage of having you, if I did not ſee them in ſuch a ſtrict union with ourſelves, as to induce me to conſider them as one and the ſame court. The immenſe loſs which England, and all Europe, ſuffered (by the death of King William) hath drawn ſeveral others in its train, and among them our country may reckon your quitting it's ſervice."

Mr. De Allonne to Robethon.

Original. Ibid. No. 7.

D'Allonne had been one of King William's private Secretaries, and both he and Robethon were in great favour.

Hague, September 2, 1702.

D'Allonne rejoices to hear that Robethon has got a good eſtabliſhment. He thanks him for employing him to communicate ſomething to lord Portland and the ſecretary Heinſius. He himſelf expects to be employed as an envoy at ſome foreign court. He wiſhes it may be at Hannover, conſidering how much Holland is connected with that country, and intereſted in the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and how agreeable it would be to him to be near his friend Robethon.

Original. Ibid. No. 4.

The Earl of Portland to Robethon.

Tranſlation.

Hague, September 5, 1702.

"I Have received your very agreeable letter, and I rejoice at your good eſtabliſhment, in which I aſſure you I am deeply intereſted. I beg of you to aſſure the duke of Zell and the elector, that I ſhall continue,

tinue, all my lifetime, in the ſame ſentiments of reſpect and attachment for their family. I am too old to change, and too deeply impreſſed with the principles of the late King, my maſter, ever to deviate from them: Beſides, I love my religion, and hate ſlavery. I hope my ſon, who is on his return from Italy, will have the honour of making his court at Hannover, and of being received as the ſon of a faithful ſervant to the family. But he muſt not ſtay long; for, in order to be ſerviceable, I muſt avoid to be ſuſpected of being too much attached to the family; and for this reaſon, I muſt deſire you to write to me under Mr. Schutz's cover, and to make uſe of his cypher." 1702.

D'Allonne to Robethon.

Original. Hannover Papers, Miſcel. d'Etat. 2. No. 8.

Tranſlation.

Hague, October 28, 1702.

"I See, by your letter of the 19th, that the court of Hannover has had no difficulty, hitherto, in managing the court of England; but that they will be embarraſſed if the Queen ſhould propoſe to parliament to make the prince of Denmark King; and that they cannot prevail on themſelves to be ſilent, when ſuch an attack is made on their pretenſions. That would be ſurely a diſagreeable circumſtance; and yet it is very likely it will take place, if one may believe the whole Tory faction, who are at no pains to conceal it. In that caſe, it will be no wonder if you ſhould ſpeak, leſt you ſhould ſeem to abandon your pretenſions, as if you thought they were not well eſtabliſhed; although they are no leſs ſolid than were thoſe of the Queen in the time of the late King."

The Elector to the Earl of Marlborough.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. vol. marked Princes. No. 175.

He is glad of his approbation of his troops.—Thanks him for his civilities to his brother, and for his attachment to the intereſts of his family.

Tranſlation.

July 21, 1702.

"I Learnt, my lord, with great ſatisfaction, by the letter which you wrote to me, your approbation of my troops, and the care you was pleaſed to take to inform the Queen of it. Nothing ſhall ever give me greater pleaſure than to employ them in her Majeſty's ſervice, and in the

1702. common cauſe. I conſider, as a very great advantage to them, that they have the happineſs of ſerving under your orders. I am very ſenſible of the civilities which my brother, duke Erneſt Auguſtus, received from you. I doubt not but he will make ſuch a return to them as may aſſure him of their continuance. I ſhall acknowledge, as I ought on all occaſions, the attachment which you ſhew to the intereſts of my family *, and nothing will ever appear to me more conſiſtent with this, than to cultivate the friendſhip with which the Queen honours me. I hope you will be ſo good as to continue to contribute to this on your ſide, and to believe me to be, &c.

* Another family gave, at the ſame time, ſimilar thanks to his lordſhip for his attachment.

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1703.

THE duke of Hamilton, always attached to the intereſts of the exiled family, had, by a ſeceſſion from the parliament of Scotland in the preceding ſummer, thrown that aſſembly into ſuch diſrepute with the nation, that the Queen thought it prudent to diſſolve it, early in the preſent year. He had been followed in this ſeceſſion by ſeventy-nine members; and, therefore, thoſe that remained were denominated the Rump, by the populace. The influence which the duke acquired, by this meaſure, induced the court of St. Germains to ſend the following inſtructions. 1703. January.

They are in French, and in Nairne's hand. The perſon to whom they were given was captain James Murray, brother to Mr. Murray of Abercairny.

" *Inſtructions to the perſon who is to ſpeak to L. A.* (meaning Lord Arran, the title given to the duke of Hamilton, at St. Germains) *Jan.* 1703." Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 50.

" AFTER having ſhown to L. A. all that is neceſſary to teſtify to him the high eſteem which their Majeſties have for his perſon and his merit towards themſelves, he is to be entreated to repreſent to L. C. [lord Churchill] when he ſhall find him in the beſt diſpoſition to liſten, that the union between their families obliges him to be particularly attentive to every thing which regards his honour, his eſtabliſhment, and his ſafety; which he believes can never be ſufficiently ſecured, without acknowledging and diſcharging the obligation which he owes the father, by doing juſtice to the ſon; and, in conſequence of doing this, he may aſſure himſelf, that he will have a carte-blanche for himſelf and for his friends, and that otherwiſe he will have reaſon to fear diſagreeable conſequences. For immediately

1703. January. immediately upon the expiration of the preſent reign, it will be neceſſary, according to the late act of ſettlement, to proclaim Hannover, who can never think himſelf in ſafety, without relying upon the Dutch, and employing his friends of the Preſbyterian party in England; and, in that caſe, there will be no quarter for him nor for the church of England.

Thoſe, who judge wiſely, can have no apprehenſions from a Catholic King, becauſe, as ſuch, he will have neither the credit nor the means to hurt, them; and, to maintain himſelf, will be obliged to govern according to the will of his people. What is paſt can be no argument againſt this. For it is certain, that the inconveniencies of the wrong meaſures, which were formerly adopted, will be ſufficient inſtructions for regulating thoſe, which will be adopted hereafter, and of this will be given all the aſſurances which can be demanded, and which can anyways conſiſt with the ſecurity of the King's perſon, and of his conſcience and dignity.

If he ſhall ſcruple to do this, for fear of failing in his duty to the miſtreſs whom he now ſerves, it may be ſaid to him, that all theſe difficulties may be eaſily adjuſted by a treaty, which will leave her in poſſeſſion of the crown of England, during her life, providing that ſhe will chooſe to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the King, her brother, after her death. To fill the army, the navy, and all the employments in the kingdom, with perſons who are well affected, are excellent means; but neither theſe means, nor the act of occaſional conformity, will be ſufficient, unleſs the ſettlement, in favour of the family of Hannover, be overturned, which does not appear to be impracticable, in this parliament, where it may be repreſented, as a meaſure unjuſt in itſelf, and dangerous to the church of England and to the ſtate.

That, conſidering the juſtice and piety of his miſtreſs, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe will be inclined to oppoſe a thing, ſo ſuitable to her character, and to what ſhe owes to the memory of her father, and to her own glory; which obliges her [illegible] to allow the crown to go out of her own family, which has been for ſo many ages in lawful poſſeſſion of the royal dignity, and to do all this in favour of a ſtranger, and of the moſt diſtant relation ſhe has in the world.

The moſt effectual means of ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the crown of England to the King, after the death of his ſiſter, would be to put him now

now in poſſeſſion of the crown of Scotland, by ſuch ways, and in ſuch a manner, as will be judged moſt proper; and, as the two kingdoms are independent of one another, this partition for the preſent time might be eaſily accompliſhed; and the Engliſh would have leſs difficulty to conſent to it, that the kingdom of Scotland brings them no profit; and there is nothing to hinder the King and his ſiſter, after this partition, from living together in as ſtrict friendſhip, as their great-grandfather lived with Q. Elizabeth. 1703. January.

But whether this propoſal will be accepted or rejected, it is neceſſary that they ſhould enter into a league with France, which, by a ſecret article, will engage itſelf to guarantee our treaty, in order that we may have the ſupport of a foreign power to balance that of Holland, which, without that, will join the Preſbyterian party, diſconcert all weak precautions, ruin the church of England, and infallibly extirpate it and its friends.

L. A. is entreated to propoſe theſe things, as if they came from himſelf alone. But he ought, at the ſame time, to urge them to employ ſome one to explain their intentions, and to learn the ſentiments of their Majeſties, without which nothing can be concluded; and both the one and the other may ruin themſelves by too much precaution. If it is objected, that a ſecret cannot be kept at St. Germains; they may addreſs themſelves immediately to the court of Verſailles, where the ſame inconveniency is not to be feared.

And laſtly, that delays are dangerous, becauſe all depends on a ſingle life; and even the life that appears moſt ſure, is very uncertain."

The following inſtructions were complied with by the party who adhered to the duke of Hamilton. They put a ſtop to the treaty of Union. They rejected, with every mark of indignation and contempt, the overture made by the earl of March[illegible], for ſettling the crown on the houſe of Hannover; and they effectually prevented the abjuration. During a turbulent and tedious ſeſſion, the country-party in every queſtion prevailed; till, at length, the commiſſioner found himſelf obliged to adjourn the houſe, without obtaining any ſupply.

1703. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 50.

" *Drafts of Inſtructions for Captain James Murray, to ſolicit Lord Arran and the Scots to oppoſe the Union, the Hannoverian ſucceſſion,* &c. 1703."

" OUR will and pleaſure is, that you repair forthwith to Scotland. At your arrival at Edinburgh, you are to ſpeak with Gideon Murray, from whom you will receive ſome neceſſary information of men and matters, and who will introduce you to lord Arran. But in caſe the ſaid Gideon ſhould not be there, you may make uſe of what other perſons you can confide in.

You are to aſſure the lord Arran of the great ſenſe we have of his ſufferings, ſervices, intereſt, and prudence, in adviſing, managing, and performing what is practicable in the preſent conjuncture: that you have orders for our friends to uſe all their credit in oppoſing abjuration, Hannover, and union.

That our friends on this ſide are reſolved to give us what aſſiſtance ſhall be demanded, for our immediate reſtoration; but are not willing to venture in matters that are not deciſive, and, at beſt, can but procure delays. For ſuppoſe nothing paſs in our prejudice, at preſent, yet the danger is ſtill impending for the future; and, if it could be ſtaved off, till the princeſs of Denmark dies, yet, if Hannover gets poſſeſſion of England, our friends in Scotland could hardly maintain our cauſe. Therefore, it will be neceſſary, that they ſhould conſult together to frame a project for a general undertaking; and to ſend over ſome perſon or perſons, with a credential ſigned by the principal undertakers, which may be ſafely conveyed by being wrapt up in a thin cake of lead, and dropt in the ſea when in danger of being ſeized. They muſt be well inſtructed in all particulars relating to this affair, as troops, arms, proviſions, commiſſions, and declaration, time and place of landing.

You are to endeavour to ſpeak with our moſt truſty friends, and, in our name, tell them the moſt obliging things you can deviſe, as if they were here ſpecially mentioned. Propoſe to thoſe of moſt intereſt and diſcretion what is above ſaid. Hear every body's notions, and exhort them all to lay aſide private partialities, to concur unanimouſly in our ſervice, eſpecially in oppoſing Hannover, abjuration, and union.

Give

Give us frequent accounts of what you obſerve there, both as to men and matters; for which, Gideon will furniſh you with a cypher and addreſs." 1703.

Further Inſtructions.

"YOU are, in our name, to aſſure all our loyal ſubjects, whom you ſhall converſe with, of the juſt ſenſe we have of their ſervices and ſufferings; and that we have not of late ſent to them, leſt we might have brought them into trouble unneceſſarily, when there was no opportunity of promoting effectually our reſtoration and their deliverance.

Towards which, they ſhould reſpectively endeavour to diſpoſe the people, by aſſuring ſuch as return to their duty of our ſpecial favour; and to all our pardon, who do not oppoſe us at our coming, or thoſe commiſſioned by us, and ſuch ſecurities for their laws, liberties, and religion, as ſhall be agreed on, in our firſt parliament, held in our ancient kingdom of Scotland.

That they ſhall, by all means poſſible, oppoſe any propoſal that may be made of joining with England, in ſettling the ſucceſſion on the family of Hannover; and that they ought to conſider the project of an union, as a mere trick to delude and engage them to perpetuate an uſurpation, and all the miſeries that attend ſuch a manifeſt injuſtice.

That they ſhould maturely deliberate and conſult together of what, when, and how, any thing may be undertaken for us and for themſelves; and to ſend a proper perſon to us, well inſtructed, in all the particulars, relating to ſo great and good a deſign."

Though Marlborough and Godolphin had manifeſtly cooled in their zeal for the exiled family, ever ſince the acceſſion of the Queen, the court of St. Germains continued their intercourſe with them through their agents. One of theſe had propoſed to marry the pretended prince of Wales to one of Marlborough's daughters, even before the death of the marquis of Blandford had left the duke no hopes of poſterity, but through the female line. The negociation, if it was ever carried to any height, ſhews the high opinion which the ſervants of the pretended prince entertained of Marlborough's power; at the ſame time, that it exhibits the judgment which they formed concerning his invariable attachment to his own intereſt.

1703. Feb. 5th. Lord Caryll's letters, vol v. fol. Scotch College.

Extracts from letters from Lord Caryll to correſpondents in England in the months of February, March, and April, 1703.

"I Have received your letter of ——— which tells me, that Mr. Arnot * has been engaged to propoſe a match between a daughter of Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] and young Mr. Manly [the King], of which you ſeem deſirous to know my opinion. But, unleſs you let me know, who this friend is, who hath propoſed it, I can make no judgment of the matter. Pray, therefore, in your next, if you deſire my opinion of the match, give me ſome light, that I may the better judge of it, by knowing how qualified and commiſſioned the propoſer is."

March 9th. "I do not wonder, that Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] comes ſo little in your ſight. I believe his former engagements, to which you are a witneſs, ſo ill performed by him, make his meeting with you uneaſy to him; and I am fully perſuaded, that he makes himſelf as great a ſtranger to all the reſt of our factory, as he doth to you. I make it a great queſtion, whether he be, at preſent, fully diſpoſed to receive from any hand ſuch a propoſal, as Mr. Painter [colonel Sackville] intimated to you. Nay, I have ſome ſcruple, that, if ſuch a hint ſhould be given him, he might turn it another way, and endeavour to make the ſame bargain with young Hanmer [Hannover]. For, perhaps, he may think that a ſafer and an eaſier bargain; and you well know how true that merchant is to his intereſt. In ſhort, there is no more to be ſaid of this matter at preſent. But we muſt expect what time may produce."

April 9th. "I ſuppoſe the abſence of Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] will, for a while, at leaſt, put a ſtop to Mr. Painter's [colonel Sackville's] project. I wonder he did not propoſe it himſelf, before Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] went into the country [Holland], being well acquainted with that gentleman; and then he might have known, in an honourable manner, how it would have taken with him. For you may be ſure, nobody will ever be commiſſioned, from Mr. Wiſely [the Queen], to make ſuch a propoſal."

May 7th. "Mr. Wiſely [the Queen] is very glad to underſtand, that what reſervedneſs was, on their part, proceeded only from thoſe meaſures, which were neceſſary to be kept with that troubleſome merchant, Mr. Wanley

* Probably Colonel Sackville.

[the

[the Whigs]. All that knew Mr. Wiſely muſt confeſs, that no one ex- 1703.
ceeds him in good nature, and that none can be more ſenſible than he is of either the advantages or the loſſes of his friends; and particularly as to the good ſucceſs, which his friends Mr. Gurny [Marlborough] and Mr. Gilburn [Godolphin] have lately had, in their home affairs. He is only ſorry that it came by any other means, or any other hand than his own. On the other ſide, when the news was brought of Mr. Gurny's [Marlborough] great loſs at ſea *, it happened that I was the firſt who told him of it; and I declare to you, that I was amazed how he was ſtruck at it. So that in theſe matters, I hope you will do him juſtice with your friend Gilburn [Godolphin], that he may do it alſo with Mr. Trimin [dutcheſs of Marlborough] and Young [princeſs Anne]. I need not tell you, that, in naming Mr. Wiſely [the Queen], I alſo include Mr. Mathews [the King]: for, you well know, that their intereſts are inſeparable; and, though this merchant, laſt named, be but a young beginner in the world, yet his qualities and induſtry are ſuch, that all think he will make, in a little time, as able and fair a dealer as any that have come upon the Exchange: nor can I doubt, but Mr. Wheatly [England] himſelf will, at laſt, (all things duly weighed) be convinced it is his intereſt to join ſtocks with this young merchant, upon reaſonable terms."

In the year 1702, captain Simon Fraſer, of Beaufort, afterwards well May.
known to the world, under the title of lord Lovat, went to France, and pretended to have authority from ſome of the Scotch nobility and of the chiefs of the Highland clans, to offer their ſervices to the court of St. Germains. He promiſed in their name to raiſe an army of 12,000 men, if the King of France would conſent to land 5000 men at Dundee and 500 at Fort William. His propoſals were liſtened to, but his ſincerity was queſtioned, and others in whom the court of France and St. Germains could place confidence, were ſent back with him, when he returned to Scotland.

* He means probably the loſs of Marlborough's ſon, who died February 20th, 1703.

"Copy

1703. May. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

"*Copy of the Inſtructions given to Captain John Murray, when he was ſent to Scotland with Lord Lovat, in May*, 1703.

The inſtructions are in Nairne's hand.—Captain John Murray was brother to Sir David Murray, of Stanhope.

JAMES R.

"WHEN you arrive in Scotland, you are to repair ſtraight to the Highlands, and there you are to be introduced, by lord Lovat, to the ſeveral chiefs of clans and gentlemen of intereſt in that part of the country, of whom you are to inform yourſelf what they propoſe, what they are able to do, and at what time they can be in readineſs; and if there be diverſity of opinions, you are to mark the perſons that differ in opinion from the others, with the reaſons given by them for ſo doing: and, when you are ſufficiently inſtructed in all this, and of what elſe may be for our ſervice in the Highlands, you are to return thither, with all convenient ſpeed, to give us a full and faithful account, of what you have learned of the capacity and diſpoſitions of our friends, in thoſe parts, that we may know what we have to expect from them, when we ſhall have occaſion for their ſervice.

Given at our court, at St. Germains, the 24th of February, 1703, and in the ſecond year of our reign."

"Nota: That theſe inſtructions were ſigned and ſealed the 5th of May, tho' antedated as above, that they might be anteriour to the Scotch indemnity."

Fraſer himſelf received the following inſtructions.

Ibid. D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

"*Inſtructions to Lord Lovat.*"

Dated the 25th of February, but ſigned the 5th of May, 1703.

"YOU are, with all convenient ſpeed, to return to your own country, and to ſhew this paper only to ſuch of the Highlanders, as knew of your coming hither and have ſent to us by you, and ſuch others of them, as you hope to bring to our intereſt.

You are to aſſure them, of the great ſenſe we have of the paſt proofs of their affection, and the confidence we have of their ſteadineſs and forwardneſs

wardneſs in time to come, which we ſhall requite, by all ſuitable returns, when it is in our power. 1703. May.

That we have all the aſſurance can be deſired, of being ſufficiently aſſiſted by our friends here, when the conjuncture is favourable; and that then they ſhall be ſupplied with every thing that may make them appear effectually for us.

You are to let them know, that the King of France hath promiſed us, that whenever we ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of our kingdom of Scotland, by the faithful endeavours of our friends, in that our ſaid ancient kingdom, he will then reſtore the Scotch nation to all the privileges they formerly enjoyed in France.

That, in the mean time, they ſhould concert and diſpoſe matters ſo, as to be in a readineſs, when there is occaſion for them; yet with that caution and privacy neceſſary for a ſecret of this importance, in which their ſecurity and our ſervice is ſo much concerned.

And we do hereby authorize ſuch officers in the Highlands, as had commiſſions from the late King, our father, to make uſe of the ſaid commiſſions, if any good occaſion offers, till ſuch time as we ſhall have the conveniency of granting them new ones.

You are to let our friends know, that we do hereby authorize them, to endeavour to gain to our intereſt as many as they can of ſuch as are conſiderable, in the nation, by their families, or by their employments, civil or military, by promiſing, in our name, to ſuch of them as want it, pardon for all paſt faults, and to all of them rewards, proportionable to their reſpective merits and ſervices."

" There was given with this, a commiſſion of colonel of foot, to be raiſed in Scotland."

The dying words of his late maſter made ſuch an impreſſion, on the earl of Middleton, that, ſome months after his deceaſe, he left the court of St. Germains and retired to a convent, at Paris, to be ſatisfied in ſome doubts, and to be inſtructed in the tenets, of the Roman catholic religion. Among Mr. Nairne's MSS. there is a rough draught of the oſtenſible reaſons, which he himſelf alleged for leaving the court. September.

He ſays, he never thought himſelf qualified for buſineſs. He accepted the ſeals, on condition, that he could reſign them, when he pleaſed. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 32.

1703. September. pleaſed. He thought, as he was now a convert to popery, his continuing in office would give offence to proteſtants in England. He could have no provocation, in retirement, to reſentment or revenge againſt enemies; and he would have more time to attend to the duties of religion.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. and vol. ix. 4to. The earl of Middleton ſeems to have been out of office, near a twelvemonth; at leaſt, there are no copies of his letters among Mr. Nairne's papers, from the month of July, 1702, to the 14th of June, 1703. But there are entries of all his letters, from that time to the end of December, 1713. The firſt of them which concerns the affairs of Britain, was written to Monſieur de Torcy, on the firſt of September, this year. He incloſed a memorial to him, deſiring a paſſport for a veſſel, to go to Scotland, to bring back captain James Murray, whom lord Arran had aſked, in order to ſend him back again, with informations concerning the ſtate of the country, and what they intended to do, when the parliament ſhould riſe.

Ibid. No. 6.

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1703.

1703. January.

QUEEN ANNE having placed herſelf in the hands of the Tories, the Whigs of courſe threw themſelves in the ſcale of the houſe of Hannover. But the correſpondence which ſubſiſted, thus early, between the diſcontented in Britain and that family, had not yet acquired the importance, at which it afterwards arrived. It may, however, amuſe the reader, to lay before him ſome articles that have hitherto remained unknown to the public.

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne.

Hannover Papers.

A complimentary Letter.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Hannover, January 8, 1703.

"YOUR Majeſty did me the favour to receive aſſurances of my moſt humble reſpects, with ſo much goodneſs, that I preſume to repeat them, by the opportunity of baron Schutz's return, although I have reaſon to apprehend I may fatigue your Majeſty, by conſtantly repeating the ſame thing: but, Madam, I am ſo very thankful for your having condeſcended to make me an anſwer, that I hope you will not take amiſs, that I preſume to offer you my moſt humble acknowledgments, and to aſſure you of the deſire I have to merit the honour you do me. This, however, I cannot hope, but when your Majeſty will be pleaſed to honour me with your commands, in order that I may ſhow, by my obedience, that the honour is conferred upon one, who is with the greateſt zeal and reſpect, MADAM,

Your Majeſty's

Moſt humble and moſt obedient ſervant and Aunt,

SOPHIA ELECTRESS."

1703. April. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 202.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Rivers to General Bulau.
In Robethon's hand.

Bulau commanded the troops of Lunenburgh, that ſerved in the allied army.—Lord Rivers ſends him a ſtate of affairs in England.—There was a ſtrong party for the prince of Wales.—His friends become numerous in the houſe of Commons, ſince the death of the late King.—They brought in two bills to ſerve his cauſe.—The hiſtory of theſe bills.—Lord Rivers gives his advice to the Elector.—Marlborough forced him to quit the ſervice, for having voted as he ought to have done.

Tranſlation.

April 9, 1703.

"THE reaſon, why I could not anſwer your laſt letter ſooner, is, that I could not find an earlier opportunity of writing to you with ſafety, and in a circumſtantial and particular manner. I believe the beſt method of correſponding with you will be, to give you juſt and exact repreſentations of matters of fact in England; and, for this purpoſe, I muſt begin with informing you, that there is a party in this kingdom for the prince of Wales, which is conſiderable and very zealous, and whoſe boldneſs is founded, not only on their confidence in the King of France, but on an aſſurance with which they flatter themſelves of being countenanced and ſupported by the preſent government. And when one conſiders the men who are advanced and favourably received at court, it is evident, that there is too much reaſon to be confirmed in this opinion.

By a combination of ſeveral accidents, which happened ſince the death of the King, and which could not probably have happened at any other time, the members of the houſe of commons have been choſen in a manner well calculated to extend the views of that party; and accordingly they do not ſcruple to acknowledge this. It is not to be imagined, that they will chooſe to act directly for the prince of Wales: accordingly they have adopted another method, by propoſing two bills in the lower houſe; the firſt in order to renew the diſputes between the members of the church of England and the preſbyterians, which, having formerly diſturbed the quiet of the kingdom, for a long time, had been ſuppreſſed during the preceding reign; and they hope, that, amidſt theſe animoſities, they will more eaſily conceal and advance their deſigns. The ſecond

cond bill appeared to have been intended in favour of thoſe, who, by accident, had neglected to take the oath of abjuration of the prince of Wales, in the time limited, and for maintaining the proteſtant ſucceſſion; but the real deſign was to re-eſtabliſh all thoſe who had refuſed that oath, and to diſmiſs all ſuch as had been put into their places and offices. 1703. April.

If theſe two bills had paſſed, one may eaſily judge what would have been the conſequence. But the houſe of peers, having a juſt apprehenſion of the danger of their deſigns, rejected, with great firmneſs, the firſt, and not only took every thing that was miſchievous and bad out of the ſecond, but added two clauſes to it; by the firſt of which the oath of abjuration is impoſed upon the whole kingdom of Ireland, which they had forgot to comprehend in the former act; and the ſecond makes all thoſe guilty of high treaſon who ſhall attempt, either directly or indirectly, to prevent the ſucceſſion of the family of Hannover: and all this affair was conducted by the lords with ſo much addreſs, that thoſe who brought in the bill dared not oppoſe the clauſe directly, for fear of expoſing themſelves and loſing their credit in the kingdom, and by theſe means, that act, far from anſwering their expectations, has rendered the ſucceſſion more ſtable and certain. But, it muſt be obſerved, that this majority in the houſe of peers, chagrined the ſaid party to ſuch a degree, that Sir Edward Seymour did not heſitate to ſay openly in the houſe of commons, that it was abſolutely neceſſary, that the Queen ſhould make ſome new peers, in order that the majority of that houſe might concur in the deſigns of the lower houſe. However indiſcreet this ſpeech was, the meaſure has been adopted; for the Queen has made ſome new peers ſince the prorogation of the parliament, of whom the ſon of Sir E. Seymour is one, and another is the only man who refuſed to give his vote for eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the crown in the family of Hannover.

I will not trouble you with the character of the reſt. I ſhall only tell you, that two of them are of the ſame party. There are none of theſe facts which are not manifeſt, and above all contradiction. If you converſe with your own miniſter at this court he cannot deny this. Having now ſtated the caſe, I ſhall take the liberty of repreſenting to you my reflections, upon certain things, which I believe to be very uſeful for the ſervice of the Elector.

1703. April. 1. It would be deſirable that his electoral highneſs ſhould embrace every ſuitable opportunity of publiſhing, in his converſation, as well as by the intimations of his miniſters, that, ſince his family is called to the ſucceſſion, he is determined to hazard every thing for maintaining his right, and for ſupporting thoſe who are truly attached to his intereſts.

2. As it was very prudent in his miniſter to act with great reſerve and circumſpection, while every thing was in ſuſpenſe; ſo it would not be proper that he ſhould continue his ſilence, after the miniſtry here have given juſt cauſe of jealouſy. On the contrary, it would be ſerviceable that this miniſter ſhould, from time to time, make ſuitable repreſentations againſt the attempts which ſhall be made to the prejudice of the ſucceſſion.

3. It will be abſolutely neceſſary to make it known, that the Elector places an entire confidence in the man who is, or ſhall be, his miniſter here; and that whatever he ſhall advance or promiſe in the name of his maſter may be depended upon.

4. As it appears, from what I have ſaid above, that all employments and favours are given to thoſe of the oppoſite party, I muſt inform you likewiſe, that ſeveral perſons who have acted very zealouſly, and who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupporting the ſucceſſion eſtabliſhed by law, have loſt their employments; and as ſome of them maintained themſelves principally by the emoluments which they drew from their employments and penſions, I leave you to judge, if it would not be ſerviceable to come to a reſolution of doing ſomething for them; and particularly for thoſe who have titles, and few means to ſupport them. I ſpeak of ſome members of the houſe of peers, and of the advantage of preſerving and augmenting the number of thoſe who are well affected in that houſe, which may be done at a very moderate expence, if properly managed; and unleſs it is ſoon reſolved to do ſomething of this nature, I do not ſee by what means, or in what manner, the bad deſigns and meaſures of the party can be prevented, when the houſe of peers muſt be conſidered as the principal ſupport of that intereſt.

5. And ſince the lives of princes are uncertain, ſuch proper meaſures muſt be taken, on all hands, that when the ſucceſſion is open, all things may be diſpoſed for entering immediately into poſſeſſion. All that I ſay here

here is not only my own opinion, but the opinion of others, whom I believe to be the moſt capable of judging, and who are the beſt affected to the good cauſe. 1703. April—May.

I muſt add one thing more, which is to renew the caution that was given to you laſt year, with reſpect to our general [Marlborough]. You muſt not judge of him by what he ſays, but by what he does here; and eſpecially you muſt not believe him, if he ſays, that Lord Rivers deſired to leave the ſervice; for it is certain, that he was forced to do ſo, for having voted as you would have done, if you had been in his place; and the ſum which was given to him, being but the half of what is ordinarily given for poſts of that kind, has been a cloak to conceal their deſign and to prevent complaints."

The following letter ſeems to convey pretty juſtly the views of the Scottiſh Jacobites in parliament. The writer, however, is miſtaken, in the opinion, that they thought it neceſſary to change the church government, before they entered upon their deſigns in favour of the exiled family. The overture, for a toleration to thoſe of the epiſcopal perſuaſion, was made by the earl of Strathmore. But it met with ſo little countenance from the Jacobites themſelves, that at the requiſition of the general aſſembly, it was dropt almoſt without debate.

Mr. Scot to Mr. Robethon.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 152.

The ſtate of things in Scotland.—Deſigns in favour of the Pretender.

SIR, London, May 18, 1703.

"SINCE my laſt, there hath occurred very little material. The parliament of Scotland met, on the 22d, according to adjournment; and were, all that day, upon controverted elections. It is ſtill ſaid, as I told you before, that the great buſineſs of this ſeſſion will be, to get a toleration for the epiſcopal clergy; and, that this toleration may the better anſwer the expectation of the court, it is thought there will be ſome attempt made for the reſtoring of patronages; for then it will be an eaſy matter to get ſuch perſons preſented to vacant benefices as will incline to a change in church-government; a thing the court ſeems to deſire, though I know nothing that could ſo much ſtrengthen the Jacobite intereſt

1703. May. tereſt in Scotland: but ſome will ſay, it is for that very reaſon the court deſires it; and really, all things conſidered, it is hard to give any other. It appears plainly, that the greateſt hopes of the Jacobites are now from Scotland; and that the way they propoſe to carry on their buſineſs there is, firſt to have their friends, the epiſcopal people, brought into church-government; when that is done, they fancy it may not be difficult to get the parliament of Scotland to declare their ſucceſſion in favour of the prince of Wales; and, if once they gain that point, they reſolve to act a little more barefacedly in England. They will then repreſent the danger of Scotland's having a King of its own, and what miſchiefs may happen to England upon the Scots joining with the Engliſh Jacobites. From thence, perhaps, they may come to urge the breaking into the ſucceſſion-act, and the declaring with Scotland for the prince of Wales, as things abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the peace of both kingdoms. This I have ground to think is the Jacobites ſcheme; and, though I am perſuaded they will never be able to effectuate it, yet, conſidering how things are managed here, thoſe who wiſh well to the houſe of Hannover, have all the reaſon in the world to be upon their guard: but more of this at meeting."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1704.

DURING the war, which ſucceeded the Revolution in Britain, the court of St. Germains continued their ſecret negociations, and formed perpetual ſchemes for invading England. But when peace was concluded, King James, reſigning himſelf to the auſterities of religion, ſeems to have built all his hopes of reſtoration, upon the favourable events which might happen, in the courſe of time. His ſervants, however, kept up a communication with his friends, more with a deſign of retaining them in their principles, than from expectations of their immediate ſervices. In this ſituation of affairs, Simon Fraſer, well known afterwards by the title of Lord Lovat, a man who joined inſinuating talents to low manners and a profligate character, came to St. Germains, and offered his ſervices to King James. Fraſer, having committed, in Scotland, public and private crimes, which threatened to draw upon him the ultimate animadverſions of the laws of his country, had fled from juſtice: but his hiſtory being known before his arrival, King James, from motives of morality, rejected his offered ſervices. Having continued for ſome time in a ſtarving condition in France, he applied, through a Mr. Carſtares, to King William, for a pardon; no doubt, under promiſes of future ſervices. In this pardon, which the principal ſecretary of ſtate had refuſed to ſign, either through accident or deſign, a rape, which Fraſer had committed on the dowager-lady Lovat, had not been comprehended. 1704.

The marquis of Athol, father to the injured lady, proſecuted Fraſer criminally, and he fled again from juſtice into France. King James was by this time dead: but the earl of Middleton, who knew his late maſter's ſentiments concerning Fraſer, refuſed to admit him into his preſence. But Fraſer, turning a Roman Catholic, inſinuated himſelf, through the

1704. influence of the Pope's nuncio, into the confidence of the exiled Queen; and, through the ſame channel, he had acceſs to the French miniſtry, and, it is ſaid, even to the King himſelf. But the ſtate he gave of the affairs of Scotland appearing too favourable to the views of the excluded family to be implicitly believed, Lewis the Fourteenth demanded from the court of St. Germains, a perſon who could be truſted to accompany Fraſer into that kingdom, to bring back a genuine account of the ſtate of things. Fraſer, accordingly, in company with captain John Murray, brother to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, paſſing through England, arrived on the borders of Scotland, in the ſummer of 1703. He was met there, by the duke of Argyle, who had always been his patron, and conducted by that nobleman to Edinburgh, where he received a protection from the duke of Queenſberry, commiſſioner to the parliament then ſitting in that city. Under cover of this protection, Fraſer was ſent into the Highlands to extract promiſes of ſupporting the pretenſions of the exiled family, from thoſe chiefs and noblemen, who were known to be in their intereſt.

Fraſer's character was too well known to be truſted. He returned, with little ſucceſs, to Edinburgh, and formed a ſcheme, with the duke of Queenſberry, of accuſing ſeveral of his own enemies and ſome of thoſe of the duke, of a correſpondence with the court of St. Germains. But the proofs which he could produce being inſufficient, he was provided with money and a paſs, under a feigned name, by Queenſberry, to enable him to return to France to forge or make more complete diſcoveries. The famous Ferguſon, with whom Fraſer had ſome communications on his return to London, ſuſpecting his ſincerity, had, in the mean time, informed the duke of Athol, one of the noblemen accuſed, though he had never been in any correſpondence whatever with the court of St. Germains, of the ſchemes laid to ruin him and others. The noiſe which this diſcovery made in the Engliſh parliament is well known. Fraſer arrived at Paris; and, in proſecution of his promiſes to Queenſberry, preſented the following memorial:

"*A Me-*

"*A Memorial to the Queen of all that my Lord Lovat did in his voyage to England and Scotland, by her Majeſty's orders.*" 1704. January. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

Original.

"AS ſoon as he arrived in England, he informed himſelf of the diſpoſitions of the people for their King. He found, that, in England, the King had loſt much of the inclinations of his ſubjects, who pretended to be faithful to him in the prince of Orange's time, becauſe the princeſs of Denmark had given employments to thoſe that were enemies to the prince of Orange; and thoſe, having received better places than they expect if the King was reſtored, do not think or ſuffer to hear of him, although they have ſworn a hundred times, that they would ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for him. He marched from London, with his friend captain Murray and three ſervants a horſe-back, to go to the town of Durham, where he muſt have waited ſome of his ſervants from Scotland with horſes and money. He eſcaped happily to be taken by a juſtice of the peace, who arreſted his valet de chambre, a Frenchman, becauſe he neither ſpoke Engliſh or Dutch. When he came to Durham, he found that the town was full of good Catholics of the gentry of the country, who were very faithful to the King his maſter. As ſoon as he was known to be in the town, having been acquainted there before, all the Catholics came to wait of him, and knowing that he was in France, as his enemies had publiſhed before he was two months in France, by the information of the princeſs of Denmark's ſpies at St. Germains; all theſe Catholics made all the proteſtations imaginable of their fidelity to the King, their maſter; and, when he ſhewed them the King's picture, they all fell down upon their knees and kiſſed him and prayed for him. My lord Lovat anſwered them, that he did not doubt, but they loved their King; but that the common opinion was, that the Catholics in England would be the laſt that would venture their lives and fortunes for the King. They anſwered him, that that opinion was very falſe; and that thoſe who made ſuch inſinuations to the court were enemies to the King. Some days after, they made an aſſembly of all the Catholic gentlemen of that country; and, after that they had been ſome time together, they ſent four of their number to my lord Lovat, to entreat him to inform the Queen, that all the Catholics in the North of England, who were very numerous and powerful, were ready to venture

1704. January. their lives and fortunes for the King, whenever his banners ſhould be diſplayed in that country, and that they gave already ſuch marks of their fidelity, that they believed the Queen did not doubt their reſolutions to ſerve the King. There ſtayed an Iriſh nobleman in that town, who was in the laſt wars with the King in Ireland. My lord Lovat, finding him a moſt loyal ſenſible man, inquired of him, if any thing could be done for the King, in Ireland. He told him, that the people were ſo oppreſſed, that, if the King of France would ſend them arms, he would engage his life and fortune, that he would get five thouſand to riſe in arms in that kingdom; and he gave commiſſion to my lord Lovat, to tell ſo to the Queen and to the court of France; and that he was ready to receive her Majeſty's orders, to go to that country to prepare the people to that effect.

My lord Lovat continued his journey towards Scotland; and as ſoon as he entered the country, his enemies were affrighted, and my lord Athol, being afraid that, if my lord Lovat took arms, he would deſtroy all his eſtate, made a public complaint to the commiſſioner, the duke of Queenſberry, and to the council, that my lord Lovat was come from France, as an emiſſary from the French court, with money and officers to raiſe the Highlands in rebellion againſt the Queen; and, if they did not take meaſures to take the ſaid lord Lovat dead or alive, that nobody in the government were ſure of their lives and fortunes; he had ſuch a great intereſt with all the Highlanders of Scotland. The marquis of Athol gave to the commiſſioner, as author, captain James Murray, who ſtaid ſo long at St. Germains, and who was in France, and knew when my lord Lovat received his orders from the court of France. The commiſſioner, who was always my lord Lovat's good friend, who believed that what my lord Athol ſaid was malice, inſtead of giving orders out againſt my lord Lovat, ſent him expreſsly his friend, and my lord Lovat's intimate friend, the earl of Leven, to propoſe to him, in his name, and in the name of the princeſs of Denmark, that, if he would ſide with the princeſs, and enter with him and his friends into the intereſt of Hannover, that the princeſs of Denmark would immediately give him her pardon and his eſtate; ſhe ſhould pay the debts of his family, and give him a regiment and a good penſion; becauſe they knew his power in the Highlands,

Highlands, which they feared, and that the Highlanders would do nothing without him. 1704. January.

My lord Lovat thanked the earl of Leven, and intreated him to thank the duke of Queenſberry, in his name, for his kindneſs to him: but that he was ſo engaged in the intereſts of his King, and in the intereſts of France, that he would never abandon them, till he gave an account of his journey; and, beſides, he thought it his intereſt never to alter from the King's ſide, ſince he was ſure that the King of France would reſtore him in a ſhort time. Therefore, he begged of him to conſider, that his family would be ruined and extirpated, when the King came home, if he did not appear timouſly for him. He ſo frighted the earl, with the King's going home, and the forces of France, that he gave him commiſſion to make his peace with the King.

The next day, he had an appointment with the marquis of Drummond and captain Murray, near the ports of Edinburgh. He told them what the earl of Leven propoſed to him. They did not know how to adviſe him. He, finding them at a ſtand, told my lord Drummond, you ſee, that thoſe offers are very great; but that he would not take the whole kingdom of Scotland to abandon the intereſt of his King and the King of France, in which he was ſo ſolemnly engaged. He propoſed to my lord Drummond, that, if the low country would riſe in arms, he would get all the Highlanders to riſe in arms and obey him; and that, in a little time, they would make an army that would maſter the kingdom; and that then he was ſure the King of France would ſend home the King, and all the neceſſaries that were requiſite to put him on the throne. My lord Drummond anſwered him, that he was very willing to take arms; but that he had not the King's commiſſion. But, as ſoon as he got the King's commiſſion, that he would then, without fail, take arms; and, in the mean time, prepare matters for it; and likewiſe begged of my lord Lovat not to go near his own country; ſince he muſt take arms if he went there, which would very much wrong the King's intereſt.

My lord Lovat, finding that none of the low country would ſtir, without commiſſions; and that the Queen had ordered him expreſsly, that he ſhould make no riſing, till ſuch time as captain Murray ſhould return to France, ſacrificed his clan and intereſt for the intereſt of his King; and left all thoughts of riſing in arms, till he ſent an expreſs to France;

1704. January. becauſe he was afraid, that he and the chieftains of clans that were to join him, would be ſuppreſſed before they got aſſiſtance from France. He told my lord Drummond, that, becauſe he did not think fit to take arms at that time, the kingdom of neceſſity muſt be prepared to make a general riſing for the King; and, for that purpoſe, he did charge him to bring captain Murray with him, who was then preſent, to prepare the low country, and that he ſhould offer the command of the King's army to duke Hamilton; and that if the duke did refuſe the King's commiſſion, that would preſently ruin him with the King's friends, who were his ſupport, that afterwards he could not be capable to do any hurt. My lord Drummond had no good opinion of the duke, nor had any of the King's friends. But he ſaid to my lord Lovat, that he would propoſe to the duke to take the King's commiſſion; and that he did not care what he did, ſince he was ſure of people of quality in the low country without him. My lord Lovat was very glad to hear that from him; and told him that he would aſſure him of 20,000 Highlanders, when the low country was ready to join them, and that he would march immediately through all the Highlands, except his own country, where his enemies had garriſons to take up his rents; and that, when he had aſſembled the moſt conſiderable chiefs of clans, and had ſhewn them the King's inſtructions, he would then ſend an expreſs for captain Murray, that he might be preſent at their engagements and promiſes.

Having agreed on theſe reſolutions, they parted. The next day, the earl of Argyle, who was lord Lovat's relation and his great friend, deſired to have an appointment with him, which he, after adviſing with my lord Drummond and captain Murray, granted him; and accordingly they met on the borders of Scotland. Argyle was a ſubtile man, and lord Lovat refuſing the offers he made him, which were the ſame my lord Leven had made him the day before, he told him, that he knew he was not ſuch a fool as to refuſe them, without he had greater things in hand. He begged of him to let him know them. My lord Lovat, of neceſſity, was obliged to diſſemble with him; and aſſured him, that there was nothing to do: but that, before he came from France, it was believed that the parliament would either call home the King or riſe in arms for him; and that he came of purpoſe to raiſe all his kindred, and all that would riſe with him, to aſſiſt him. Argyle told him, that he

did not think that he was ſo ignorant as to believe, that a proteſtant parliament would ever call home a popiſh King: that, on the contrary, this preſent parliament had made an act to exclude the King and the race, while they were Papiſts. Lovat anſwered him, that what the parliament did would not ſignify a farthing; that, in ſpite of them and all his enemies, the King would be home. He, to demonſtrate to Argyle the great force and wiſdom of France, and their entire reſolution ro reſtore the King, at the ſame time, exhorted him to conſider that his family was very ill with the royal family; and that he muſt do more than others to ſave his perſon and family; from utter ruin: that he was much aſtoniſhed, and changed colours, and anſwered, It's not that that troubles me. But, ſaid he, I find that the duke of Hamilton plainly deſigns to be our King; and before he get the crown, I will be the firſt with my kindred that will join the French, and draw my ſword for your prince. My lord Lovat wiſhed that he would continue thoſe reſolutions. 1704. January.

Argyle aſked Lovat, if captain Murray, Abercairny's ſon, had any commiſſion from France; becauſe they were told, that he came over with him, with commiſſions as a French emiſſary. My lord Lovat told him, that he had come over with him, and perſuaded him that his only buſineſs was to ſee his old dying father and his relations; and that, with what my lord Lovat told the day before to the earl of Leven, was the only thing that ſerved captain Murray in Scotland; James Murray and others having informed againſt him, as well as againſt my lord Lovat. Lovat leaving Argyle very melancholy, took leave of him. Argyle embraced him, and told him he muſt be of their party; and that he would work with the commiſſioner to that effect. But, at the ſame time, he took ſo to heart what my lord Lovat had told him, that the very next day he fell dangerouſly ill, and never recovered it.

My lord Lovat purſued his journey to the Highlands, where they were overjoyed to ſee him, becauſe they believed him dead; having been fourteen months in France, without writing any word to his country. They came from all corners to ſee him. He ſhewed them the King's inſtructions, and the King of France's great promiſes. They were raviſhed to ſee them, and prayed to God to have their King there, and they ſhould ſoon put him on the throne. My lord Lovat told them, that

1704. January. that they muſt firſt fight for him, and beat his enemies in the kingdom. They anſwered him, that, if they got the aſſiſtance he promiſed them, they would march in three days advertiſement, and beat all the King's enemies in the kingdom. At the ſame time, my lord Lovat received an expreſs from lord Drummond and captain Murray, to acquaint him, that his enemies had obtained an act of the privy council of fire and ſword againſt his perſon; and that all the troops in the kingdom had orders to take him, dead or alive; and that the King's friends begged of him to retire his perſon, which was ſo neceſſary to the King, to ſome private place out of the kingdom, till the King's affairs were ripe. He anſwered them, by another expreſs, that he mocked very much what the council could do againſt him; and that he was more in ſafety among the Highlanders, as the council was within the town of Edinburgh; and that he would purſue his maſter's buſineſs without any fear; for which reaſon he ſent for captain Murray to ſee how unanimouſly the Highlanders were to take arms for their King. Captain Murray came and ſaw the moſt conſiderable of the chiefs, and was raviſhed to ſee them ſo reſolute for their King. He told my lord Lovat, that all the low country were well reſolved for the King; and that the duke of Hamilton had not refuſed the King's commiſſion: but that he deſired him to delay matters too much: ſo that the King's friends were very jealous of him. He told him likewiſe, that all the King's friends had reſolved to ſend my lord Drummond to France, as commiſſioner from the low country nobility, with the chief of a clan, as commiſſioner from the Highlanders, to aſſure the King, their maſter, and the King of France, how much they were ready to hazard their lives and fortunes for the King their maſter, and for the King of France, if they were aſſiſted by them. Upon which, my lord Lovat obliged the laird of Appin, as commiſſioner for the reſt of the Highlanders, to meet with my lord Drummond at his houſe, to conclude of affairs.

The day appointed for the meeting, my lord Lovat, with the ſaid commiſſioner, and the laird of Lochiel and other conſiderable chiefs, came to the caſtle of Drummond, and met my lord Drummond and the laird of Abercairny, captain Murray's brother, the head of a good family, and very much reſpected in that country, and one of the loyaleſt men in the world. He repreſented the low country, together with my lord Drummond.

Drummond. They kept council together there for three days; and, after ſeveral diſputes and conſiderations, it was reſolved, that my lord Drummond and the other commiſſioners ſhould not go immediately to France; becauſe it was impoſſible that they could be out of the kingdom but the government muſt know it; becauſe many ſpoke already, that the Highlanders were to riſe in arms for King James the Eighth; and that, as ſoon as it was known that my lord Drummond was in France, his eſtate would be forfeited, which would be hurtful to the King's intereſt. But they determined to ſend my lord Lovat immediately, when he was the laſt year in France, and becauſe he had the happineſs to have friends, and to be known at the court of France; that he was more capable to give account of affairs; and that he was the only man that the Highlanders would truſt to make conditions for them. My lord Lovat, that might have ſaved his eſtate and family, by ſtaying in the country, and ſeeing that if any accident did happen to him on the road, his family was extinct, had much trouble of mind to reſolve to make the journey: but, ſeeing that his maſter's affairs muſt have ſuffered much, and that he muſt have failed in his engagements in France, he reſolved to return with their commiſſion to give account of affairs, or to die by the road. Upon which, he was ſent away, with his couſin, captain Fraſer, who was with him all the time, with letters to the Queen, the marquis de Torcy, and to the Nuncio, from my lord Drummond, the laird of Appin, as commiſſioner from the reſt of the chiefs, and from captain Murray. It was likewiſe reſolved, that captain Murray ſhould ſtay for a little time, to go with my lord Drummond to a part of the low country, where he had not been before, to bring marks with him of their reſolutions to riſe in arms for their King; and that, as ſoon as he came back to his father's houſe, he ſhould come immediately to France, with a ſon of one of the chiefs of the clans, to confirm what my lord Lovat ſhould ſay in their name. 1704. January.

At that time, my lord Drummond, with the laird of Appin, ſhould come to London, and there wait the King's orders, if it was neceſſary that they ſhould come to confirm what Lovat and captain Murray ſaid in name of the kingdom. My lord Lovat, who ſpent already much of his own money, borrowed four hundred pounds from lord Drummond and the

1704. January. the earl of Leven, and took journey with his diſpatches. The commiſſioner, who had ſtill hopes to gain him to his party, ſent him his paſſport ſome time before, to come into Edinburgh. He made uſe of it, on this occaſion, and came in and ſaw the commiſſioner, and gave him very fair language; ſo that he gave him his paſſport to come to London, to receive what he had offered him, in the name of the princeſs of Denmark. Though he neither truſted him nor his paſſport, he was glad to have it, in caſe he met with ſome of the troops on the road. Having ſtaid ſome days at Edinburgh, being tender, he rode, in the night-time, through Scotland and the north of England, till he came to Durham, where he ſtaid ſome days with the King's friends, who confirmed what they had ſaid before he went to Scotland. He was forced to buy freſh horſes there to carry him to London, becauſe he durſt not take coach or poſt for fear to be known,

In ſeven days after, he arrived ſafe in London, where he found extreme difficulties in leaving England; no man, woman, or child being ſuffered to go to Holland, without Nottingham's paſs. He had no ways to procure it, but by Queenſberry, which obliged him to hazard to go and ſee him privately. Queenſberry received him kindly. He told his Grace that, in honour, he muſt go back to France: but, as ſoon as he gave account of his journey, he would return and accept of his eſtate and the offers his Grace made him: that, therefore, he begged of his Grace to procure him Nottingham's paſs to go to Holland, ſince there was nobody that could go without it. He anſwered, that he was very ſorry, that he was reſolved to go back to France: that he could not have ſuch an occaſion of eſtabliſhing his family; and that he could not give him the ſame offer, though he ſhould come again. However, he told him, that he muſt go back, though he ſhould never get either of them. The duke then told him, that he could not get him a paſs in his own name, becauſe he was declared a rebel: but that he would endeavour to get a paſs in an unknown name; and that he would ſend it to him the next day. My lord Lovat thanked him very kindly, and then took leave of him. Yet the duke regretted that my lord Lovat did not embrace their party.

My lord Lovat went, that very night, to Graveſend, being afraid to ſtay any longer in London, all his enemies being there. He left orders with his landlord

landlord to follow him with the paſs, next day, which he did; and, by that means, he went ſafely a ſhip-board. In two days, with a favourable wind, he arrived in Rotterdam, where he was forced to ſtay fifteen days to wait his bills of exchange, which ſhould come by the common packet-boat; and though all that time he informed himſelf how he might get ſafe into Flanders, yet he found it almoſt impoſſible to leave that country without the States' paſs. He met Mr. Delaval there, and ſent him and others to the Hague to offer money for a paſs; but could not obtain it by any means. This ſtay, that he was obliged to make at Rotterdam, did give him occaſion to do conſiderable ſervice to the King, by gaining ſeveral of the Scotch officers of his friends and relations, who were going to Scotland to make recruits. They ſwore faithfully to him, that they would join the King's banner, whenever he ſhould have any army in the country; and ſome of them promiſed to let down their commiſſion and live at home to wait for that occaſion. 1704. January.

His bills having come, and having deſpaired of a paſs, he ventured to go to the Boſh, a frontier town, where ſome of his friends lay in garriſon; hoping that they might aſſiſt him in getting out of that country. He no ſooner arrived there, but ſome of his kinſmen that were there knew him, and above a hundred of them having come to his lodgings next morning, to tell him that they would follow him wherever he went, the report ſpread through all the town, that he was come there to deboſh the garriſon to the French. He, finding the great danger he was in by that report, reſolved to leave the town that afternoon. He, accordingly, ſlipt out in the evening, and gave twenty piſtoles to a guide, that furniſhed a horſe for himſelf, and two horſes for my lord Lovat and his brother, and engaged to conduct them ſafe, that night, to Antwerp. My lord Lovat, leaving captain Fraſer and his page behind, ventured with his brother and that guide to ride the fifteen leagues to Antwerp all night, which he did, and miſſed narrowly a Dutch party who were within piſtol-ſhot of him, on the Spaniſh territories. But their noiſe having advertiſed them, he gallöped a league off the high-road, through the moor; and arrived, by ſeven o'clock in the morning, at Antwerp, where he met with the Mareſchal de Villeroy, who was very civil to him, and directed him to go ſafe into France; where he is

1704. January. happily arrived, to give this account of his journey, and of the affairs of his country, to your Majeſty.

My lord Lovat forgot to give an account, that, about two days after he came to the country, he ſent his couſin-german, Sir John M'Lean's brother, with a letter to the earl of Breadalbin, concerning the King's affairs. He returned him anſwer, by the ſame bearer, that he was always loyal, and that he would live and die ſo; but that he would not truſt himſelf to any man in the kingdom, on ſuch great concerns except to my lord Lovat; ſo that if he pleaſed to come diſguiſed to his houſe at Ballach, he would be free with him upon that ſubject. Though the journey was very dangerous, yet my lord Lovat, knowing that the earl of Breadalbin was of the greateſt conſequence to the King's affairs, he hazarded his life very deſperately, in going in diſguiſe through my lord Athol's land, to the earl's houſe at Ballach, where we had long conferences with him; and, after many difficulties, he at laſt perſuaded him ſo much to embrace the King's intereſt, that he is reſolved to obey their Majeſties orders, and to hazard his grey hairs in the field for his maſter. He likewiſe, after a vaſt difficulty, perſuaded him to ſee my lord Drummond and captain Murray, upon the ſame head.

My lord Lovat likewiſe forgot to give an account, that in Scotland he gained ſeveral officers of his relations, that are in the ſtanding forces, who promiſed faithfully to him, to come off and join the King's banner, whenever he did appear in Scotland.

Madam,

This is the true ſubſtance of all the matter of fact of any conſequence that I can now remember that has happened in my journey and affairs, ſince I received your Majeſty's orders, as I muſt anſwer in conſcience and on my allegiance to the King my maſter, and to your Majeſty.

LOVAT."

"*Lord Lovat to the Earl of Middleton.*"

My Lord, Paris, 15th January, 1704.

Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

"THE impatient deſire I had to ſee the King, my maſter, and the Queen, has made my diſtemper return violently upon me, by the cold I have got by going to St. Germains. I have entreated my good friend,

friend, the Nuncio, to make my excuſe to the marquis de Torcy, that I cannot wait of him to give him his letters this week. I believe your lordſhip has ſeen the account of my journey by this time. I beg that your lordſhip may aſk the Queen if ſhe is pleaſed with it; and ſince I am to give almoſt the ſame account to the court of France, if there be any thing in it that the Queen or your lordſhip, as her Majeſty's chief miniſter, thinks prejudicial to the King my maſter's intereſt, I hope your lordſhip will acquaint me of it, that I may take the care I ought, to keep it out of the account I give the French court. 1704. January.

I told my good friend, the Nuncio, of the favour I aſked of your lordſhip. He ſaid it was moſt reaſonable, and that he would likewiſe aſk it of your lordſhip, and give his concurrence to procure it. I thanked him, and told him that your lordſhip thought it needleſs to trouble him on that head. Therefore, I hope your lordſhip will be as good as your word, which will be a laſting confirmation to me, that your lordſhip makes me happy in your friendſhip; and I hope my actions will convince your lordſhip, that I will always endeavour to deſerve it, in ſome meaſure.

The Nuncio goes, in ten days, to St. Germains, and will then acquaint your lordſhip how we may meet. Pardon this trouble, from,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

LOVAT."

The Earl of Middleton's Anſwer.

Nairne's Papers, vol. vii. 4to No. 15.

My Lord,

"I Received not, till 12 o'clock, the honour you was pleaſed to do me; nor could I receive, till after dinner, directions concerning what your lordſhip was pleaſed to write of, which are conform to my own ſentiments, which is to deal candidly and ſincerely, and indeed it were unfit to conceal any part or circumſtance of one's caſe from a phyſician.

I am very glad your good friend has a mind to appear in your ſmall pretenſions; and, ſince it requires not haſte, I ſhall not move in it till he comes. Your man's impatience may excuſe the ſhortneſs of this trouble, from,

My Lord,

Your lordſhip's moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

MIDDLETON."

1704. January. But the next day, Middleton applied to the marquis de Torcy to get lord Lovat arreſted.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 15.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Sends a tranſlation of lord Lovat's Memorial, with remarks and propoſes to arreſt him.

Tranſlation.

Paris, the 16th Jan. 1704.

"I Have the honour to ſend you the account which lord Lovat has given to the Queen. The original is written with his own hand, and ſigned with his name; and I venture to aſſure you, that the tranſlation is exact, and even literal. I doubt not but you will be as much ſurpriſed at it as we have been: for, although you know I never had a good opinion of him; yet I did not believe him fool enough to accuſe himſelf. The informations given againſt him by others, are out of the queſtion; and it is unneceſſary to fatigue you with an infinite number of remarks, becauſe every thing is explained in his own memorial. He has not, in ſome places, been as careful as authors of romances, to preſerve probability. For, beſides the vanity which runs through the whole, as if he himſelf were the firſt man in the world, he begins with a ſtory at Durham, which is totally falſe. He acknowledges plainly a formal diſobedience: for he was abſolutely forbidden to treat with any, but the Highlanders; and only with ſuch among them as had ſent him.

He told me, that Queenſberry, Argyle, and Leven, were the greateſt enemies of the King, my maſter, in that country; yet he communicated to them the whole of his commiſſion, which is a crime that deſerves hanging in every country. He rejects extraordinary offers; but obtains a paſs to go to London, and from thence the ſame Queenſberry obtains another paſs for him, under a borrowed name, to ſecure his ſafe return to France. This is very true: for he has produced them. It is, therefore, clear as day-light, that theſe noblemen wanted to employ him here as a ſpy, and for ſeizing letters and commiſſions, which might ſerve as proofs againſt the men of honour in that country. You will be pleaſed to obſerve, Sir, that, in his own report, he makes every one aſk commiſſions, in order that he might obtain now what was refuſed to him laſt year. He accuſes none, but James Murray, who is a man of ſuch known probity, that my lord Arran called for him as a man in whom he could place

place the greateſt confidence: but foreſeeing that Mr. Murray's account would not be favourable to him, he choſe to be before-hand with him. 1704. January.

If the King thinks proper to apprehend him, it ſhould be done without noiſe. His name ſhould not be mentioned any more; and, at the ſame time, all his papers ſhould be ſeized. He has a companion called Fraſer, who has attended him every where. I know nothing more about him."

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

He ſends him queſtions to be put to lord Lovat.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 15.

Tranſlation.

Jan. 18, 1704.

"I Have the honour to ſend you queſtions, which may be propoſed to lord Lovat and to his companion Fraſer, when they are apprehended, if you approve of them. He has brought here a young brother with him, who ought to be apprehended likewiſe, even though he ſhould not be guilty, to prevent his making a noiſe."

The Earl of Middleton to the Nuncio.

Ibid.

Sends him lord Lovat's account of his journey to Scotland,—and queſtions to be put to him.

Tranſlation.

January 20th, 1704.

"I Could not ſend your Eminence ſooner this report, becauſe a tranſlation of it was not finiſhed till this day. I have the honour of communicating to you likewiſe a copy of the queſtions, which I have given to Monſieur de Torcy. If there is any thing to be added, or any thing farther to be done, I entreat you to acquaint the queen; and to do me the juſtice to be perſuaded, that there is no one who honours you more than, &c."

Fraſer, who took to himſelf the title of lord Lovat, wrote a long letter to the earl of Middleton, on the nineteenth of January. He was afflicted, he ſaid, with the gravel, and the queen's ſuſpicions of his conduct added to his diſtemper. "If it is perſonal virtues," ſays he, "that are only eſteemed, and not ſervices; if her Majeſty, before ſhe believed any thing of me, would be ſo juſt as to examine or inquire impartially

Original, Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

1704. January. into my way of living; if I may not be called devout, I am ſure her Majeſty will find, that I never was given to any vice, and that what my enemies ſaid of me was a deſigned and intereſted calumny." He then repeated his having been ſent to France with a commiſſion from the Highlanders, and his having rejected the offers of good poſts in the government, and reſtitution of his whole eſtate, in caſe he would abandon the cauſe, in which he was determined to perſevere to his death, though he endangered "the entire extinction of his family, there being none to repreſent it but his brother and himſelf, who were expoſed to the daily hazard of their lives." He was afraid, that the queen inclined to manage his enemies: "But," ſays he, "I cannot underſtand where the balance lies, betwixt the family of Athol, a branch of the Murrays, who cannot bring fifty of its name to the King's ſervice, and who were traitors from their origin to this moment †, and the family of Lovat, which has loſt more men in defending the royal family of Stuart than there are Murrays in the kingdom of Scotland; and which, I bleſs God, can at this time bring a thouſand Fraſers, well armed, in four and twenty hours, to the King's ſervice." To this, and a great deal more in the ſame ſtrain, the earl of Middleton returned the following anſwer:

The Earl of Middleton's Anſwer.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 15.

My Lord, January 23d, 1704.

"YOUR ambaſſador's conduct is impenetrable, which I ſhall acquaint your lordſhip with, when I have the honour to ſee you. In the mean time, I think myſelf obliged to tell you, that I ſhewed your letter to the Queen, as ſoon as ſhe had dined, which I had received but between 10 and 11. Her Majeſty was pleaſed to tell me, that three days before, ſhe had ſeen one of the ſame date and to the ſame purpoſe, to which ſhe had given her anſwer already. I ſaid that was enough, and withdrew. Thus, though an uſeleſs tool, I would not fail in anſwering your letter, being reſolved never to fail in paying your lordſhip that reſpect which is due to you, from,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

MIDDLETON.

† Yet he pretended to have brought a letter from the exiled Queen to that nobleman, wherein ſhe owned his paſt loyalty and expected his future ſervices. The letter, however, was written to another, though Fraſer gave it to Queenſberry, as intended for Athol.

Lord Lovat to the Earl of Middleton.

Pleads his ſervices, and complains he is ill uſed.

1704. January. Original. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

My Lord, Paris, January 25, 1704.

"I Was troubled, that I had not any anſwer from your lordſhip by major Fraſer; and am now much more troubled to have miſſed it, after your lordſhip was pleaſed to ſend it. This makes me ſend major Fraſer expreſs to carry me your lordſhip's orders. I am daily informed, that the Queen has but a ſcurvy opinion of me, and that I rather did her Majeſty bad than good ſervice by my journey. My lord, I find by that, that my enemies have greater power with the Queen than I can have; and, to pleaſe them and eaſe her Majeſty, I am reſolved to meddle no more with any affairs, till the King is of age. This is leaving the field, with a fair victory to my enemies. But I am ſure the King's ſervice will ſuffer by it; and perhaps my enemies will not reap the advantages they hope or expect, by this victory, which they have ſo long wrought for.

I have written the incloſed to the Queen, as my candid vindication of what is paſſed, and my reaſons to meddle no more. I beg your lordſhip may obtain me the favour of the Queen as to read it, or to make your lordſhip read it to her Majeſty.

But, my lord, I muſt own that I have done your lordſhip ſuch ſervices, and that I have ſuch ſervices and ſolid proſpects, both in my breaſt and view, of doing your lordſhip effectual ſervices, that I muſt think myſelf at a vaſt loſs, if I have not a real ſhare of your lordſhip's friendſhip.

It is true, your lordſhip may think my friendſhip will be but of little uſe to you now. I own it, my lord; but a conſtant active friend, who has intereſt in the country, which may do a man good or harm, is not to be loſt. My lord, I truſt your words and letters, and I rely entirely upon it, and the promiſes the lady made me in your lordſhip's behalf, and I will behave myſelf accordingly, and I will let you ſee, though I be *ſans employe*, that I will do your lordſhip ſervices that you cannot now think of; for I am entirely determined to continue,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's moſt faithful humble Servant,

LOVAT."

Lord

1704. February. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol No. 52.

Lord Lovat to the Earl of Middleton. In the ſame ſtrain.

My Lord, Paris, February 5th, 1704.

"AS I was ſtill perſuaded, that your lordſhip has more honour and good ſenſe than to offer to ruin the reputation of a man, who has ſuffered a great deal for the King, and whoſe family your lordſhip knows was always loyal, ſo much that never a lord Lovat appeared againſt the royal family, though I be the twenty-ſecond, from father to ſon. I am very much overjoyed, that your lordſhip's friends and mine confirm to me, that you continue ſtill to be my good friend. I hope your lordſhip will find no diſſatisfaction in your goodneſs for me; for as you will find me on all occaſions ready to ſerve your lordſhip in particular, ſo you will find that I have been all my life a moſt faithful ſubject to the King; and that I had the reſtoration of the royal family more before my eyes, than the good of my perſon or family. I hope to ſtay in France till thoſe of the beſt rank and greateſt fidelity in Scotland juſtify me on this head, and till I confound my calumniators and have ſatisfaction of them; and then I hope they will give leave to a man, that is ſuſpected as a knave, to retire himſelf. But I do aſſure your lordſhip, that, whatever corner I am in, you may command me to any ſervice lies in my power: for I will always remain, with a ſincere reſpect, &c.

LOVAT."

Fraſer was examined by the nuncio, upon the queries which had been ſent to him, in the name of the Queen, by the earl of Middleton. The nuncio returned them, with Fraſer's anſwers, to the court of St. Germains. The following remarks on theſe queries and anſwers, in Nairne's hand, were ſent to the nuncio and the French miniſtry.

"*Remarks on Lord Lovat's anſwers ſent by the Queen to the Nuncio.*"

Ibid.

Tranſlation.

"QUESTIONS *and* ANSWERS.

"QUESTION I. LORD Lovat was aſked the names of the Catholics, whom he ſaw at Durham, and particularly of that Iriſh lord, who engaged to raiſe five thouſand men, in his country, for the ſervice of the King of England?"

"ANSWER.

" ANSWER. He anſwered, that he is ready to tell their names to the Queen: but that they exacted from him, to aſk her Majeſty's royal word, that ſhe would not tell them to any one. With regard to the Iriſh lord, that he did not ſay that it was in his power to raiſe five thouſand men: but that there were in Ireland five thouſand Catholics ready to take arms for their King, whenever they ſhould be ſent to them; and that he was ready to go to Ireland to prepare them for the purpoſe." 1704.

Remarks.

" With regard to his anſwer to the firſt queſtion, the miniſters of the court of St. Germains remark, that, in an audience he had of the Queen, and in ſeveral letters which he wrote to her, he made no mention of this ſecrecy about names, which he now pretends to have been required of him; and that it is abſolutely incredible that all the Roman Catholic gentlemen of a county, in which they are obliged to obſerve ſo many precautions, ſhould venture to aſſemble, and to ſend four deputies to lord Lovat, when they were not acquainted with him but as a paſſenger, and could not know but from himſelf whether he was a Roman Catholic or not; and that they ſhould be ſo inexcuſably imprudent, as to truſt themſelves ſo publickly to the diſcretion of a man who was an abſolute ſtranger to them; while, at the ſame time, they were ſo abſurdly cautious, as to diſtruſt the Queen's council, and to exact from her Majeſty, on her royal word, that ſhe ſhould not tell their names to any one.

With regard to the Iriſh lord, the queſtion is not whether it was actually in his power to raiſe five thouſand men; but whether lord Lovat ſaid, in his narrative, that he had engaged to raiſe them. Now here are the very words of his own narrative, with which he may be confronted at any time. He poſitively affirmed, " that this Iriſh lord," whoſe name we are not allowed to know, " had charged him to tell the Queen of England, and to the court of France, that if arms were ſent to Ireland, he would engage his life and his fortune, that he would find there five thouſand men who would take arms for the ſervice of his Britannic Majeſty." They leave the French miniſtry and the nuncio to judge, if a man does not ſay, " that he engages himſelf," when he ſays, " that he engages his life and fortune."

1704. "QUESTION II. He was aſked, if he believed that the earls of Argyle and Leven, and the duke of Queenſberry, were well or ill-affected to his Britannic Majeſty?"

"ANSWER. He anſwered, that theſe noblemen, of whom one is dead, were, are, and will be, for or againſt the King of England, as they find their intereſt in it."

Remarks.

"This anſwer is vague and deluſive, Lord Lovat dared not own plainly (what, however, is very true) that theſe noblemen are very ill-affected to his Britannic Majeſty, becauſe that he would ſubſcribe thereby to his own condemnation, for having had ſuch an intimate correſpondence with them without orders; and, on the other hand, he dared not ſay that they were well affected, becauſe he would be contradicted, by what is publickly known, and would likewiſe contradict himſelf: for he owned to the Queen, that theſe noblemen were enemies to the King her ſon, which is very different from his ambiguous anſwer to the queſtion that was put to him. Now theſe ambiguities and contradictions are not incident to thoſe who adhere to truth."

"QUESTION III. He was aſked whether he communicated to theſe three lords what he ſhould have carefully concealed."

"ANSWER. He anſwered, that he told them nothing which he ſhould have concealed from them: but that, on the contrary, all that he told them tended to conceal his real deſign; having ſaid nothing to them, but what had been firſt concerted with the principal friends of the King, his maſter, as he hath moſt fully explained already."

Remarks.

"The miniſtry of the court of St. Germains obſerve, that the reverſe of this appears evident from Lovat's own narrative. Lord Leven came to him from the duke of Queenſberry, before he could have concerted that meeting with the King's friends. They had only his own word to oppoſe to all the preſumptions againſt him, that he did not accept of the offers, which were made to him. He was ſent to the Highlanders, and ſhould have treated with them only; whereas, his firſt conferences in Scotland were with his Majeſty's greateſt enemies. They then quote his own words to the earls of Leven and Argyle, and to the duke of Queenſberry, as expreſſed in his memorial to the Queen. They make many pertinent

pertinent remarks upon them; and conclude with obſerving, that "ſuch diſcourſes ſhould naturally have induced the duke of Queenſberry to arreſt him, inſtead of allowing him to go away, if he had had no better aſſurances from him; yet the contrary happens: for, not ſatisfied with leaving him at liberty to go away, he aſſiſts him to leave the kingdom, which gives room to conclude, that, according to all appearances, lord Lovat diſcovered and promiſed to theſe noblemen more than he acknowledges here, otherwiſe they never would have preſumed to encourage him ſo far, or inclined to furniſh him with money and paſſports to facilitate his return to France." 1704.

"QUESTION IV. He was aſked what ſervices theſe lords required of him to deſerve rewards ſo conſiderable, as thoſe which were offered to him?"

"ANSWER. That they made theſe offers to him, without exacting any other conditions from him, to ſecure themſelves from the juſt apprehenſions, with which James Murray had filled them, that he, Lovat, would put himſelf at the head of the Highlanders, with the other chiefs, his relations and friends, and carry all the reſt of Scotland along with them."

Remarks.

"The miniſtry remark, that theſe lords knew Lovat too well to fear him; and that their characters are too well known to be ſuſpected of having made ſuch offers to him, without exacting any return. They confute what is laid to the charge of James Murray, from his known character of prudence, honour, and loyalty. James Murray was then at St. Germains, and proteſted to the Queen, not only that he did not ſpeak to theſe three noblemen while he was in Scotland, but that he never filled them nor any other with a fear of lord Lovat; and that he was aſſured, by a man who knew the ſtate of the country and deſerved to be credited, that Lovat was ſo far from having the power which he pretended in the Highlands, that he could not now raiſe fifty men of his own clan."

"QUESTION V. He was aſked, ſince he had rejected their offers, by declaring his inviolable attachment to their enemies, by what motive was he able to engage them to protect him; and to furniſh him money and paſſports to ſecure his return to France?"

"ANSWER. He anſwered, by motives of the old friendſhips, which they had always for him, to ſuch a degree as to furniſh him with a retreat

1704. and ſubſiſtence for ſix or ſeven years, when he was proſcribed for having taken arms for the ſervice of the late King; and becauſe they, as well as he, are the enemies of the earl of Athol."

Remarks.

"The miniſtry make many remarks on the improbability of ſuppoſing that theſe noblemen, whom Lovat himſelf repreſents in his memorial as very ſelfiſh, could be carried to ſuch lengths by their friendſhip for him. They were at the head of the government in Scotland, when he was condemned for an atrocious crime, as he pretends. They did not protect him then, as they had not probably the ſame motives of friendſhip to him they have now. Lovat did not take up arms for the late King of England, unleſs, by the late King of England, he meant the late prince of Orange, who made him a captain in lord Athol's regiment.

"QUESTION VI. He was aſked, if he deſigned to remain here or to return?"

"ANSWER. He anſwered, that he came back to offer, in the name of the principal men in Scotland, both in the Highlands and in the low country, to take the field with an army for the ſervice of his King, and to return to expoſe his life with them for his re-eſtabliſhment."

Remarks.

The miniſtry remark, that he brought no proofs of his having been employed to make theſe offers, but letters of recommendation in very general terms, from lord Drummond, a Highland gentleman, and captain John Murray, dated in the month of October, that is to ſay, two months before the diſcovery of the conſpiracy. "But to anſwer more properly to the queſtion," they obſerve, "he ſhould have ſaid, that his deſign was to remain here, until he obtained the ſuccours neceſſary for his enterpriſe: for if he had no need of ſuccours, why did he return? He ſhould have remained in the country and carried on his projects, ſince he could diſpoſe of Scotland himſelf, and of Ireland, by means of his powerful friend at Durham. He did wrong, to delay the pleaſure which we ſhould have received from this."

"QUESTION VII. He was aſked, why he diſobeyed the orders which he had, not to ſpeak but to the Highlanders who had ſent him?"

"AN-

" ANSWER. He anſwered, that he did not ſpeak at firſt of his real 1704.
deſign, but to thoſe who had ſent him: but that, as they had drawn over ſeveral of the principal noblemen of the low country to the King of England's party, and as, among theſe noblemen, there are ſome who have lands in the Highlands, he could not and he ought not to have avoided to confer with them, conjointly with his old friends and the ſervants of the King their maſter, by whoſe advice he conducted himſelf in all he did."

Remarks.

" It is but too evident, though in a very different ſenſe from that in which lord Lovat would chuſe that we ſhould underſtand him, that he did not ſpeak of his real deſign, but to his old friends, who had ſent him. But to hear him ſpeak of his old friends, would not one be apt to ſay that he was fifty years of age? yet he acknowledges himſelf that he has been at college after the revolution; therefore, his ancient friendſhips, of which he boaſts ſo much, did not commence but after the rebellion, and with men who were then declared rebels; and it is not difficult to gueſs, by what means he has deſerved their eſteem. It is always a very great prejudice againſt a man, that he acknowledges for his beſt friends the greateſt enemies of the King his maſter; and to allege that friendſhip, in his juſtification, is a pitiful defence." They make ſeveral other remarks, on his diſobeying his orders, not to confer with any but the Highlanders.

" QUESTION VIII. He was aſked the names of the Highlanders with whom he treated?"

" ANSWER. He anſwered, that he had no power from them to tell them, but to the Queen upon her royal word, not to name them to her council; becauſe they had experienced how little theſe regard ſecrecy, and how much they themſelves have ſuffered thereby."

Remarks.

The miniſtry deny this charge, which Lovat had more than once repeated againſt them; and they conclude with remarking, " That it is a proof of his impudence, rather than of his innocence, if he preſumes to remain longer in France. He flatters himſelf, that he will obtain here all he wants. He knows that if he returns empty handed, he will not be

1704. February. be well received by his old friends: for he is convinced, that their promiſes were conditional, and that he will have no right, on his return, to demand the performance of them, unleſs he brings with him money, commiſſions, and all the other proofs which they expect from him, to render their new plot credible, and to put them in a condition to revenge themſelves of their private enemies, by ſacrificing all the friends of his Britannic Majeſty. In ſhort, it is certain, that this plot hath already been a reaſon for ſeizing ſeveral good ſubjects in England and in Scotland; and there is great reaſon to believe that the conſequence would have been more fatal, if the earl of Athol had not haſtened the diſcovery of it, contrary to the intention of the duke of Queenſberry, who, according to all appearances, deſigned to wait for lord Lovat's return."

What Middleton ſuſpected, concerning Fraſer's inſincerity, was amply confirmed, by captain Murray's account of his journey to Scotland.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. viii. 4to. No. 15.

Sends him a tranſlation of Captain James Murray's account of his journey to Scotland.—The Queen had ſent Murray at the deſire of Lord Arran.

Tranſlation.

SIR, February 22, 1704.

"I Did not chuſe to delay a moment to ſend you Mr. James Murray's papers, as ſoon as a tranſlation of them could be finiſhed; and, to avoid confuſion, the ſubject has been ſeparated. If you are deſirous to ſee him, he will not fail to wait upon you, at the time you will be pleaſed to appoint him. I take the liberty to recall to your remembrance, that, although the Queen has a very good opinion of this gentleman, ſhe did not chooſe him, but my lord Arran demanded him. With regard to the contents of his papers, the Queen will ſpeak to you about them, the firſt opportunity that offers."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

"*Captain James Murray's papers, concerning Lord Lovat, &c.*" *mentioned in the preceding,* "*and given to the Queen 15th February* 1704."

Theſe papers are in Nairne's hand. The firſt of them is marked on the back:

1. "*A copy*

1. " *A copy of what the ſieur James Murray has declared to the Queen of England concerning lord Lovat, ſent to the marquis de Torcy, the 22d February, 1704.*" 1704. February.

Tranſlation.

" The Sieur James Murray, lately arrived from Scotland, has declared to the Queen, and given under his hand and ſeal the following particulars concerning the Sieur Beaufort, commonly called lord Lovat."

" I Remember, that ſoon after the arrival of Beaufort * in Scotland, the late earl of Argyle went towards the borders of England, under pretence of going to a country-houſe which he has near Newcaſtle. But I am aſſuredly informed, by men who deſerve to be credited, that he did not go ſo far, and that he was only at ſome place in that neighbourhood, where Beaufort waited for him, and where they ſtaid together ſome days. The parliament being then prorogued for eight days, on account of a meeting which the deputies of the boroughs were to hold at Glaſgow, that they returned together to Edinburgh, where Beaufort was introduced to the duke of Queenſberry; and that his grace gave him a paſs to the Highlands, to treat with the chieftains about their taking arms. In fact, ſome of thoſe with whom Beaufort treated, were diſcovered; and, before I left Scotland, there was an order to apprehend lord Drummond and Appin, and ſeveral others were ſummoned to appear before the council.

It is well known in Scotland, that the duke of Queenſberry gave to Mr. M'Leod, a lieutenant of the Scotch guards of the princeſs of Denmark, bills upon the bank of Scotland for 400 *l.* ſterling: that theſe bills were carried to the bank; and that Mr. M'Leod received a hundred guineas from one of the tellers, and two hundred from another; and that he declared to the council, and ſigned his declaration, that he gave that ſum and the reſt of the bills to Beaufort, by order of the duke of Queenſberry. The ſaid Mr. M'Leod declared alſo, that Beaufort had told him, that Mr. James Murray was ſent from St. Germains to treat with the duke of Hamilton and his party, which is commonly called in Scotland the country party; and that he was to return to St. Germains ſoon; and that the Queen of England had ſent three letters to Scotland,

* Lovat.

1704. February. by Mr. Jo. Murray, who came from France along with him; one to the duke of Gordon, another to the counteſs of Errol, and a third to a perſon whoſe name M'Leod ſays Beaufort had told him, but which he has forgot. All theſe declarations of M'Leod's are regiſtered in the records of the Scotch council.

It is certain, for I have been informed of it by good authority, that the earls of Argyle and Leven ſaid, that Beaufort told them, that before he could engage the court of St. Germains to enter into his projects, he was obliged to make himſelf a Roman Catholic; after which they liſtened to all his propoſals, by means of the duke of Perth and father Saunders.

I am aſſured likewiſe, that Beaufort told in Scotland, that there was one of the name of M'Kenzie in France who diſconcerted all his ſchemes; and, before he could ſucceed in what he propoſed at Verſailles and St. Germains, he was obliged to contrive to have him put into the Baſtile.

Men who deſerve to be credited, who were upon the ſpot, and who had an intereſt to know every thing, wrote from London to a nobleman of the firſt rank in Scotland, when I was there, that the duke of Queenſberry, in an audience which he had of the princeſs of Denmark, had acknowledged, in the preſence of the earl of Athol, that he had given a paſs to Beaufort to go to the Highlands of Scotland to treat with the chieftains; and that he had the permiſſion of the princeſs of Denmark to do ſo, which ſhe acknowledged; and that his Grace had ſaid alſo, that he had procured a paſs for Beaufort to leave England; and that he did ſo to give him an opportunity of rendering them greater ſervices.

It is certain that there was a letter from Beaufort to the duke of Queenſberry intercepted by lord Athol, in which Beaufort acknowledged all the duke's favours, and promiſed to continue to ſerve him.

Mr. Campbel of Glenderuel, when he was examined, declared, that he gave another letter from Beaufort to the duke of Queenſberry; and, upon the duke's denying to have received that letter, Campbel, who perſiſted to maintain that he had given it, added, that he could ſtill ſhow the letter which Beaufort wrote to him, and in which the duke's letter was incloſed. But, as the duke was not willing to produce that letter, the contents of it could not be known.

I had

I had an opportunity of converſing about Beaufort with one Adamſon, known to be a very honeſt man, who has ſuffered much for his loyalty, and who is now receiver and manager of the eſtate of Lovat for the lady, who is the heireſs and eldeſt daughter of the late lord Lovat. This man, who is perfectly acquainted with that country, aſſured me, that Beaufort had now ſo little influence there, that, excepting forty or fifty adventurers, men like himſelf, ready for any undertaking, becauſe they had little or nothing to loſe, he would not find one Highlander, even of his own clan, who would willingly follow him. 1704. February.

In fine, the moſt conſiderable of the friends of the King my maſter, in the low country of Scotland, with whom I had the honour of converſing, and whoſe ſentiments I had an opportunity of knowing, conſider Beaufort to be a man ſo wicked, ſo dangerous, and ſo notoriouſly to be ſuſpected, that they will be much aſtoniſhed, if he is not puniſhed in France, where they cannot apprehend how he has ventured to return, after the manner in which he conducted himſelf in Scotland; and, in ſhort, they are perſuaded, that when his real character, his conduct, and his little influence in Scotland, where he is outlawed for deteſtable crimes, are a little known at St. Germains, they will take care not to ſend back ſuch an emiſſary as will ruin the affairs of his Britannic Majeſty in that country, by diſobliging his firmeſt friends, and thoſe whom it is moſt his intereſt to manage, and who certainly will never chooſe to expoſe themſelves to treat about any affair with the court of St. Germains, while they ſuſpect that that court can place any confidence in Beaufort, whom they conſider as a man capable of betraying and ruining them.

St. Germains, 22d of February, 1704.

I have read this tranſlation, and I certify, that it is exact, and conformed to the original, which I gave, written in my hand in Engliſh, to the Queen of England, to whom I have named my authors, for all I have ſaid about Beaufort, who takes here the title of lord Lovat, which nobody gives him in England or in Scotland.

JAMES MURRAY.

1704. February. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to.

2. "*A copy of what the Sieur James Murray has ſaid to the Queen, in the name of lord Arran and other Scotch noblemen, ſent to the marquis de Torcy, the 22d February*, 1704."

"The Sieur James Murray who is come back from Scotland, where he had been ſent back with inſtructions to the earl of Arran and ſeveral other noblemen, and others of his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects in that country, has given the Queen, in their name, the following narrative."

Tranſlation.

"THE earl of Arran, at the expence of great attentions, a good deal of intrigue and application, and large ſums of money, which he laid out during the ſitting of the laſt parliament of Scotland, managed matters ſo properly, as to gain among them a party ſtrong enough for diſconcerting the principal deſigns of the court, eſpecially with regard to the three chief articles, which I was charged, by my inſtructions, to recommend to him; namely, to hinder the parliament from conſenting to the union of the two kingdoms, the abjuration of his Britannic Majeſty, and the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in the line of Hannover. It was by theſe means, that the power which had been given to the commiſſioners to treat about the union was declared to be expired; that the Hannoverian ſucceſſion was rejected; and that the bill for the abjuration was not even propoſed in parliament.

Beſides, his party voted unanimouſly for all the clauſes in the act for the ſecurity of the kingdom, which was conſidered as a poſitive excluſion of the duke of Hannover; and, when the whole act came to be conſidered for the laſt time, his party was ſo powerful, that the act was paſſed by a great majority of voices; and becauſe the princeſs of Denmatk refuſed afterwards to give her conſent to it, the ſame party hindered the reading of the bill for the ſubſidy; and, thereby, obliged the commiſſioner to prorogue the parliament before any ſubſidy was granted.

The earl of Arran employed all imaginable means to oblige ſome of the princeſs of Denmark's miniſters, namely, the lords Athol and Tarbat, and the chancellor Seafield, to enter into his meaſures, with regard to the three articles above mentioned; and he prevailed with them ſo far, that they reſolved to repreſent to the princeſs of Denmark, that they could never ſerve her effectually in Scotland, unleſs ſhe concurred with them

them in yielding theſe three points. If theſe noblemen perſiſt in their reſolution, and if the princeſs conſents to what they ſhall demand of her, it is not doubted but ſhe may be prevailed upon, in time, to make ſome treaty in favour of the King her brother. If ſhe does not conſent, but, on the contrary, perſiſts in the deſign of carrying theſe three points in the enſuing parliament, then there is room to believe, that ſhe will meet with ſo much oppoſition, and the diviſions and animoſities will be ſo great, that it will not be difficult to engage the parties, which they call the country party, to make ſome declaration, or undertake ſome enterprize, in favour of his Britannic Majeſty. 1704. February.

But before they come to the laſt reſolution of this kind, the earl of Arran demands to be made acquainted with the friends his Britannic Majeſty has in England, upon whom he can depend, in order that he may concert with them, and that they may condeſcend together, upon the ſuccours that will be neceſſary for them.

He has given me in charge to tell, that the parliament of Scotland will meet again in the month of April next, or in the month of May at fartheſt; and that, if the princeſs of Denmark deſigns, as it is believed ſhe does, to engage the Scots in the ſame meaſures with England, with regard to the ſucceſſion, the abjuration, and the union, ſhe will certainly ſend money to be diſtributed among the members of parliament. Now, in order to counterbalance this, he deſires, that 25,000 l. be ſent to him.

The manner in which he propoſes to diſpoſe of this money is, to take a ſhare of it to himſelf to aſſiſt him to defray the great expence which he will be obliged to make for maintaining his credit with his party; to diſtribute another ſhare of it in augmenting and ſtrengthening his party, and in preſerving and confirming thoſe who are already of it, according as he ſhall ſee neceſſary for the ſervice of his Majeſty; and to employ the reſt in purchaſing arms. With regard to the manner of placing this money in London, he leaves that to the diſcretion of his Britannic Majeſty, as well as the choice of the perſon to whom his Majeſty may ſee fit to truſt it. But it is his opinion, that the truſtee ſhould be rather a man who is unknown, than a man who is known; and, when the money is placed, and the perſon who is to keep it condeſcended upon,

1704. February. lord Arran deſires to have notice of this, and to be made acquainted with his cant name and his addreſs, in order that he may write to him, and he will write only two words to him, with which two words he hath truſted me, and told me that the Queen of England knows them; and, upon ſhowing theſe, he wiſhes that perſon may be authorized to pay the money.

My lord Arran propoſes likewiſe, that, during the meeting of parliament in Scotland, endeavours ſhould be made to have ſome troops and ſome ſhips in readineſs on the coaſt of France, in order to be at hand in caſe they come to a rupture. I had orders likewiſe to repreſent to his Britannic Majeſty, that it is the opinion of lord Arran, that all the enterprizes which do not ſucceed, tend to ruin the affairs of his Majeſty, and to deſtroy his friends; and, for that reaſon, that nothing ſhould ever be undertaken, but upon good foundation, and after matters were properly concerted, and all the neceſſary meaſures taken for procuring ſucceſs.

And this is not the opinion of my lord Arran alone, but alſo of all the King's principal friends in Scotland, with whom I have ſpoken, and whoſe names I have given to the Queen; the archbiſhop of ——, the biſhop of Edinburgh, the lords Panmure, Stormont, Balmerino, and Montroſe. They all ſpoke to me, nearly in the ſame manner, on this ſubject; that is to ſay, that an enterprize, ſupported by powerful ſuccours from France, and well concerted with the friends of his Britannic Majeſty in England, as well as in Scotland, would find the country greatly diſpoſed to ſecond it: but that a precipitate and raſh attempt, inſtead of ſucceeding, would ſerve only to ruin every thing.

And it is for this reaſon, that the earl of Arran inſiſts much, that a correſpondence may be ſettled between his Britannic Majeſty's friends in the two kingdoms, in order that they may the better judge what ſuccours will be neceſſary for them; and he offers to treat of the affairs of the King, his maſter, with any of his Majeſty's friends in England, providing they can be prevailed upon to be the firſt to ſpeak about them to him: but, until he knows what he may hope from England, he ſays, that he cannot preciſely determine what ſuccours will be neceſſary; becauſe a greater or a ſmaller number will be neceſſary, in proportion to the number and quality of the people in England who will join him."

St.

St. Germains, 22d February, 1704. 1704. February.

I have read this tranſlation, and I certify, that it is conform to the original which I have given, written in my hand in Engliſh to the Queen of England.

(Signed) JAMES MURRAY.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy. March. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 15.

He ſends copies of letters; one from lord Drummond to his father the Duke of Perth, another from lord Ayleſbury to Father Saunders.

Tranſlation.

SIR, March 6th, 1704.

"LAST night the Queen gave me the two letters which I have the honour to ſend you now. The firſt is an original letter from my lord Drummond, addreſſed to his father the duke of Perth, under the name of Cupignie. I believe that thoſe four words will be ſufficient to explain it. Traffick ſignifies project; factor, my lord Lovat; wine, ſuccours; ſupercargo, Jo. Murray.

The other is the tranſlation of a letter, written to the confeſſor of the King my maſter, by my lord Ayleſbury, whoſe character is too well known to doubt of his ſincerity and diſintereſtedneſs."

"*Extract of a letter from my lord Ayleſbury to Father Saunders, the King's Confeſſor.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

The Scotch plot.—Lovat is a ſpy employed by the Duke of Queenſberry.

Revd. Father, Liege, the 25th Feb. 1704.

"I Have had the honour to write to you on the 29th of laſt month, and likewiſe on the 13th inſtant; and, although I have not had the happineſs of hearing from you, or from, my lord Middleton, I cannot help writing to you again, to aſſure both you and him of my reſpects; and, at the ſame time, to inform you of the intelligence ſent to me, concerning the late Scotch plot. I am informed, that Fraſer of Beaufort, alias Lovat, has been at St. Germains; that he has been well received by ſome perſons there; and that he has been afterwards at Verſailles, where he ſays that he has received money, with a promiſe of receiving more, together with troops, when it is neceſſary. Now, it is certain,

1704. March. certain, that he has been ſent by the duke of Queenſberry, and that the expence of his journey is defrayed by his Grace, in order to form a pretended conſpiracy againſt the preſent government of Scotland, and to involve in it the dukes of Hamilton and Athol, and lord Tarbat, ſecretary of ſtate: but his principal deſign was to ruin the two firſt of theſe noblemen, and, above all, the duke of Athol, who is the mortal enemy both of the duke of Queenſberry and of Beaufort, becauſe the latter had raviſhed his ſiſter in the moſt infamous manner. Thoſe who wiſh no good to the court of St. Germains, rejoice at this; and they have reaſon: for nothing does greater prejudice to the ſervice of his Britannic Majeſty, than the reception given to ſuch villains, who have neither credit nor power. Believe me, there are none but villains and beggars, and men capable of rapes, who would come with ſuch ill-founded projects; and ſuch men ought to be conſidered as ſpies, and be confined in mad-houſes if they are fools, and in the Baſtile if they have their ſenſes.

I gave the character of this Lovat, long ago, to madam Fox; and I likewiſe gave notice of ſeveral other emiſſaries of the ſame character with this man, who formerly deceived the court of St. Germains. But they did not chooſe to believe me, until it was too late. I acknowledge I am too warm when I ſpeak about Lovat; becauſe I know that nothing can be more prejudicial to the intereſt of the King our maſter, than to give him credit; being very certain, that he has been ſent to France, by the duke of Queenſberry, in order to ruin his enemies in Scotland, and to dreſs up a plot which might render his Grace agreeable to both kingdoms, and give him a triumph over his enemies."

"*The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.*"

April. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. viii. 4to. No. 15. *He ſends him further information, and gives the character of Lord Granard.*

Tranſlation.

SIR, 14th April, 1704.

"LAST night, the Queen of England received a letter from the duke of Berwick, with a ſhort memorial from an Iriſh monk, of which I have the honour to ſend you a tranſlation, by her Majeſty's order. As all the information reſts upon the credit of my lord Granard, it is

neceſſary to tell you, that, ſince our misfortunes, he has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fidelity, under the name of lord Forbes, as he was called in his father's life-time; that he has exhibited, on all occaſions, a veracity and firmneſs which cannot be ſufficiently commended; and that he has reſiſted the perſecution, not only of the public, but alſo of his own family, without being ſtaggered by impriſonments or poverty. 1704. April.

"*Extract of a letter from the Duke of Berwick to the Queen, mentioned in the preceding letter by Middleton.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

He communicates the information he received from Father Farrel, and propoſes to arreſt Lord Lovat.

Tranſlation.

"Alcantara, April 3d, 1704.

"AN Iriſh monk, of the name of Farrel, who eſcaped from priſon in England, where he had been confined for eight months, took his paſſage on board a Dutch veſſel to Portugal, where he arrived at the ſame time with the archduke. From Liſbon he came, with the French ambaſſador, to Spain, where he waited of me to bring me the incloſed meſſage. I am acquainted with father Farrel. He is a man of good ſenſe, and has been much employed by the King's friends in England.

Your Majeſty will ſee here a new confirmation of Lovat's knavery; and, I believe, it is abſolutely neceſſary, that your Majeſty ſend a French tranſlation of this paper to the marquis de Torcy. The affair is of great conſequence, and your Majeſty may depend that the King's affairs are ruined, unleſs Lord Lovat is apprehended."

"*Father Farrel to the Duke of Berwick.*" Ibid.

A meſſage from Lord Granard, in the name of the Duke of Hamilton.

Tranſlation.

"LORD Granard charged me, in the name of the duke of Hamilton and of his party, to inform you, that one Fraſer, commonly called lord Lovat, has been ſent to France, by the duke of Queenſberry, to act there as his ſpy; and that they wiſh he may be apprehended, if he is ſtill in France: for it is well known, that, before he left London, he called upon a Mr. Clark, who is an apothecary in London, and is a very

1704. April. very honeſt man, to whom he told that he was lord Lovat, and that he was juſt arrived from St. Germains, with a commiſſion from the King to the duke of Hamilton; that he was afraid to carry it about him; and that he intreated him, for that reaſon, to keep it in his houſe till next day. But, that very night, he ſent the conſtables to Clark's, who ſearched his houſe, and found in a ſilver box, the packet, with a forged commiſſion, ſigned J. R.; upon which, Clark was ſent to the priſon of Newgate; and, I am afraid, he is executed by this time.

(Signed) Father LAWRENCE FARREL.

Extracts of Letters from Lord Caryll.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. *April 22.*

"WHEN Armſworth [Marlborough] and Berry meet, I ſhould be very glad to hear from you, if you can find it out, how the entertainment paſſed between them. But if Armſworth [Marlborough], after all, ſhould decline meeting with him, I ſhould not much wonder at it. If all be true and ſincere, which he lately ſaid to our Welſh friend, I ſhould not deſpair of his joining in trade with us."

April 26. "YOU tell me that you have lately had fair promiſes from the merchant Armſworth [Marlborough], who is chiefly concerned in the payment of the old debt [reſtoration of the family of Stuart], that it will be good without going to law [without a war]. Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] hath made many promiſes of that nature, but hath ſtill pretended inability when preſſed to make them good. I hope, at this preſent, he may find himſelf more able, and no leſs willing, to perform, at leaſt in ſome reaſonable time, his engagements, and diſpoſe matters ſo as that Hanmer's [Hannover's] affair may be no obſtruction to it.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

About ſending a ſhip and the pilot Caron to Scotland.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 17.

Tranſlation.

SIR, April 28, 1704.

"I Could not have anſwered ſooner the letter which you did me the honour to write me, concerning the little veſſel deſigned for Scotland; becauſe I have but juſt now learned the name of the man who muſt neceſſarily be employed. He is a native of Scotland, and pilot of

of the King's frigate called the Ludlow, an Engliſh prize, now at Dunkirk. He knows the place where he ought to land, which is called the caſtle of Bownes, the reſidence of the earl of Errol, in the county of Buchan. It will be ſufficient, if this veſſel can be ready on the 10th of the next month, with orders to ſail as ſoon as they receive their diſpatches, and to return immediately after they arrive at the place of their deſtination. To keep this ſcout, it is neceſſary to give him his orders ſealed, with a prohibition to open them till he is at ſea, or to carry any one along with him, who does not belong to the ſhip. The Scotch pilot, of whom I ſpeak, is called Caron, a name which would frighten a ſcholar; but ſailors do not ſtudy the belles lettres." 1704. April.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy. May. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 17.

The ſame ſubject continued.

Tranſlation.

SIR, May 5th, 1704.

"THE Queen has commanded me to tell you, in anſwer to monſieur de Ponchartrain's queſtion, that there will be nobody at the place where the little brig muſt land, becauſe ſhe is not expected; and there would be a danger in her remaining on the coaſt, for fear of giving alarm: and as the place is diſtant from Edinburgh, an anſwer cannot be expected for a long time. Therefore, if the veſſel will go back, a month after its return, to Dunkirk, with an order to receive on board a man, if he preſents himſelf, that will be ſoon enough."

A Memorial on the ſame ſubject. Ibid.

Tranſlation.

St. Germains, 6th May, 1704.

"THE man called Caron, who is to go over in the brig, will only land and deliver the packet, with which he is charged, in a houſe which is near the ſhore, and return immediately on board, without waiting for an anſwer. Therefore, it is only neceſſary for the brig to remain a few hours on the coaſt, to take this man on board again, and bring him back to Dunkirk. But, in order to have an anſwer to the packet, it will be ſufficient to return to the ſame place in a month thereafter, as my lord Middleton has had the honour to obſerve, in his letter yeſterday to

1704. May. the marquis de Torcy, to whom he takes the liberty to explain himſelf again, by this memorial, fearing not to have done ſo ſufficiently by his letter; becauſe, as he always believed that this Caron, who is a pilot, was of the ſhip's crew, he might imagine it was demanded, not that the ſhip ſhould ſtay to take this man again on board, but another man who was to bring an anſwer to the packet."

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. May 12.

"YOUR laſt gives fair hopes that Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], who is the principal perſon concerned, hath renewed his promiſes of payment, [of reſtoring the Stuarts] in ſo convincing a manner to you, that you cannot doubt of his performance. I rely much upon your judgment in this matter, and ſhall always hope the beſt; though, to tell you truly, I cannot well ſee how his promiſes can be much ſtronger or more binding now, than they were many years ago, when they proved ineffectual, and ſeemed in a manner forgotten. All I can ſay is, that I have no other reaſon to be ſatisfied of the reality of his intentions, but what you give me in your laſt letters, wherein you ſay, that at your firſt conference with him you was convinced of his upright meaning. If you receive the ſame ſatisfaction when you meet with his partner Goulſton [Godolphin], it will give a more promiſing face to this buſineſs; for that partner is not ſo free of his promiſes as Armſworth [Marlborough] has been, and conſequently not to be ſo much ſuſpected of non-performance. However, no overtures ought to be neglected that are made us, of having our debt fairly ſatisfied, without the expence and vexation of being toſſed about from the law to the chancery, and from thence perhaps to the houſe of lords. Their tranſactions with Northly [Scotland], will, perhaps, give us ſome light into this matter; for if they join in intereſt with Mr. Hanmer [Hannover], we may conclude their intentions are not right towards us.

I know not whether you have yet received the picture I gave you notice of in my laſt; the preſerving it to that gentlewoman is entirely left to your diſcretion, upon confidence that you will not put it into her hands, without being fully aſſured that it will be well received."

The preceding letter is probably an anſwer to a letter from Berry, of which there is an extract in Nairne's hand. 1704. May.

"*Extract of a Letter from Sieur Berry, the 22d of April, 1704.*" Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 52.

Tranſlation.

"LORD Churchill, ſome days before his departure for Holland, ſent for me, and made me ſo many promiſes, and gave me ſo many proofs of the rectitude of his intentions to diſcharge the debt, which he has acknowledged long ago to be due to your family, that I can entertain no doubt of his ſincerity. He appears to me to be aſtoniſhed, that the duke of Berwick was ſent to Spain, and employed at ſuch a diſtance; and he aſked me how you could conſent to that. I told him, that you had written to me formerly on the ſubject, and that his being employed in a poſt ſo conſiderable, would aſſuredly be very advantageous to the common intereſt: but I perceived, that he believed that he would have been more uſeful in the place where he was laſt year. He ordered me likewiſe to go ſometimes, in his abſence, to wait of my lord Godolphin, and to communicate to him any important intelligence I might receive concerning you and your family.

Mr. Floyd is very zealous in the affairs of your family. He likewiſe has waited lately on lord Churchill, and he has entreated me to acquaint you, that his lordſhip had given him all the promiſes and aſſurances which he could either hope or expect from him, of his intentions to pay the debt. In ſhort, I am daily more and more convinced of the probability of the good ſucceſs of our affairs; and the miſunderſtanding which reigns here, between the leaders of parties, contributes not a little, in my opinion, to give us room to hope for a favourable iſſue."

This tranſlation of Berry's letter was intended for the information of monſieur de Torcy, and lord Middleton incloſed it to him, in a letter dated the 17th of this month.

"I Send you the tranſlation of a letter from one who is in the confidence of lord Churchill. The imprudence of diſtruſting or rejecting the offers of this great general would be the ſame." Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 18.

1704. *Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters continued.*

May 19. Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College.

"I AM very much of your opinion, that Whitely's [princeſs of Denmark] beſt friends muſt be convinced of the neceſſity of his coming to a fair compoſition with Mr. Manly [the King], notwithſtanding the clamour of thoſe perſons who, upon private intereſt of their own, ſhow themſelves againſt it. Nor can we doubt of Mr. Serely [French King], whoſe credit every day increaſeth, but that he will be firm in his friendſhip to Manly [the King], and have the credit of ſetting him up in trade. For you remember what he did towards it, upon his father's death, which made ſuch a noiſe among the adverſe party; and you will the more wonder at it, when I tell you what I certainly know, that he made that ſtep againſt the opinion of his timorous adviſers [the French miniſtry]; and that his ſon [the dauphin] was the only perſon amongſt them who was zealouſly for it, and carried the point. Thoſe that conſulted him, at that time, were afraid of the lawſuit that might enſue; having to do with quarrelſome neighbours. But a juſt and generous action carries with it its own ſecurity and ſucceſs, as may be ſeen in the whole courſe of this lawſuit, ſo contrary to what was expected by the adverſe party."

Captain John Murray, brother to Sir David Murray of Stanhope, who got inſtructions to go to Scotland along with Fraſer, came back about the latter end of the Spring, and gave the Queen an account of his journey.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 18.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Pleaſed with captain Murray's narrative, and ſends a tranſlation of it.

Tranſlation.

May 30, 1704.

"THE Queen could not ſay any thing to you about the return of John Murray, until her Majeſty had ſeen his narrative; and although her Majeſty does not doubt but Mr. Murray has executed his orders in giving it to you, ſhe has commanded me to ſend you a literal tranſlation of the account ſhe received, in order to ſhow the conformity. I ſhall have the honour to ſpeak to you on the ſubject Sunday next. I ſhall only take the liberty at preſent, to put you in mind, that there never was any doubt of the diſpoſition of the Scots, and ſtill leſs of the ardour with which the Queen wiſhes the reſtoration of the King, her ſon."

"The

1704. May. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

"*The narrative of captain John Murray, mentioned in the preceding letter, and ſent to the Marquis de Torcy, the 30th of May, 1704.*

A copy in Nairne's hand.

Arrives in London, Durham, and Edinburgh.—Is favourably received by ſeveral Scotch noblemen.—They give him their advice, and are zealous in the cauſe.—He goes to the Highlands.—Engages noblemen and gentlemen in the cauſe of his maſter.—They aſk aſſiſtance from France, and invite the prince of Wales to come over.

Tranſlation.

"ON my arrival in London, I found there my nephew, Mr. Keith, a gentleman of a family very loyal to the King of England. I eſtabliſhed a correſpondence with him. My lord Lovat, knowing that I had ſeen him, deſired to ſee him likewiſe; and as he was well verſed in the affairs of England, I believed that he might have been uſeful to the intereſts of his Majeſty, both in England and in Scotland. He certainly would have been ſo, if he had not been betrayed.

As ſoon as buſineſs allowed me, I left London, and came as far as Durham, with lord Lovat, where I left him, and went from thence to Edinburgh. As ſoon as I arrived there, I ſent for my brother-in-law, Graham of Fintrey, and my uncle, James Graham, both of them men diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty. They ſoon gave intelligence of this to the marquis of Montroſe, to the earl of Errol, and to his ſon, lord Hay; and as I came to Scotland upon the indemnity, they adviſed me to give notice of my arrival to the lord Commiſſioner; and they aſſured me that that would be of no prejudice to me. I accordingly did what they adviſed me. All this time I did not ſpeak a word of buſineſs; having had orders from the commiſſioner to keep my room: but, after ſome days, both he and the chancellor ſent me word, that I was at liberty; and then my friends above mentioned adviſed me to viſit them all, one after another.

The earl and the counteſs of Errol, with their ſon, lord Hay, being then at Edinburgh, were the firſt to whom I ſpoke of the affairs of the King of England. I went, after that, to ſee lord Drummond, at his country-houſe, Drummond-caſtle, from whence he came back with me ſoon to Edinburgh, to ſerve his Majeſty, after I had enjoined my two eldeſt brothers, in the country, by the advice of lord Drummond, to in-

form

1704. May. form themſelves of the ſtate of affairs in that quarter, in ſuch a way as not to make a diſcovery to any body.

Speaking at Edinburgh with the King's friends about his Majeſty's affairs, in a more ſerious manner than I had done before, I found that theſe affairs had not been mentioned among them for a long time before, and that it was to them an agreeable ſurpriſe to ſee ſome hopes that they were to be revived by my negociation.

It was then judged neceſſary to communicate the buſineſs to the duke of Hamilton, who entered into it very heartily: but, as the project was new, and other buſineſs came in the way, the duke of Hamilton, principally, and the duke of Gordon, the earl of Errol, lord Drummond, and lord Hay were of opinion to put it off until they ſaw what turn affairs would take in parliament, in order to act accordingly afterwards with the King's friends in England: but when the ſittings of parliament were finiſhed, his Majeſty's friends diſperſed in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for me to ſpeak to as many of them as I propoſed. Yet, as the buſineſs was not to be delayed, it was judged proper, that lord Drummond and lord Hay ſhould ſpeak to the reſt; and all thoſe who were ſpoke to were overjoyed at the project, viz. the dukes of Hamilton and Gordon, the marquiſes of Montroſe and Drummond, the earls of Errol, Mariſhal, Moray, Hume, Strathmore, Panmure, Bredalbin, and Aberdeen; the counteſs of Seaforth, who anſwers for the vaſſals and dependants of her ſon in his abſence; the viſcounts Stormont and Kenmure; the lords Salton and Sinclair; Sir Donald Mac Donald, the captain of Clan Ronald, Lochiel, Glengary, Appin, Keppoch, and Bethadie for the Mac Gregors.

Some time after I had left lord Lovat at Durham, he thought proper to acquaint the earl of Argyle, that he was on the borders, and to aſk him his protection in the country, under pretence of making his peace with the government. The earl of Argyle having granted him this, he went to the country of Argyle, and, ſoon thereafter, ſent for me thither, to introduce me, according to my orders, to the Highland Chieftains. I repaired thither inſtantly; but did not meet him, becauſe he had been obliged to withdraw himſelf from that country, where he began to be ſuſpected: yet my journey to that country was not uſeleſs; for I ſpoke, there, to Lochiel, Appin, and Bethadie. About this time, the parliament

ment had juſt finiſhed its ſittings; and, a few days thereafter, lord Lovat came to Edinburgh, where lord Drummond and he had an interview; and it was then that lord Lovat ſaw the duke of Queenſberry and the earl of Leven. He gave notice of this to lord Drummond and to me, and ſhowed us the neceſſity under which he was to act in that manner. 1704. May.

At this time, all the noblemen and gentlemen returned to their country-ſeats; and, it being impoſſible for lord Lovat to remain any longer in the country, becauſe there was an order to proſecute him, with fire and ſword, he was adviſed to return to France. But before he left Scotland, he was at Drummond-caſtle, where we met ſome Highland chieftains, who engaged themſelves to have one of their number ready at the time I ſhould return to France, to come along with me, in order to declare how well diſpoſed they were for the ſervice of their King. But the great noiſe which the plot made ſoon thereafter prevented that. It was at Drummond-caſtle that lord Lovat got the letters, which he carried to this country from lord Drummond, from Appin, and from me. Soon after this, I went to the North of Scotland with the lord Drummond, to ſee ſuch of the King of England's friends, in that country, as I had not yet ſeen; and, juſt when I was ready to ſet out with my diſpatches, I was retarded by the news of the diſcovery of the plot. His Britannick Majeſty's friends wiſhed very much, that a few troops had been ſent to Scotland, at that time, which would have made all the country riſe, ſo many of the Highland chieftains having been ſummoned before the council. It was then the month of September; and, ſince that time, I have been always waiting for a ſafe opportunity of returning to France: yet, before I left Scotland, I had freſh aſſurances from all the King's friends of their firmneſs in his Majeſty's intereſt, as the letters which I have brought do teſtify.

To ſpeak now of the terms, which the King's friends in Scotland demand, for taking arms: the general opinion is, that it is neceſſary to have 5000 men from France, with good officers to command them, proviſions for as long a time as ſhall be found neceſſary, arms for 20,000 men, and money to buy ſaddles, bridles, and other neceſſary accoutrements for mounting a proportionable number of dragoons, which will be choſen out of the 20,000 men.

If I am aſked how thoſe 20,000 men can be raiſed, I anſwer, that there is no body, who knows the country, but will allow, that the duke of

1704. June. of Gordon, the earl of Errol, and the earl Mariſhal, can raiſe all the North; that the marquiſes of Montroſe and Drummond, the earls of Strathmore, Panmure, and Bredalbin, and the viſcount Stormont, the greateſt part of the South; and the Highland chieftains, above mentioned, the Highlands; inſomuch, that one may venture to aſſure, that, moderately ſpeaking, the number required will be found in theſe three diviſions.

With regard to knowing, whether the King of England ſhould go over himſelf to Scotland, in the beginning or not, opinions are divided in this reſpect. Some ſay, that his preſence is neceſſary; others that it is not proper to expoſe him in the firſt confuſion; but all agree and ſay, that his Majeſty's preſence will have the ſame effect as an addition of 10,000 men to his army. But they leave this, and every thing elſe that concerns this project, to be determined here."

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 18.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

He ſends the letters, which the Queen had received by Captain John Murray from Scotland, and which he had forgot to leave in the morning.

Tranſlation.

June 1ſt, 1704.

"I Have the honour to ſend you a letter, which I unluckily forgot to give you to-day. It was delivered by Mr. John Murray to the Queen, from my lord Mariſchal, who is a man of honour, and of one of the firſt families in Scotland, and ſon-in-law to the duke of Perth. Her Majeſty has received only another letter, from the counteſs of Errol, ſiſter to the duke of Perth; and a ſhort billet from her huſband, which contains nothing."

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 52.

"*Tranſlation of a letter which John Murray brought from Scotland, written to the Queen of England by Lord Mariſhal, and dated the 8th of March, O. S.* 1704."

In Nairne's hand. It was ſent incloſed in the preceding from Middleton to the marquis de Torcy.

MADAM,

"I Am very happy to find an opportunity of aſſuring the King and your Majeſty of my inviolable ſervices. The bearer will give you an exact account of the ſtate of this country. Our rumours of plots have

have detained him longer here than he imagined; and he is, even now, forced to take a round about way to return. He has been very zealous in the ſervice of your Majeſty, and he would have carried with him many more proofs from the King's beſt ſubjects of their being diſpoſed to riſk every thing for his ſervice, but he dared not ſhow himſelf. But I can aſſure your Majeſty, that the King's friends augment in number daily, and deſire, with impatience, to have an opportunity to give proofs of their loyalty. We are ill armed, and in the country where they are beſt armed, I fear they are not the men who are moſt to be depended upon, although there are very good men among them. The Highlanders are well enough armed for their manner of fighting; but, unleſs we have regular troops, it will be difficult to keep them long together. Your Majeſty cannot better determine the proper time for ſending troops, money, and arms; but if I ſhould venture to give my opinion on the ſubject, which I do with all ſubmiſſion, the proper time for ſending them is, when the minds of men are inflamed, and the nation is in a kind of fermentation, which will increaſe ſtill more when we are aſſembled in parliament. But whatever time that may be, all opportunities of ſerving your Majeſty will be always embraced with pleaſure by

1704. June.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble ſervant,

MARISCHAL.

The miniſters of the court of St. Germains, encouraged by the intelligence they received from their adherents in Britain, began to think again of an invaſion; and, in a memorial, preſented on the twenty-ſecond of June, this year, to Monſ. de Torcy, and Monſ. de Chamillart, of which a copy likewiſe was ſent to the Pope's Nuncio, they endeavoured to ſhow, that it was the intereſt of France to eſtabliſh the ſon of the late King James on the throne of Great Britain. All Europe, they obſerve, having meaſured their ſtrength with France, found that their efforts would be ineffectual, without the ſupport of England: that this was the reaſon of the reſolution taken, in conſequence of the league of Augſbourg, to attack the late King of England, as the firm and faithful friend of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty: that France would be invincible, in conjunction with a nation ſo powerful and bold, which now comprehended the Rhine and the Mediterranean within the ſphere of

Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. ii. fol. No. 12. And vol. viii. 4to. No. 19.

1704. its operations; but that this union could never take place, without the re-eſtabliſhment of the King of England; that the family of Hannover, which was powerful of itſelf, and attached to that of Auſtria, would, if once in poſſeſſion of England, form, in conjunction with Holland and the empire, a perpetual league againſt France. To obviate an objection, which, it ſeems, had been frequently made, that the King of England, when re-eſtabliſhed, might, through ingratitude or neceſſity, break his engagements with France, and forget his obligations to its ſovereign, they obſerve, that a Catholic King in Britain muſt be always dependent on France. They prove this, by ſeveral reaſons, which they frequently repeated to the French miniſtry: and as the facility of eſtabliſhing him on the throne of his anceſtors, was more univerſally allowed, than the facility of the means, they endeavour to ſhow, that the invaſion and reduction of Britain was a thing very practicable. The late Monſ. Bart frequently declared, that he would engage, whenever the King would chooſe to employ him, to carry over twenty thouſand men, and that this was more practicable now than ever.

"The loyalty of the greateſt part of the Scots," ſay they, "is too well known to require proofs; therefore, five thouſand men would be ſufficient to engage all that country to take up arms, as appears from the report of Mr. John Murray. But twenty thouſand men would be employed more uſefully in England, becauſe the paſſage to that country is ſhorter, and the blow would be more ſpeedy and deciſive: for the poſſeſſion of that country would ſoon draw the two other kingdoms after it. All the oppoſition to be met with in England would be ſome guards and a few new-raiſed troops diſperſed in weak forts, in the diſtant parts of the kingdom; with a weak princeſs, a very timid miniſter, and a very mercenary general, whoſe heads might probably turn giddy, in ſuch a critical conjuncture as that would be; and who might then think of performing promiſes they had ſo often repeated, in order to deſerve their pardon and other advantages."

They ſhow, finally, that the moſt proper ſeaſon for a deſcent would be the month of March, before the fleet of the enemy could be equipped: that a deſcent would prevent its being fitted out: that the funds of the preceding year would be exhauſted and the treaſury empty; and that no one would be fooliſh enough to lend money then upon an uncertainty.

They

They obſerve, that there is nothing to hinder troops, after they landed, from marching ſtraight to London; and that the poſſeſſion of that city would ſecure the poſſeſſion of the reſt of the kingdom. 1704. July.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters; vol. v. fol. Scotch College. July 1.

"CONcerning Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], we need ſay no more, than what we have both already ſaid; but reſpite our judgment concerning them, till we ſee further proceedings of him and his. I think ſome prognoſtic may be made of what we can expect, by the countenance and expreſſions of Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], when you next meet him. If they are any thing of a piece with what Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] hath ſaid to you, we may hope well of him; but if you find him in his noted ſourneſs and dryneſs, we may conclude the words of his partner are but words.

After writing what is above, I have received yours of a former date, which mentions the diſcourſe paſt between you and Mr. Trevers [Tunſtal], about Matthews' [the King's] concerns. I am glad that gentleman is, at laſt, inclined to believe, that the true intereſts of Wheatly [England, and ſometimes the princeſs Anne] and of Mathews [the King] are the ſame; and that one cannot ſubſiſt well, without the other. I take Mr. Trevers [Tunſtal] to be as knowing and able a merchant as any that comes upon the exchange, and perhaps a degree honeſter than ſome we have to deal with; and his opinion is of great weight and advantage, eſpecially if he and his partner, who are conſiderable, ſhall act conformably to it. Wherefore you will do well, not to omit any opportunity of improving theſe good thoughts in him, ſo as to make him act in conjunction with his friend Mr. Kenſy [the Tories] towards bringing about Wheatly [princeſs Anne] and Mathews [the King] trading together in the common ſtock; than which nothing could be more advantageous to every perſon concerned in the trade."

1704. July. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol. ii. 4to. No. 53.

Mr. Hall's letter about the Scots and others, who were for or againſt the Hannoverian ſucceſſion; together with Engliſh and Scotiſh affairs.—It is dated at the top, 8 July, O. S.; and at the end, Mr. Hall's letter, 8 Auguſt, 1704. It was probably then received *.

SIR,

"I Wrote to you, upon the 22d laſt, my own opinion and Mr. Short's [Gideon] of the gentleman Mr. Spence [Fraſer] againſt whom I always wrote, though he pretends to you to have made me his confident. I told you likewiſe, that the aunt [lady Errol] looks on him as a villain, though the nephew eſteems him yet an honeſt man. G. Milton [Gideon] is ſtill in this country, but afraid of coming hither for fear of his creditors. He has written to Capel [Mr. Hall] to meet him at Kirkaldie. The gentlemen of this country are daily breaking. The lairds of Belnamoon and Boyne are both broke, and each of them reckoned above 100,000 merks worſe than nothing; ſo take notice to whom you advance any money. There came lately a fleet, not from your town, Amſterdam, but from Rotterdam, in which our government got notice there were ſuſpected perſons, and ſo ſeized upon them as ſoon as they landed; to wit, Sir G. Maxwell of Orcharton, who, the Gazette, ſix months ago, ſaid was become a jeſuit, and one captain Livingſton, who was lately baniſhed out of England, and Gordon, a factor at Paris, or I do not know where. The firſt two are yet in cloſe priſon; the laſt was immediately ſet at liberty upon bail, which makes ſome think he has made diſcoveries.

Your niece Mary is one of the notableſt huſſeys in this country. She deſerves a compliment and advice ſometimes from Sir James [the Queen]. Our parliament ſat down on Thurſday laſt; but was immediately adjourned till Tueſday next, without the reading of the Queen's letter, or the commiſſioner or chancellor making their ſpeeches, which ſeemed new and ſurpriſing to all. 'Tis thought the reaſon of all this is, becauſe the letter and ſpeeches uſed to contain the commiſſioners inſtructions and reaſons of the meeting, which is to be kept private till it be propoſed, at leaſt during this adjournment of ſix days, when the country-party would have been contriving their arguments againſt it.

The moſt part of our nobility are for Hannover, eſpecially the new come in courtiers, as Tweedale, commiſſioner, converted by his ſon Yeſ-

* Hall was a prieſt, and an intimate friend of the duke of Hamilton.

ter,

ter, Rothes, Roxburgh, Haddington, and Jerviſwood, converted by ſecretary Johnſton, now lord regiſter, the moſt violent Hannoverian of any Scotchman. He is ſent hither ambaſſador for that effect, not from Hannover, but from the Engliſh Hannoverians. Were it not for Hamilton, it would certainly carry; but he works wonders againſt it. His two brothers are againſt him, for which their mother is highly diſpleaſed, and favours her eldeſt ſon's deſigns. He counts upon thirty of the nobility for him, beſides ſome boroughs and the moſt part of the barons. Montroſe ſticks cloſeſt to him. Athol is violent againſt Hannover, though it is ſuggeſted to him, he ought, at the ſame time, oppoſe the prince of Wales, becauſe of his kindneſs to Beaufort. His brother, my lord Nairn, is coming in, that he may vote againſt Hannover; and Sinclair, Oxenford, the maſter, now lord Balmerino, with others ready to come in, if there be need for them. 'Tis reported, that becauſe Johnſton threatened to bring in Glenco's murder, to hinder this, the Dalrymples are to join with D. Hamilton, in oppoſition of Hannover, upon his promiſing to hinder the plot from being examined. Leven will join with him againſt Hannover. I hear likewiſe, that Salton, in odium of Johnſton, will oppoſe Hannover. It is thought, that Seafield, having wrote to court, that he believes Hannover will not carry, will not be too violent for him; but of him and Tarbat it's hard to make a judgment. We have accounts of the duke of Bavaria's leaving the French intereſt, and of the loſs the French and Spaniards have had of late every where; but ſome look upon this as forged news, to cauſe our parliament to enter into the Engliſh meaſures. We have had ringing of bells and firing of cannon this afternoon, for a great victory the Emperor has got in Germany over the French. We are aſtoniſhed to hear that Mrs. Jackiline [James Murray] is leſs noticed than John Milton [John Murray]. All here, eſpecially Lady Mary, think her very far beyond him, and that more credit ought to be given to her than to him. Queensberry is indiſpoſed, ſo cannot come down to this parliament; yet it is believed, he is as much in the Queen's favour as ever, and will be reſtored to all his places before it is long."

1704. July.

The

1704. Auguſt. Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 21.

The Earl of Middleton to Lord Aileſbury.

Anſwers a letter the Queen had received.—Anecdotes of the times.

Auguſt 12th, 1704.

"MRS. St. Johns [the Queen] commands me to tell you, Sir, that it is but four days ago ſince ſhe could read yours of the 18th of June, for which ſhe thanks you. The matter is very important of its own nature, and your recommending it adds great weight to it: but the misfortune of the times is ſuch, that one cannot, in prudence, write ſo plainly, nor give ſufficient light for tranſacting ſuch an affair: for Mr. Truman [King of France] and Mr. Pomfret [M. de Torcy] will expect to be informed of every minute particular, with reaſons for what is propoſed, and on what authority it is grounded. For though Mr. Atkins [Aileſbury] is well known and eſteemed by them, yet they will certainly inſiſt on knowing his knibb informer [the ſtate]; for, from the character of the man, they will judge of the matter. It will be difficult to perſuade them, that the ſtate can be brought to think it his intereſt to prefer Mr. Harling [the King] to Mr. Davis [Hannover]. They will hardly believe, that Mr. Mansfield [princeſs Anne] and her attorney [chief miniſter] and ſolicitors [other miniſters] have any good intentions, whilſt they recommend ſo heartily Mr. Davis [Hannover] to Mr. North [Scotch parliament], and have employed this new ſet, on that condition; and, though they deſire nothing more than to deſtroy the hearing, yet they will expect it ſhould be well explained by what means it can be performed. 'Tis moſt certain, no body could ſo well negociate this affair as Mr. Allen [Aileſbury]; but ſince that cannot be reaſonably expected, it were to be wiſhed, that he could ſend ſome perſon well qualified to be ſent hither well inſtructed by him for that purpoſe.

French letters ſpeak of one Fraſer's being ſeized at Bourge, and ſent priſoner to the caſtle of Angouleme.

If you have not ſeen the London Gazette of the 20th of July, endeavour to procure it."

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. Auguſt 19.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's Letters continued.

"I Do not at all wonder, that you have had no opportunity of ſpeaking to Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin]; for I do not think that merchant

chant is anywiſe ready to clear accounts with you. It is better that he ſhould call upon you, than you upon him." 1704. Auguſt.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol viii. 4to. No. 21.

A ſhip to be ſent to Scotland.—The King of France had made propoſals to the Scots.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Auguſt 25th.

"THE Queen, having read your letter concerning the veſſel deſigned for Scotland, has ordered me to tell you, that ſhe has not changed her mind in that reſpect; providing, at leaſt, the King does not believe, that it will be better to delay the propoſal, which he has made to the Scots, till another time; and, in that caſe, this viſit will be very uſeleſs: but, if his Majeſty approves of ſending her immediately, the diſpatches will be made ready as ſoon as you have acquainted the Queen of the King's intentions. This great delay has happened, in order to acquaint them of what concerns lord Lovat, which is conſidered in Scotland as an important point."

Extracts from Lord Carryll's Letters, continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College.

"I Find that you have had no encouragement from Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] to meet with him about our affairs, notwithſtanding what was ſaid of it, by Armſworth [Marlborough], when you laſt parted with him; ſo that I think we may take it for granted, that all thoſe merchants are not at all diſpoſed at preſent to bring matters to an accommodation upon our account." September 5.

"Pray make good uſe of the picture you have received; let it not go a begging, nor be offered nor ſeen, but where it is welcome. According to the countenance which is given at preſent to yourſelf by Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], you may partly judge how the picture will be countenanced by him. The match that is treating between Hanmer [Hannover] and young Armſworth [Marlborough's daughter] is no news to our friends here; it is in every one's mouth. But whether it be only ſolicited by Mr. Wanley [the Whigs] and his family, and not by perſons of more influence and intereſt is matter of doubt." Nov. 9.

1704. November. Nairne's Papers, D. N. vol. viii. 4to. No. 21.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Concerning the pilot Caron and Lord Lovat.

Tranſlation.

SIR, November 10, 1704.

"I Think it improper to delay longer to acquaint you, that Caron, the Dunkirk pilot, is come back from his voyage to Scotland, where he has, with great fidelity, delivered his diſpatches, and brought back a letter from the perſon who received them, with aſſurances that the letters would be delivered carefully, according to their addreſſes: that it was not poſſible to fix then a time for his return; but that notice ſhould be ſent of this by poſt. They endeavoured to excuſe Mr. John Murray, for having been duped by lord Lovat."

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. Nov. 17.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

"I Don't know what to make of the myſterious proceedings of thoſe two merchants, Armſworth [Marlborough] and Goulſton [Godolphin]. It would be ſome eaſe to me, if I could flatter myſelf into a belief, that they mean honeſtly in behalf of their old client Wiſely [the King]; but all outward actions and appearances look quite another way. However, I ſhall be glad to know what Armſworth [Marlborough] ſays to you on this ſubject, when he comes out of the country [Holland] where they ſay he has lately made a very great purchaſe. I am told it as news writ from your parts, that he will give his daughter a very great portion, and marry her to young Hanmer [Hannover]. I am likewiſe told, that ſome of your neighbours, of Mr. Kenſy's relations [the Tories], are minded to croſs this latter if they can, by offering a match for his daughter with young Pleſſington [the King], which they do, not by commiſſion, but only to try how it will take, and they pretend to make their eſſay by the way of Mrs. Young [princeſs Anne], to whom they ſay they have acceſs. For my own part, I think the project to be very airy. However, there is no hurt in their making the experiment; and uſe may be made of it, according as it ſucceeds.

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1704.

THE firſt letter in the Hannover correſpondence of this year regards the Scotiſh plot, which has been mentioned ſo often in the Stuart Papers of the ſame period. Queen Anne, in her letter to the parliament of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh on the ſixth of July, recommended to them the ſettling the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line. A ſtrange diſtinction made uſe of by the earl of Cromarty, one of her miniſters, about her Majeſty's *revealed will*, raiſed, with other circumſtances, a ſuſpicion that her *ſecret will* was very different. A reſolve for a treaty with England, in relation to commerce and other concerns, and for ſuch limitations and conditions of government, as might ſecure the religion, liberty, and independency of the nation, prior to the nomination of a ſucceſſor, was carried in parliament by a majority of fifty-five voices; of whom thirty were the ſervants of the court, and ſuppoſed to act according to the orders which they had received. The Queen was obliged, before ſhe could obtain any ſupply, to give the royal aſſent to the act of ſecurity; by which it was provided, that, in caſe her Majeſty ſhould die without iſſue, the parliament, if not then ſitting, ſhould meet and declare a ſucceſſor to the crown, who ſhould not be the SAME PERSON that was poſſeſſed of the crown of England, unleſs, before that time, there was a ſettlement made in parliament of the rights and liberties of the nation, independent of Engliſh counſels. 1704.

1704. Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcel. d'Etat. 2. No. 134.

Sir Rowland Gwynne to Robethon.

Robethon was at this time with the duke of Zell. Sir Rowland writes to him about the Scotch plot.

February 13, 1704.

——"I AM told alſo, that the Queen is ſenſible that the violent high church-men in the houſe of commons are not ſo much her friends as they pretend to be; ſince they were ſo violent for the bill againſt occaſional conformity, and ſo ready to prevent a thorough examination into the Scotch plot, that there is great expectation of a diſſolution of the parliament after the ſeſſion is over, and that ſhe will change hands; but you know all this will depend upon the advice of thoſe in power.

However, I humbly tell you my opinion, that there can be no ſecurity to her Majeſty's perſon, without inquiring into the bottom of this plot. She muſt do this, or follow the precedent of King Stephen, who agreed that Henry the Second ſhould ſucceed, to quiet conſpiracies and wars; and this would be too dangerous an example to be truſted to the power of France.

If the plot is proſecuted, it will inevitably follow, that the ſucceſſors muſt be invited over, and new meaſures taken; but if it is ſtifled, we muſt, on this ſide, think of ourſelves. So that, either way, we ſhall ſee what is to be depended upon. This is only to yourſelf, from, &c.

R. G.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 176.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

He gives his opinion and advice about the operations of the enſuing campaign.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, May 21, 1704.

"I AM very much obliged to you, for the letter you wrote to me on the 5th inſtant, and for your having been pleaſed to communicate to me your thoughts on the operations of the campaign in the empire. They appear to me very ſolid, and perfectly ſuitable to the good of the common cauſe. I doubt not but, with the divine aſſiſtance, we may flatter ourſelves with a glorious ſucceſs; ſuch a ſalutary plan formed and conducted by a general, whoſe good intentions and knowledge are ſo well known. The interview which you propoſe with the Margrave of Baden, and the countenance which the enemy will ſhow, when you approach them, muſt

muſt enable you to judge what you ought to do, and to determine to take meaſures as juſt as the importance of the buſineſs requires. 1704.

I imagine, my lord, that the cities you ſpecify may furniſh nearly the heavy artillery neceſſary for a ſiege. It would be proper to concert this with the Elector of Mentz, who, being one of the directors of the circle of Franconia, may contribute greatly, by his influence, to enable you to provide yourſelf. But leſt you ſhould be diſappointed, it would be proper not to depend upon finding, in that country, the horſes and carriages neceſſary to tranſport this artillery from place to place. It would be ſurer, therefore, to furniſh yourſelf with them before-hand. It is ſtill more certain, that you will find neither powder nor ball in that country; and the indiſpenſable occaſion which you will have for them, ſhould induce you to give, in time, poſitive orders for tranſporting a ſufficient quantity of them, it being otherwiſe impoſſible that you can execute any thing conſiderable againſt an enemy who can, very eaſily, avoid a battle, and reduce you to a neceſſity of forming a ſiege, or of paſſing all the ſeaſon of the campaign uſeleſsly. I am not without ſome hopes that the Margrave of Baden, by reinforcing the army of general Thungen, by detachments from the army, which is in the lines of Beihl, may hinder the junction of the reinforcement which France deſigns for the Elector of Bavaria, and that upon your arrival, the ſituation of affairs may be ſtill the ſame. But you will, no doubt, judge it very neceſſary to haſten your march, with all poſſible diſpatch, leſt you ſhould give time to the enemy to make any progreſs before you are at hand to prevent them. Prince Eugene, who will come to command the army of Franconia, will, on his ſide, do every thing that is poſſible for him, in order to act in concert with you, and to ſecond your operations effectually.

I have ſent to that prince, and to the Margrave of Baden, the incloſed memorial, which an emiſſary of France, taken in this country, was employed to carry to the mareſchal de Marſin. This piece will ſhew you the deſigns of the enemy againſt the empire, and the places where they propoſed to act offenſively, while they keep upon the defenſive in others. You are too penetrating not to ſee the uſe which may be made of this intelligence, and the neceſſity of keeping it a ſecret.

I wiſh, my lord, the happy ſucceſs of this campaign may advance the glory which the preceding has procured you: in this I intereſt myſelf very

1704. particularly. I ſhall always have a very ſenſible pleaſure in ſhowing you the ſingular regard I have for you, and in convincing you that I am, my Lord, &c."

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Miſcell. d'Etat. 2. No. 134.

Sir Rowland Gwynne to Robethon.

The ſtate of Parties in Britain.

SIR, Hannover, June 18, 1704.

——"MY friends in England tell me, that no changes are to be expected at court in favour of the Whigs *, or proteſtant ſucceſſion, and that the parliament will not be diſſolved; and that, though they pretend to eſpouſe a moderate party, yet the perſons put into places have been violent enemies, though of no weight. The Queen may be told, that ſhe will divide, or rather biaſs, the party by it; but I believe ſhe and her miniſtry will be deceived in that point; and that ſhe will find great difficulties, next winter, in parliament.

"I had forgot Scotland, and it would be better for England, if it were under the ſea, the inhabitants being ſaved; we ſhould better manage them out of their country than in it; but I muſt tell you, that as we ſhall in a little time ſee what they will do, in relation to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, ſo I expect no favour from them; for I ſuſpect the ſincerity of the miniſtry of England; and if the ſettlement of the proteſtant ſucceſſion is not propoſed to be eſtabliſhed, in the firſt place, nothing will be done this ſeſſion towards it. If ſo, we muſt be content, and have patience, which will heal all; for I am ſure that there is a ſteady and true affection in England for this family, and that our friends have a courage that will, at length, overcome all difficulty."

Original. Ibid.

The ſame to the ſame.

The ſame ſubject continued.

SIR, Hannover, June 25, 1704.

"I Wrote to you laſt week, in anſwer to the laſt I had from you, and we have yeſterday two poſts from England, one more being due.

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* Yet the Tories complained, that Godolphin trimmed with the Whigs, by taking Robert Harley and others into office. Godolphin had the misfortune to loſe the firſt party, without gaining the ſecond. Both parties were forming ſeparately an oppoſition to Marlborough and Godolphin.

I have

I have no opinion that the affairs in Scotland will go well. My lord Queenſberry is put out from being ſecretary, and the Queen will not declare herſelf to juſtify my lord Leven, or any of that party. All is put into the hands of thoſe who were ever the moſt bitter enemies to the late King and the ſucceſſion. If they will ſettle the ſucceſſion, it is more than can be reaſonably expected; but if it is not propoſed and ſettled, in the firſt place, I am ſure that nothing will be done in it at preſent, and know what opinion I ought to have of the meaſures in England; perhaps our miniſters will be ſatisfied with a little money, without ſettling the ſucceſſion; but if they are of that opinion, they may live to think they are in the wrong. However, there is no affection wanting in England towards this houſe. I ſee ſome thence, and hear from many; and am confident that the next parliament there will do all that can be wiſhed or deſired by us, though, at the ſame time, I do not think that there will be a new parliament called this ſummer. 1704.

If there were any ſincere intentions towards ſettling the ſucceſſion of Scotland, I ſhould think that there would have been ſome notice of it given here, and of the means that will be uſed towards it; and alſo of the reaſons for employing the men that were always againſt it; but I do not hear of any thing of that nature. The conduct of this affair will infallibly let us ſee on what ground we ſtand, what is to be expected, and open the eyes of all our friends in England. I believe, Mr. Johnſton is moſt likely to ſucceed my lord Queenſberry in the office of ſecretary.

But let theſe matters go how they will, our friends in England are ſteady, and I fear the Queen is not in good health; if I am well informed, and I think I am, it is no ſmall confirmation that the power of our friends in England is much ſuperior to that of our enemies, and the duke of Buckingham does ſtill uſe all the means he can to be well with her royal Highneſs the Electreſs *. I have lately ſeen a letter he writ to her Royal Highneſs (finding that Mr. D'Avenant's applications would not do) wherein he offers all the ſervice in the world; but it was anſwered coldly, though civilly.

I am ſure that he would not be ſo very earneſt in this matter, if he did not ſee very good reaſon for it."

* He was invariably in the intereſt, and often in the correſpondence, of the exiled family.

The

1704. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, marked Princes, No. 177.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

An anſwer to a letter he received after the battle of Blenheim.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, September 3, 1704.

"I Underſtood, with extreme pleaſure, by the letter which you wrote to me the 18th of Auguſt, that you was ſatisfied with the conduct of my generals, and the ſhare which my troops have had in the ſucceſs of that great day, which has ſo advantageouſly changed the face of affairs. You may aſſure yourſelf, my lord, that no man intereſts himſelf more ſincerely than I do, in the glory which you have acquired thereby.

I approve of abandoning the ſiege of Ingoldſtadt, in order to form that of Ulm. I think that all your motions, and all your deſigns, during this campaign, have been conducted with a prudence which cannot fail to gain you a general approbation. This is a juſtice which all the allies owe you, but which no one can ever do you with more pleaſure than I do, and no one can ever be more than I am, &c.

The following letter is without a date, but was probably written in the courſe of this or the preceding year, while Mr. Creſſet was at the court of Brunſwick.

Original.

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne.

Tranſlation.

Madam,

"THE deſire which I have to preſerve the honour of your Majeſty's favour, encourages me to preſume to write to you in another language than Latin, which appears to have more of ceremony than of that ſincerity of heart which attaches me, without reſerve, to your Majeſty's ſacred perſon. I hope, however, Mr. Creſſet, who is ſo well recovered of his dangerous ſickneſs, will inform your Majeſty how much I deſire to merit, by my obedience, the goodneſs of which he gave me aſſurances from your Majeſty; and as I ſee that your Majeſty is very conſtant towards thoſe whom you honour with your kindneſs, I believe myſelf aſſured of it, all my life-time, of which I would chooſe to employ the ſhort ſpace during which I can continue in the courſe of nature, to ſhew with what zeal I am, &c.

6 SOPHIA, ELECTRESS."

STUART

STUART PAPERS.

1705.

THE conteſts between the Whigs and Tories, which had ſubſiſted in the laſt ſeaſon, roſe to an extraordinaty height in the beginning of the preſent year. The ſtrife of parties being principally for office and the poſſeſſion of power, thoſe principles which they held forth to the public were forgot in the private concerns of their leaders. The Tories, in particular, from whom the court of St. Germains derived their chief hopes, were more intent upon annoying the Whigs, than on forwarding the views of the pretended prince of Wales. This circumſtance renders the correſpondence of the preſent year unintereſting. Yet it appears, from the following extracts from lord Caryll's letters, that, when Marlborough and Godolphin were accuſed by the Tories of having adopted the principles of the Whigs, they ſtill continued their ſecret profeſſions of attachment to the exiled family. 1705. January.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. January 4.

"I Cannot but take notice of what you ſay, that notwithſtanding former diſappointments, you was in hopes of having a meeting with Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin], and of receiving from him ſome comfortable aſſurances concerning the old arrears*. If he anſwers your expectations, it will be very welcome news to your partners; if he doth not, it will be no ſurpriſe to me, conſidering all that hath paſt.

You will perhaps wonder when I tell you that your friend Armſworth [Marlborough] invited himſelf to ſup in private with Mrs. Trimings [ducheſs of Marlborough's ſiſter †], the very night that he came away. This is

* Probably they had ſome hopes of obtaining the Queen's jointure from Godolphin.

† The dutcheſs of Tyrconnel, who was at this time in London.

the

1705. April. the more to be wondered at, becauſe they had not ſeen one another in God knows how many years before. The gentlewoman herſelf tells me, that their converſation, eſpecially on his part, was all in general terms; and that, when ſhe deſcended to ſome particulars, his anſwer was, that he would do what honour and juſtice obliged him to do, without particularizing any thing.

The adherents of the excluded family, always ready to graſp at every incident, that ſeemed to favour their own views, had their eyes fixed for ſeveral years paſt upon Scotland; where a jealouſy of England, which aſſumed the name of ſpirit, had raiſed extraordinary heats in parliament. They might, however, have been convinced, that, when the duke of Hamilton inſinuated to them, that money was neceſſary to confirm the fidelity of thoſe who pretended to be attached to their cauſe, that the continuance of the ferment, upon which they had built their hopes, depended entirely upon thoſe who managed the treaſury of England. The lord Godolphin, terrified by the Whigs, made uſe of the weight of his office to influence the affairs of Scotland; and, before the end of the ſeſſion, he managed his power with ſo much ſucceſs, that an end was put, at once, to the noiſe of the country-party, and to the deſigns of the cavaliers. Several of the latter, who probably foreſaw, that they could derive no hopes of accompliſhing their views by an oppoſition in parliament, tranſmitted the following intelligence to St. Germains, with a deſign to induce France to undertake an invaſion.

Nairne's Papers, vol. viii. 4to. No. 28.

The Earl of Middleton to the Marquis de Torcy.

Sends him tranſlations of letters of intelligence from Britain.

Tranſlation.

SIR, April 17, 1705.

"I Have the honour to ſend you the tranſlation of a letter from Scotland, and of another from London, to which I refer myſelf ſimply, having never been diſpoſed to embelliſh originals; but if you judge that there is any anſwer to be made, the Queen will be very well pleaſed to have your ſentiments on the ſubject."

A letter

A letter which the pilot Caron brought from Scotland. It is probably the letter mentioned by Middleton in the preceding. 1705. Nairne's Papers, D.N. vol ii. 4to. No. 54.

The French copy is in Nairne's hand.

Tranſlation.

It is dated 23 March, O. S. 1705.

" WE have a great difficulty here to concert our meaſures together; for it would be much eaſier for us to find many to be ſent to you, than to reduce them to two or three. But I doubt not but all thoſe who ſhall be ſent, will agree in general to the following articles; namely, that it is neceſſary to ſend hither a ſufficient force, and to ſend it in the way which will ſuit you beſt; and as it does not appear to be very practicable to tranſport a ſufficient number of troops, as far as Scotland, it is thought that it will be more convenient to land them in ſome port in England, which may be condeſcended upon as the moſt convenient and nearer to you.

The computation which is commonly made of the number of troops that muſt be ſent to render the enterpriſe ſucceſsful, is about 10 or 12,000 men, which muſt be ſent at the ſame time, in caſe they are ſent to Scotland; but, if it is judged more proper to land them in England, in that caſe, beſides this number, it will be neceſſary to ſend 3000 men more to this country, for protecting the King's friends, who will declare for him here, and for putting them in a condition of ſending ſuccours to the troops which ſhall have landed in England.

Arms are demanded for 20,000 men; but, if money enough is ſent in time, to enable the people of the country to arm themſelves, a ſmaller quantity of arms will be ſufficient. With regard to terms between the King and his ſubjects, I do not believe it will be very difficult to ſettle them. It will be always neceſſary to ſend a plauſible declaration, in which his Majeſty will promiſe to redreſs the grievances of his ſubjects, and to refer himſelf to a free parliament, for rectifying the abuſes and the illegal proceedings of the preſent government. It will be neceſſary to promiſe likewiſe to ſend a ſupply of money ſufficient to ſupport an enterpriſe of this nature; and, in the mean time, it would be of great advantage, if money to buy arms could be ſent immediately; for, both in the ſouth of the kingdom and here, they are very deſirous of being armed; but

1705. the misfortunes of the times have impoveriſhed the generality of the people to ſuch a degree, that it is impoſſible for them to furniſh themſelves with arms, at their own expence, ſo ſpeedily as they would wiſh; and if ſome ſmall ſum could be depoſited in the hands of ſome perſons of confidence, who would diſtribute it honeſtly and with prudence and diſcretion, among the King's friends in this country, for managing his Majeſty's intereſt, that ſum, employed to that purpoſe, and managed with diſcretion, would render more ſervice to the King, in the preſent conjuncture, and advance his affairs farther, than ſix times the ſum on any other occaſion.

This is what is expected from you, and with the bleſſing of God, and ſuch aſſiſtance as is now demanded, there is not the ſmalleſt doubt, but the enterpriſe will ſucceed. But if you ſend a ſmaller number of troops than is mentioned above, it is the general opinion, that that will only ſerve to ruin all the friends which the King has in this country at preſent; and to prevent any attempt to be made, for a long time, for the ſervice of his Majeſty in any of his kingdoms; for, beſides the ſecurity and encouragement which a ſufficient force will give his friends here, it will induce thoſe who are neuter to join them, and force their enemies to ſubmit. Whereas if the body of troops which is ſent, is not ſufficient to make the proper exertions, all thoſe who are neuter, and who love their eaſe, and theſe are very numerous, will ſtay at home; and it is certain that his Majeſty's enemies will oppoſe, with all their force, any body of troops which they may hope to vanquiſh. Therefore, both the King's friends and the foreign troops, which will come in ſmall numbers to their aſſiſtance, will come only to be ruined all at once, which God forbid; or to involve themſelves in a long and deſtructive war, the iſſue of which in all probability will be fatal.

Theſe are the ſentiments of people here on this ſubject. I leave to thoſe who are more intereſted in the caſe, to determine what they have to do on this occaſion. The abſence of lord Arran, whoſe return we expect every minute, and the expectations from the approaching parliament, are the reaſons which have prevented us from ſending hitherto the perſons expected from us.

The bearer of this is in a hurry to ſet out; therefore I can ſay no more to you at preſent. I ſhall only add, that it is abſolutely neceſſary

to

to ſend ſome money to keep up the correſpondence, and to carry on our affairs with more expedition. For thoſe who have hitherto furniſhed that expence, are not now in a condition to continue it, on account of the bad payment of their farmers and other accidents. A ſum of thirty thouſand livres, placed in good hands, and managed faithfully, would be of greater utility here to the King's ſervice than you can imagine. In ſhort, without this ſmall ſupply, it is abſolutely impoſſible to advance our affairs. 1705.

The following extracts explain themſelves. It ſeems that, though the duke of Marlborough and the lord Godolphin had no intentions of taking an active part in favour of the excluded family, they ſtill continued their profeſſions of attachment, and promiſes of future ſervices. It is difficult to ſay what could induce them to continue their intercourſe with the agents of the court of St. Germains, unleſs they were from principle attached to its intereſts.

Extracts from Lord Caryll's letters, continued.

Lord Caryll's Letters, vol. v. fol. Scotch College. April 25.

"WHAT you ſay to me concerning what paſſed in your laſt meeting with Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough], though it be but a repetition of what I formerly heard to be ſaid by that merchant, yet, at this time, I confeſs it is very ſurpriſing to me: for very few men will lye only for lying's ſake, but for ſome profit or advantage. Now, conſidering the preſent flouriſhing condition of that merchant, and his creditors want means, more than ever, to go to law with him, it would be very ſtrange, if he ſhould make ſuch promiſes and proteſtations, without any intention of performing them. On the other ſide, words are but wind, when they are not followed by deeds; and when they claſh, the one by the other, the man muſt be judged by his actions. It is true, that what he formerly told you in Norley's [Scotch parliament] affair came to paſs, that nothing ſhould be done in the favour of Hanmer [Hannover] to our prejudice; but whether that was brought about by any induſtry of his, or rather not againſt his will, remains ſtill in the dark. According to all outward appearances, he and his partners did then, as they do now, drive on violently for the intereſt of Hanmer [Hannover]. So that to explain this riddle, we muſt ſee what will be

1705. done at Norley's [Scotch parliament] next meeting; which will be a criſis to determine our judgment in this matter."

May 14. "You alſo further enlarge in yours of ——, what paſſed between you and Armſworth [Marlborough] when you laſt met, adding that particular of his liking the pound of tea with which you preſented him. But I do not like the anſwer he made, when you doubted whether it would be agreeable to his wife's palate; he ſaid he could ſee faults at home, but they would be ſoon over. Now, this is a plain confeſſion of his wife's preſent not reliſhing the tea, in which he is to be believed. But, on the other ſide, I cannot believe that he and his wife have a different palate; and therefore fear that what he unawares confeſſed of his wife's reliſhing, is too ſure an indication of his own. We ſhall thank providence if any good comes from him: at the worſt, it is good, at leaſt, not to be deceived. The pound of tea which captain Gordon deſires for his great friend, will be ſent you by the firſt opportunity."

June 30. "I muſt alſo own the receipt of yours of the 3d of May, wherein you relate what paſſed between you and Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin]; which merchant is not ſo prodigal of his words as his partner Armſworth [Marlborough], and therefore they are ſomewhat more to be relied upon, and, unleſs, they both join to deceive, much may be hoped from their agreeing both in the ſame ſtory."

July 23. "I did believe, that the credit of Mr. Armſworth [Marlborough] would not be kept up ſo high as formerly, in regard of ſome diſappointments he has lately met with. Yet I am told he has newly had a lucky hit, which may poſſibly ſet him up again as high. Be it as it will, there are many who will ſtill think he is more fortunate than honeſt."

Auguſt 23. "It muſt not be denied, but that Armſworth's [Marlborough's] prediction, made not long ſince to Berry, concerning Norley's [Scotch parliament] affair, proves true; and there is reaſon to hope, that what has fallen out is the effect of his good intentions; but that point muſt be cleared by his ſubſequent actions.

P. S. I cannot omit telling my apprehenſions, that although it was in the power of Armſworth [Marlborough] and his partner Goulſton [Godolphin], with the aſſiſtance of Goldny, to have carried their cauſe in the behalf of Hanmer [Hannover] at Norley's [Scotch parliament] trial, yet

yet I doubt whether the true and only cauſe of their ſo not doing, was not in proſpect of keeping on foot the trade of their friend Sharp and his dependants, after the lawſuit ſhould happen to be ended between Manly [the King] and Wheatly [England]; for they poſſibly may have great need of ſuch a friend, at that time, to ſtand by them, for the ſupport of their own trade and credit." 1705.

" Men's minds muſt be ſtrangely altered, if Mr. Heyden [Tories] and his friends make it their buſineſs to have Mr. Hanmer [Hannover] amongſt them, in oppoſition to Gilburn [Godolphin], Armſworth [Marlborough], and Wanly's [the Whigs] friends. It looks as if all things tended to a confuſion amongſt them, out of which I pray God ſend order may follow." Sept. 10.

" I am in your debt for two of your letters. In the firſt, you promiſe me a farther account of Mr. Heyden's [Tories] diſpoſition, in reference to Armſworth [Marlborough,] Goulſton [Godolphin], and partners, which alſo, in your laſt, you have put off to a further time. I hear, from other hands, what you have ſaid in general, that Heyden [Tories], in conjunction with Kenſy and his company, are preparing to commence a ſuit againſt thoſe other merchants, for interloping and double dealing with Mr. Norley [the Scots] in Hanmer's [Hannover's] negociation, alledging that it was in thoſe firſt merchants' power to have carried the cauſe in behalf of Hanmer [Hannover], which failed through their wilful neglect, whatever appearance there was to the contrary. I believe this may ſtick hard upon Goulſton [Godolphin] and Armſworth [Marlborough]; for had they, at the trial, produced the evidence of Goldeny* which they might have done, the verdict, in all likelihood, would have gone for our friend Hanmer [Hannover]. But as they brew ſo let them bake; which is all I have to ſay in the matter." Sept. 22.

" I am much of your opinion, that Mr. Heyden [Tories] and Renzy's project of ſiding with Hanmer [Hannover], comes from a motive of revenge, rather than of intereſt or inclination; but what it will produce time muſt ſhew, as well as how the difference will end between Norley [Scotland] and Wheatly [England]. A certain gentlewoman, whoſe name I have forgot, but Mr. Gawin, who I believe is in town, can tell it you by October 19.

* Money, probably.

this

1705. this mark; for ſhe came over in company, or about the ſame time, with Crofton's [Middleton's] former clerk, who was brought into trouble, and was much talked of at the time. Now, this woman ſays, that ſome of your couſin Wiſely's [Queen's] tenants have made offers to pay in preſent a year's rent, and alſo ſome arrears, and be at the charge of the law, if your couſin Wiſely will renew their leaſes: for, it ſeems, they have refuſed to pay their rents to the preſent occupants, leſt they ſhould pay them twice. I ſuppoſe Mr. Gawin may be acquainted with this woman; therefore you may deſire him to inquire further into this matter. Mr. Roſe has formerly hinted ſomething of a like nature, and probably this woman and he may have conferred notes together about it. Therefore, if you think it convenient, you may take ſome occaſion of converſing with him about it. You may be ſure the tenants are well ſatisfied that your couſin Wiſely's title is good in law, or elſe they would not make theſe offers."

Nov. 7. "I am informed our old acquaintance Mr. Ar. Blake * intends to leave Norley's houſe [Scotland], and remove to Wheatly's [England], with intention to make fair weather, if he can, with Young [princeſs Anne] and his partners, and to diſcover whether there be any private correſpondence between thoſe merchants and Pleſſington [the King], of which he has formely had ſome ſuſpicion, as I think you may remember; and I gueſs, that if he can find it to be ſo, he would willingly ſtrike with them, and join ſtocks with them in that trade. But if he cannot diſcover that they are ſo inclined, I believe he will quit that thought, and join with them (if admitted) upon their own terms. He is ſo cunning a dealer, that I believe they will be afraid of him, and hardly take him into their company. However, this I can aſſure you, that your kinſman Pleſſington [the King] has not given him the leaſt indication or ground of ſurmiſe, that there is any correſpondence or joining of ſtocks between him and Mr. Young's partners [princeſs Anne's miniſters]."

Nov. 15. "I am of your opinion, not to move in that other buſineſs of your couſin's jointure as yet, though all that is pretended ſhould be true; your reaſons for not doing it ſo ſoon being very good. And whether it will be worth your while to conſult Mr. Goulſton [Godolphin] about it

* Probably the duke of Hamilton, who was now ſuppoſed, by the Jacobites, to be trimming with the other ſide.

at preſent, muſt be further conſidered. In the mean time, you will have leiſure to find out upon what grounds thoſe tenants of your couſin are aſſerted to be diſpoſed to return to her." 1705.

" As to what relates to the tenants of the widow's jointure, I am fully of your opinion, for the reaſons you mention, that nothing ought to be ſtirred in it till Eaſter-time be over, and till we ſee how another leading cauſe will be carried. I am of opinion that your friend Mr. Heyden [Tories] has received of late ſo little encouragement towards the carrying on his great deſigns, that he will cool in them for the preſent, and expect a better ſeaſon." Nov. 30.

" I find that we differ not in opinion concerning Mr. Blake* and his manner of proceeding; and think it will be neceſſary that you ſhould intimate to our partners, that he has been more than once curious to know whether or no they are in any intelligence with Mr. Pleſſington. [the King]; and, moreover, to aſſure them, that Mr. Pleſſington [the King] has never ſatisfied his curioſity on that point, nor given the leaſt ground to ſurmiſe, that there is any correſpondence or joining of ſtock between him and Mr. Young's partners [princeſs Anne's miniſters]. You may take the time which you ſhall judge moſt convenient to repreſent this matter to thoſe partners, which you will do, I ſuppoſe, before Mr. Blake comes to town. Dec. 7.

* The duke of Hamilton.

HANNOVER

HANNOVER PAPERS.

1705.

1705. THOUGH the eventual ſucceſſion of the family of Hannover had been provided for, by the act of ſettlement, their mounting the throne was ſtill a matter of great uncertainty with the nation. The ſtate of things, however, was changed before the end of the preſent year; when the Whigs, who had held forth the proteſtant ſucceſſion as the main object of their principles, had got poſſeſſion of the chief power in the kingdom. Before that period, the letters to the court of Hannover were merely official or complimentary, and contained little information with regard to the nation.

To explain the Hannover papers, under the head of this year, it may not be improper to premiſe a brief account of the events which they concern. Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Pruſſia, only daughter of Erneſt Auguſtus, Elector of Hannover, and of the princeſs Sophia, died on the firſt of February, in the preſent year. George William, duke of Zell, uncle and father-in-law of George Lewis, the reigning Elector, died alſo on the eighth of Auguſt, in the eighty-firſt year of his age. George Auguſtus, the Electoral prince, married, on the ſecond of September, Wilhelmina Caroline, daughter of the marquis of Brandenburgh Anſpach. The correſpondence of the year conſiſts chiefly of anſwers, ſent by the Elector, his mother and his ſon, to letters either of condolence or congratulation, on events in which their family was ſo much concerned. Theſe letters were originally written by Robethon, and afterwards tranſcribed from his draughts, by the electoral family.

1705. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 20.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

The ſame ſubject.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, April 9, 1705.

"IT is, with the deepeſt gratitude, I obſerve, by the letter with which your Majeſty has honoured me, with how much goodneſs you intereſt yourſelf in the loſs which we have ſuſtained in the death of the Queen of Pruſſia, and in the extreme affliction which her unexpected death has occaſioned to all my family. I may venture to ſay, that the veneration which ſhe had for your Majeſty rendered her worthy of being regretted by you. I entreat your Majeſty to be perſuaded, that, as you are pleaſed to give me on all occaſions marks of your kindneſs, I ſhall never allow any of them to paſs without ſhewing you how ſenſible I am of it. I make fervent vows for your preſervation, and for the continuance of your glorious reign; and I always am, with a profound reſpect, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

The duke of Marlborough arriving at the Hague, in the firſt week of April, concerted meaſures with the States, for carrying on the principal operations of the campaign, on the Moſelle. But being ill ſupported by the Germans, and recalled by the States to the defence of the Netherlands, the ſcheme of penetrating into France proved abortive. When he was at Cruſenach, he wrote the following letter, complaining of the unprepared ſtate of the Imperialiſts.

Original. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 180.

The Duke of Marlborough to the Elector.

He gives an account of his interview with the prince of Baden.

Tranſlation.

SIR, Cruſenach, May 24th, 1705.

"I Would have done myſelf the honour of writing ſooner to your Electoral Highneſs, but I could tell you nothing poſitive, until I had converſed with the prince of Baden; and, he having been indiſpoſed, I was obliged to go as far as Raſtadt, from whence I have juſt now returned, and I propoſe to be to-morrow at Treves.

1705. The principal deſign of my journey was, to know exactly the number of troops which he could bring to act in concert with us on the Moſelle; and I acknowledge to your Electoral Highneſs, that I am but little ſatisfied with my ſucceſs, for all that the prince could furniſh does not amount to 11 or 12 battalions and 28 ſquadrons, who are to march in four days. It is true, he makes me hope, they will be augmented in time to 20 battalions and 40 ſquadrons, which is ſtill far from what was promiſed to me this winter at Vienna; ſo that, inſtead of two armies, I ſhall be obliged to act with one corps. The greateſt difficulty will be to open a way from Treves, the enemy having ſeized on all the paſſages of the rivers; but by the valour of the troops, under the bleſſing of Heaven, I have no doubt of accompliſhing this end. My deſign is then to attack Saar-Louys; and I ſhall be very happy to have your Electoral Highneſs's approbation of this meaſure, and your advice concerning our motions; and I entreat you to continue to me the honour of your good graces, and to be perſuaded of the inviolable attachment and profound reſpect with which I ſhall always be, &c.

Prince and Duke of MARLBOROUGH."

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 179.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Anſwer to the preceding.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Bruchauſen, June 4, 1705.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me from Creutznach the 24th of May, and of the trouble which you take to inform me of the reſult of your conference with the prince of Baden, and of the projects which you have formed for this campaign. I think them worthy of your prudence, and perfectly conformed to the intereſts of the common cauſe; and the more ſo, that after having taken Saar-Louis, you may go ſtraight to Metz, without being obliged to take Thionville. I have nothing farther to ſay, but to wiſh you ſucceſs, and as glorious a campaign as the laſt. No one intereſts himſelf more than I do, in what concerns you, or is more ſincerely than I am, &c."

The

The Elector to the Earl of Peterborough.

Peterborough had been appointed to command in Spain.

1705. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 22.

Tranſlation.

July 18, 1705.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter which you wrote to me, and for the aſſurances which it contains of your attachment to my intereſts. I had been already informed that you had given proofs of this on different occaſions, of which I am duly ſenſible. I conſider the choice which the Queen has made of you, for ſuch a conſiderable employment, as very advantageous to me and to my family. However difficult your commiſſion may be, I doubt not, but you will fulfil it, in a manner equally uſeful to the common cauſe and glorious to yourſelf. I would have had a great pleaſure in ſeeing your ſon at Hannover: I am very ſorry that he has been hindered from coming by ſuch a dangerous wound. He would have met with a reception with which he would have reaſon to be ſatisfied; as I ſhall be always happy to find opportunities of ſhowing you, that I am, my Lord, &c."

The duke of Marlborough having returned from the Moſelle, obliged the enemy to abandon their deſign upon Liege, took Huy, and forced the French lines at Tirlemont. He ſent an account of his ſucceſs to the duke of Zell, and to the Elector of Hannover, and received the following anſwers.

The Duke of Zell to the Duke of Marlborough.

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 181.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Winhauſen, July 31, 1705.

"I Am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken, in informing me yourſelf of the advantage you have obtained. This enterpriſe has been conducted with ſo much prudence, that thoſe who intereſt themſelves for the good cauſe as I do, muſt be ſingularly obliged for it to you. I wiſh it may be attended with all the important conſequences which we have reaſon to hope, and that you may ſoon have opportunities of adding a new luſtre to the glory you have juſtly acquired. I can aſſure you, that no one takes a greater ſhare in this than I do, or is more truly, my Lord, &c."

1705. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 182.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Auguſt 1ſt, 1705.

"THE news of the important advantage which you have obtained gave me a very ſenſible joy. I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken to inform me of it. The manner, in which this enterprize has been concerted and executed, does you ſo much honour, that thoſe who intereſt themſelves in what concerns you as much as I do, muſt derive a double ſatisfaction from it. I expect important conſequences from it for the good of the common cauſe, whoſe intereſt, as appears more and more every day, cannot be in better hands than yours. I wiſh you, with all my heart, a continuance of ſucceſs, and an augmentation of renown; and am truly, my Lord, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 184.

The Elector to the Duke of Marlborough.

Acknowledges his compliments of condolence on the death of the duke of Zell, and is pleaſed with his approbation of the prince's marriage.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Auguſt, 1705.

"I Am very ſenſible of the obliging manner in which you intereſt yourſelf in whatever gives me joy or pain. You are in the right to believe, that I have felt, in a moſt ſenſible manner, the loſs we have ſuſtained by the death of the duke of Zell. I am very much obliged to you for the ſhare you take in the marriage of my ſon, and for the wiſhes you offer for the happy effects which may be expected from it. I ſhall be always very well pleaſed to ſee the happineſs of my family turn to the advantage of the Engliſh nation. I entreat you to be perſuaded of the perfect eſteem I have for you, and that I am very ſincerely, &c."

Original.

The Princeſs Sophia to the Queen.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, Herrenhauſen, Sept. 9, 1705.

"THE departure of Mr. Poule, your Majeſty's Envoy, ſeems to authorize the liberty which I take of renewing my very humble reſpects to your Majeſty, and of entreating you moſt humbly to be ſo good as to conſider me always as one of thoſe who have moſt veneration for your ſacred perſon. I have ſtrongly entreated Mr. Poule to aſſure your

your Majeſty of this more fully. He always conducted himſelf at this court in ſo very proper a manner, that he has made himſelf very much beloved and eſteemed. I think myſelf obliged to give him this teſtimony, and at the ſame time to entreat your Majeſty, moſt humbly, to be ſo good as to do me the favour of conſidering me always as, Madam, &c." 1705.

The Princeſs Sophia to Queen Anne. Original.

This letter was written after the death of the duke of Zell, and the marriage of the Electoral Prince.

Tranſlation.

MADAM,

"I Have juſt received by Mr. How, your Majeſty's Envoy Extraordinary, the gracious letter with which you was pleaſed to honour me, and in which you condeſcended to give me ſo many marks of your kindneſs, by taking a part in whatever happens to my family, that I cannot expreſs to my own ſatisfaction, my very humble acknowledgements of this. It is true, Madam, that your Majeſty has loſt a faithful ſervant in the perſon of the deceaſed duke of Zell; but it is to be hoped, that the marriage of my grandſon will produce others who may venture to pretend to the honour of your favour. As to myſelf, Madam, I have entreated Mr. How to aſſiſt me in making known to your Majeſty, the ſentiments of veneration which I have for you, and the reſpect with which I am, Madam, &c."

The Electoral Prince to the Duke of Marlborough. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 183.

He acknowledges the duke's congratulations on his marriage.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, Sept. 19, 1705.

"I Gratefully acknowledge the letter which you was ſo good as to write to me, and the ſhare you ſhow me you take in my marriage. The approbation with which her Majeſty was pleaſed to honour it, gave me the greateſt ſatisfaction. I beſeech you to be perſuaded, that I find a very great pleaſure in having yours alſo, and I ſhall never neglect the opportunities of deſerving it. You will oblige me very much by embracing every occaſion of teſtifying to her Majeſty, that I deſire nothing ſo ſtrongly as to conduct myſelf in all things after a manner which may be agreeable to her. I am very ſincerely, my Lord, &c."

The

1705. Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 23.

The Elector to Mr. Creſſet.

An anſwer to a letter he had received on the duke of Zell's death, and his ſon's marriage.

Tranſlation.

SIR, October 12, 1705.

"I Am much obliged to you for the letter you wrote to me, by which I ſee that you continue to intereſt yourſelf in every thing agreeable or diſagreeable which happens to me. You gave me, on ſo many occaſions, proofs of your affection, and of your attachment to the intereſts of my family, that I did not doubt, but you would be greatly concerned for the loſs we have ſuſtained, by the death of the duke of Zell, and form wiſhes for happy conſequences from the marriage of my ſon. I am the more obliged to you for theſe ſentiments, that I am thoroughly perſuaded they proceed from the heart. You may be aſſured, Sir, that mine for you are no leſs ſincere, and that I ſhall be very happy to find opportunities of giving you proofs of them, by ſhowing you how much I am, Sir, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid.

The Elector to the Earl of Portland.

Of the ſame date, and on the ſame occaſion.

Tranſlation.

My Lord,

"I Am very ſenſible of the obliging manner in which you ſhow me the ſhare you take in the joy which the marriage of my ſon gave me, and in the grief which I felt on the death of ſo good a prince as the duke of Zell. I am not ignorant of the ſentiments of particular affection and eſteem which he entertained for you. I ſhall have a pleaſure, my lord, in ſhowing the ſame ſentiments for you, and in convincing you on all occaſions how much I am obliged to you, for the proofs you give me of your attachment to my intereſts. I am very ſincerely, &c."

Robethon's Draught. Ibid. No. 24.

The Electoral Prince to Lord Bridgewater.

An anſwer to a letter he had received on his marriage.

Tranſlation.

My Lord, October 29th, 1705.

"I Am very much obliged to you for the manner in which you ſhow me you intereſt yourſelf in my marriage, and for your good wiſhes to

to me on this occaſion. They are to me an agreeable pledge of your affection. I beg of you, to continue it to me, and to be perſuaded that it is impoſſible to value it more than I do, nor to have more eſteem and regard for you than has, my Lord, &c." 1705.

The Elector to Queen Anne.

Thanks her for compliments of condolence on the death of the duke of Zell, and her approbation of the marriage of the prince.

Robethon's Draught. Hannover Papers, vol. marked Princes, No. 26.

Tranſlation.

MADAM, October 30, 1705.

"I Received, with the moſt reſpectful gratitude, the letter with which your Majeſty was pleaſed to honour me, and which Mr. Howe, your Envoy Extraordinary, delivered to me. I conſider, as a freſh mark of your Majeſty's kindneſs for me and for my family, the choice which you have made of this miniſter, whoſe merit I have known ſo long. I ſhall do myſelf a very great pleaſure in ſhowing him all the confidence and diſtinction which he deſerves. I am very grateful for the obliging manner in which your Majeſty is pleaſed to intereſt yourſelf in the grief which the death of the duke of Zell juſtly gave me; and I am not leſs ſo for the approbation with which you are ſo good as to honour the marriage of my ſon. I entreat you to be perſuaded, that this approbation is the principal end that I propoſe to myſelf in all my actions, of which thoſe will always appear to me to be the moſt lucky, which will furniſh the ſtrongeſt proofs of the profound reſpect with which I ſhall be all my lifetime, &c.

GEORGE LEWIS, Elector."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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